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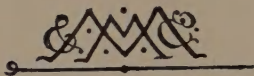
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THE BEGINNINGS OF CHRISTIANITY



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THE BEGINNINGS OF CHRISTIANITY

PART I

THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES

EDITED BY

F. J. FOAKES JACKSON, D.D.

AND

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VOL. IV

ENGLISH TRANSLATION
AND COMMENTARY

BY

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AND

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TO

* EDITH M. COE

PREFACE

It had been hoped that the first part of *The Beginnings of Christianity* would be completed in four volumes; but when the fourth volume was almost finished, it became sadly clear both to Editors and Publishers that considerations of space forced its division into two. Luckily a natural line of cleavage was provided by the necessity which had already made itself felt of discussing in Additional Notes subjects which were too long and complicated for the Commentary proper. These Additional Notes, therefore, will form the fifth and last volume of the first part of *The Beginnings of Christianity*.

When the time came for preparing the Commentary it so happened that the work of editing the translation and notes fell on me, but fortunately I was able to persuade my friend and colleague, Professor H. J. Cadbury, to help my labours. We share the same general attitude towards the problems of New Testament criticism, but by a happy accident his interests are more specifically linguistic and literary, while mine are doctrinal and historical.

We have divided the work of preparing the Commentary on somewhat these lines, but we have constantly invaded each other's province, and to secure unity of treatment I acted as final editor of the whole. The result is that there are many notes of which the true authorship is a forgotten secret, for neither of us knows which wrote the original draft, and many more are a mosaic (the outlines of which I trust are not always too visible) of alternately contributed sentences.

We found it necessary to eliminate in all except a very few cases any lengthy discussion of the opinion of other commentators. We would therefore like to express in this place our special debt of gratitude to certain books—a debt which is much greater than would be gathered from our Commentary. We have constantly consulted the commentaries of Blass, Wendt, Preuschen, Zahn, Loisy, and the books of Harnack, Eduard Meyer, Wellhausen, Burkitt, Ramsay, and Wikenhauser. But we owe more, in the sense of material which we at least could not have obtained elsewhere, to the vocabularies of Preuschen-Bauer and Moulton-Milligan, to the writings of Strack-Billerbeck, George Foot Moore, and Juster, which together provide an extraordinarily useful and complete mass of learning about Judaism, none of which was available a few years ago, and to the old but invaluable linguistic commentaries of Kypke and Wettstein. With regard to Strack-Billerbeck I made an unfortunate mistake. I did not notice that Dr. Billerbeck was really responsible for the whole work of the *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*, and to save space I have almost always quoted the book as Strack. Considering the facts it would have been better had I called it Billerbeck, and I am glad to notice that this custom is being followed by most scholars.

The first object of a commentary is to explain as accurately as possible what the writer meant to say, neither exaggerating nor extenuating his ambiguities, so that in some ways the best commentary is a literal translation. We have tried to provide this by printing at the top of each page a translation which should be as literal as possible while not going beyond the limits permitted in idiomatic English. Whenever possible, however, we have tried to make ambiguous or ungrammatical in English a sentence which was so in Greek. Unfortunately this is not always possible; and where we have consciously failed to meet our own requirements we have drawn attention to the fact in the notes. As the work has progressed we have often regretted the absence of the Greek text alongside of the English translation, but to

have printed the Greek over again would have been an unwarrantable expense, and the reader who wishes to follow the Greek text to which reference is made must do so by using the third volume.

I do not feel quite so certain about the original text of Acts as do many editors, though in general we have accepted the position adopted by Professor Ropes in Vol. III. that there are rather more cases where the Neutral text explains the Western than *vice versa*, and that—judged by our standards—the Neutral generally seems intrinsically better. But this is not always true, and I am not sure about the validity of our standards, so that I am glad to have the opportunity of confessing that after fifteen years I am more often doubtful about the true text than I was before. The notes, therefore, provide a rendering of the Western text of rather more passages than most readers will think desirable.

No editor can often have had more efficient and persistent help in the laborious task of preparing copy, reading proof, and verifying references than I have had from Miss Edith M. Coe, to whom I cannot adequately express my gratitude. The indices are the work of Mrs. Lake, Miss Faith P. Baldwin, Miss Hope Broome, and Professor Cadbury. I am also greatly indebted to Professor F. C. Burkitt for reading the proofs of this volume. My friendship with him began with the proof-sheets of almost the first book that I wrote, and I have never exhausted either his kindness or his learning.

Finally I am in no ordinary sense indebted to the Publishers, for their generosity, kindness, and—above all—patience.

KIRSOPP LAKE

September 1932

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Map of the EASTERN END OF THE MEDITERRANEAN

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ACTS OF THE APOSTLES

ACTS. If the book of Acts was planned, or at least published, as the second part of a two-volume work (Vol. II. pp. 491 f.), it is probable that it had no independent title. Any title the author gave would be intended for both volumes, and the separate books would be referred to by number.

It is generally agreed that the titles of the gospels in MSS. belong not to the original books but to their collection as the 'canon.' This collection also first gave the book of Acts an independent position and the need for a separate name. Probably more than one such title was used as occasion required. Informally but appropriately Acts is mentioned by Irenaeus as *Lucae de apostolis testificatio* (iii. 13. 3, cf. 15. 1), and by Tertullian as *commentarius Lucae (De ieiunio 10)*. But the name which finally prevailed was 'Acts of the Apostles,' which also occurs in varying forms in Irenaeus (iii. 13. 3 *ex actibus apostolorum*) and Tertullian (*acta apostolorum*, not *actus*), and is employed by Clement of Alexandria (*Stromata* v. 82 *ἐν ταῖς πράξεσι τῶν ἀποστόλων*) and Cyprian (*acta apostolorum*) and in the Canon of Muratori (*acta omnium apostolorum*, cf. Vol. II. pp. 503 f.). In the MSS. the title varies from *πράξεις τῶν ἀποστόλων* (SBD) to *πράξεις τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων*, but none represent any earlier tradition than that given by the patristic citations. The later forms are probably emendations. S and B use *πράξεις* without *τῶν ἀποστόλων* as a 'running' title. This is also found, naturally enough, in Origen and others.

Harnack (*Acts of the Apostles*, Eng. Trans., 1909, p. xvii) is probably right in holding that the title '*Πράξεις τῶν ἀποστόλων*' cannot have been adopted much later than A.D. 150. The apocryphal Acts probably are named after the canonical Acts.

For us, as for the early Church, the title is sufficiently satisfactory. But it does not accord well with literary conventions, which usually, though not uniformly, used a genitive of the author of the narrative, not of its hero, and for the main noun a word for the form of literary composition rather than for its subject matter (e.g. *συγγραφή, ὑπόμνημα* = *commentarius* as in Tertullian, *διήγησις* as in Luke i. 1; cf. Heinrici, *Der litterarische Charakter der neutestamentlichen Schriften*, 1908, p. 93). The title without the author's name was subject to the criticism that Tertullian made against Marcion's anonymous gospel (Vol. II. pp. 222 ff.).

Zahn can quote no ancient work in the title of which the word *πράξεις* occurs (*Introduction to the N.T.* § 60, note 15). But the genuine work of Callisthenes on Alexander was apparently known as *Ἀλεξάνδρου πράξεις* (see F. Jacoby in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie* (1919), xx. 1686 f.), and a pre-Christian papyrus of a work of Sosylus ends with the subscription *Σωσύλου τῶν περὶ Ἀννίβου πράξεων δ* (U. Wilcken, *Hermes*, xli. (1906), p. 108). These are both works of history by eyewitnesses. In the body of their works historians not infrequently refer to the subject matter of their own or other histories by the word *πράξεις*, and it occurs in many other natural connexions. Cf. Xenophon, *Cyropaed.* i. 2. 16 *πράξεις Κύρου*; Polybius (see Raphael, *Annotationes*, ii. 2 ff.; note the hendiadys in iii. 3. 7 *ἡ διήγησις καὶ αἱ πράξεις*); Josephus, *Ant.* xiv. 4. 3, § 68 *οἱ τὰς κατὰ Πτολεμαίου πράξεις ἀναγράφαντες*; Dio Cassius 62. 29 *τὰς τῶν Ῥωμαίων πράξεις ἀπάσας συγγράψων*; Diogenes Laertius ii. 3 *πράξεις Ἀλεξάνδρου*. In the free Greek rendering of the title of the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* on the *Monumentum Ancyranum* *πράξεις* is used to translate *Res Gestae*. (See also the full and admirable account of

THE first book, Theophilus, I wrote about everything which 1

the ancient πράξεις-literature in A. Wikenhauser, *Die Apostelgesch. und ihr Geschichtswert*, pp. 94 ff.)

It is futile to ask what title the author himself would have given his writing, either as a whole or in its several parts. His literary self-consciousness as revealed in the preface would probably have led him to adopt conventional terms as a title. Informal description of his work is given in his prefatory phrases τὰ πεπληροποιημένα ἐν ἡμῖν πράγματα and ὃν ἤρξατο ὁ Ἰησοῦς ποιεῖν τε καὶ διδάσκειν. It is doubtful whether he would have chosen to emphasize the apostles (did he think of any fixed group of apostles that would include Paul?) or to employ the word πράξεις which he uses elsewhere in other idiomatic senses (Vol. II. p. 136, note 1).

The spelling πραξις found in D is more probably a case of itacism for πράξις than an intended use of the singular. In the papyri the singular is conversely found spelled in -εις, e.g. P Grenf i. 29 and 31, ii. 27 and 29 (all 105 to 102 B.C.). The Syriac transliteration and sometimes the Latin *actus* (cf. Jos. Denk, *ZNTW*. vii. (1906) pp. 92 f.) appear to be singular, but the Greek word does not seem to admit this collective sense.

1-5. SUMMARY OF THE FIRST BOOK. Verses 1-5 are the preface (or προέκθεσις) to the second book of the work addressed to Theophilus, including a summary of the first book. For a discussion of the nature of ancient prefaces see Vol. II. pp. 133 ff., and for the preface to the gospel see Vol. II. pp. 489 ff., H. J. Cadbury, *Expositor*, 1922, pp. 401 ff., and Wikenhauser, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, pp. 140 ff. See also Addit. Note 1 for the text and construction of these verses.

1. first] On the assumption (probably right) that Luke wrote only two λόγοι, the use of πρῶτον (first, not former) has been criticized as incorrect; it should be πρότερος as in Philo, *Quod omnis probus liber*, 1, in a passage strikingly parallel to Acts, ὁ μὲν πρότερος λόγος ἦν ἡμῖν, ὃ Θεόδωτος, περὶ τοῦ κτλ. Here there were only two λόγοι. But the tendency in later Greek, as in English, was to obscure

these distinctions (cf. Blass, *Acta Apost.* p. 16). In the papyri πρότερος is relatively rare, and therefore πρῶτος, as the first in a series of any length, even only of two, is not more incorrect, if it be incorrect at all, than 'first' is in modern English. Acts vii. 12 f. ἐξαπέστειλεν τοὺς πατέρας ἡμῶν πρῶτον, καὶ ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ ἐγνωρίσθη κτλ., and xii. 10 διελθόντες δὲ πρῶτην φυλακὴν καὶ δευτέραν show that πρῶτος and δεύτερος can be used without any suggestion of a 'third.' But the usual expression in prefaces, judging from general usage, is neither ὁ πρῶτος nor ὁ πρότερος λόγος, but either ὁ πρόσθεν λόγος or ὁ πρὸ τούτου λόγος (see T. Birt, *Das antike Buchwesen*, pp. 464 ff.). For the possibility that Luke planned a third book see p. 349.

book] λόγος was a customary name for a division of a work which covered more than one roll of papyrus, though it was sometimes used more loosely. For a complete statement of the meaning and history of this and other technical words (τεῦχος, τόμος, βιβλίον, etc.) see T. Birt, *Das antike Buchwesen*, pp. 1-44.

Theophilus] Nothing is known of him. See Vol. II. p. 507. The name is a real one, used by Greeks, Egyptians (see F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, s.v.), Jews (who perhaps found it more congenial than the theophoric names in which a pagan deity was evident) and Romans, but in connexion with the Theophilus addressed by Seneca in his 7th Epistle the fact seems to have escaped many commentators (Zahn, *Introd. to N.T.* iii. p. 6; Lake in Hastings' *D.A.C.* ii. p. 568; J. I. Still, *St. Paul on Trial*, pp. 59, 85) that the reference is not to the genuine letters of Seneca, but to the Christian forgery of his correspondence with Paul. B. H. Streeter, *The Four Gospels*, p. 539, regards Theophilus as a secret name of a Christian Roman of rank, suggesting Flavius Clemens. There seems, however, no reason for supposing that Theophilus is a secret name, and the Christianity of Flavius Clemens is, to say the least, doubtful.

I wrote] Not 'I made,' for though a Greek author said that he ἐποίησατο a book, an English one says that he 'wrote' it.

Jesus did and taught from the beginning, until the day when he instructed the apostles (whom he had been inspired to choose, to whom too he presented himself alive after his passion by

did and taught from the beginning] Lit. 'began to do' etc., but there is probably no emphasis on the 'began,' and, as Blass says, ἤρξατο ποιεῖν is little more than ἐποίησε. What Luke means is obvious—the first volume contained the doings and teaching of Jesus from the beginning until the day when he told the disciples to wait in Jerusalem for the gift of the Spirit. Torrey claims the use of pleonastic ἀρχομαι as an Aramaism representing ܐܪܚܝܐ. It doubtless reflects Semitic idiom, but similar usage is by no means unknown in Greek, and from its frequency in the LXX it had become part of Christian Greek (see Vol. II. p. 63), so that it is not evidence that an Aramaic source is being translated. (See Torrey, *Composition and Date of Acts*, pp. 23 ff. and p. 60, for his reconstruction of the beginning of the Aramaic source; Dalman, *Worte Jesu*, pp. 21 f., Eng. trans. pp. 26 ff.; J. H. Moulton, *Grammar of N.T. Greek*, vol. i. p. 15; and J. W. Hunkin, 'Pleonastic ἀρχομαι in the N.T.' in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, 1924, pp. 390 ff., in which full references are given to the minor literature, dependent on Dalman.) The sentence does not mean that the Gospel tells the beginning of an activity of which Acts gives the end. (Cf. E. Meyer, *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums*, i. 34 note.)

2. until the day] ἀχρι ἧς ἡμέρας. Cf. Acts i. 22. It may be taken with ἤρξατο ποιεῖν τε καὶ διδάσκειν or directly connected with ἐποίησάμην. The English given above is about as ambiguous as the Greek.

instructed] The content of the ἐντολή is either not defined at all or not until vs. 4. Hence the Western text expanded it and explained the verb by καὶ ἐκέλευσε κηρύσσειν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, doubtless referring to Lk. xxiv. 48. For ἐνετείλατο or ἐντειλάμενος cf. Matt. xxviii. 20 (πάντα ὅσα ἐνετείλαμην ὑμῖν), and for κηρύσσειν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον as the content of the final commission to the apostles cf. Mk. xvi. 15 (κηρύξατε τὸ εὐαγγέλιον). The text of the whole passage is open to

considerable doubt (see Vol. III. pp. 256 ff.). If οὗς and ἀνελήμφθη be read, ἐντειλάμενος goes with ἀνελήμφθη. If the readings be preferred which omit both οὗς and ἀνελήμφθη, the meaning of ἐντειλάμενος ἐξελέξατο is 'chose and commanded.' If the Eusebian text (see Addit. Note 1) be followed ἐντειλάμενος goes with παρήγγειλε and the ἐντολή is defined as 'to remain in Jerusalem.' But in any case the close connexion with ἀχρι ἧς ἡμέρας shows that the reference is to Lk. xxiv. 48.

had been inspired to choose] It is very hard to translate διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου, as 'by the Holy Spirit' would translate διὰ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, and 'by a holy spirit' διὰ πνεύματός τινος ἁγίου. But it is easy to exaggerate the importance of the Greek article in such phrases. πνεῦμα ἁγίον is rare in the O.T. (see Addit. Note 9) but often used in the Rabbinic writings to describe the inspiration of the prophets. The preference shown in early Christian writings for putting the adjective last in the phrases πνεῦμα ἁγίον and πνεῦμα ἀκάθαρτον may reflect the Semitic order. The Greek makes it obscure whether the writer means that Jesus was inspired in his choice of the apostles (taking διὰ πν. ἁγ. with [οὗς] ἐξελέξατο), or in the commands which he gave them (taking it with ἐντειλάμενος).

The conception of Jesus as inspired by the Holy Spirit is primitive, and may be traced in the account of the Baptism (Mk. i. 9 ff. and parallels; cf. Lk. iv. 17 and Acts x. 38) and in Matt. xii. 28 (εἰ δὲ ἐν πνεύματι θεοῦ ἐγὼ ἐκβάλλω τὰ δαιμόνια), and, in curious contrast to any 'Messianic' doctrine, certainly belongs to the claim which Jesus publicly made for himself during his ministry (see Vol. I. pp. 285 ff.). Torrey ascribes the order of the words to the careful following of the Aramaic original. Wellhausen, on the other hand, regards διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου as a primitive interpolation, and thinks that the grammar of the whole passage is so un-Semitic as to show that it belongs to the Editor (*Noten*, pp. 1 f.).

many proofs, being visible to them for forty days, and speaking of the Kingdom of God, and lodging with them), and 4

3. proofs] *τεκμηρίους*, in logic 'demonstrative proof' as distinguished from *σημείον* and *εἰκός*, Aristot. *An. Pr.* 2. 27. 7; *Rhet.* 1. 2. 16; in argumentative language *τεκμήριον* δέ, 'now the proof is'; in medical Greek 'a clear symptom,' and in general use 'evidence,' cf. *Wisd.* v. 11, xix. 13; 3 *Macc.* iii. 24. Only here in N.T.

being visible] *ὄπτανόμενος* occurs only here in the N.T. In the LXX it is used (in some mss.) in *Num.* xiv. 14 of the appearance of God in the wilderness, in the longer recension of *Tobit* xii. 19 of the appearance of the archangel Raphael, and in 3 *Kings* viii. 8 of Solomon's temple. The last passage (*καὶ ὑπερείχον τὰ ἡγιασμένα . . . καὶ οὐκ ὤπτανοντο ἔξω*) shows that by itself and apart from its context it merely means 'was visible,' and that the etymological connexion with *ὄπτασις* cannot be pressed (cf. Zahn *ad loc.*). The passage in *Tobit* (*πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας ὤπτανόμην ὑμῖν καὶ οὐκ ἔφαγον οὐδὲ ἔπιον ἀλλὰ δρασιν ὑμεῖς ἐθεωρεῖτε*) was perhaps in Luke's mind both here and in *Acts* x. 41 (*συνεφάγομεν καὶ συνεπίομεν αὐτῷ κτλ.*, see note *ad loc.*), but *ὤπτανόμην* is peculiar to the longer text of *Tobit* (B), which may be due to a Christian reviser, influenced by *Acts*.

In the papyri *ὄπτανόμενος* is used with a negative of persons who cannot be found in P *Par* 49. 33, and P *Tebt* 24. 5 (both second century B.C.), and of God in the Paris magical papyrus, 3033 ff. (about 300 A.D.) *ὀρκίζω σε τὸν ὄπτανθέντα τῷ Ὁσραῇ ἐν στύλῳ φωτίνῳ καὶ νεφελῇ ἡμερίνῃ*.

It is thus not to be regarded as the passive of a frequentative form of the verb 'to see' but a deponent verb formed to take the active meaning 'appear' which had already attached itself to the aorist passive *ὤφθη* (cf. *Acts* ii. 3, vii. 30, 35, ix. 17, xiii. 31, xxvi. 16; *Luke* i. 11, ix. 31, xxiv. 34). It is equivalent to *ἐμφανῇ γενέσθαι* in x. 40 (cf. H. J. Cadbury, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1925, pp. 218 f.). The occurrence of the word in the magical papyrus is probably due, as the context shows, to *Num.* xiv. 14. Cf. also *Ecclus.* i. 10, *var. lect.*

days] *διὰ* with the genitive of time ordinarily means either (i.) 'after an interval of,' e.g. *Gal.* ii. 1, *Acts* xxiv. 17, and abundantly in Greek authors, or (ii.) 'throughout,' with a certain emphasis and usually with some word like *ὅλος* or *πᾶς* which makes this emphasis clear, e.g. *Lk.* v. 5, *Heb.* ii. 15 (abundant examples and a clear statement are given in *Stephanus, Thesaurus*, s.v.). (iii.) In a few familiar phrases like *διὰ νυκτός* (*Acts* xvi. 9) the emphatic sense of 'throughout' has been lost, but these are rare and it is sometimes difficult to know whether they ought not to be classified under (ii.). See *Stephanus*, and *Thayer-Grimm's Lexicon*, and cf. *Burton's* note on *Gal.* ii. 1. In *Acts* xiii. 31 the phrase is changed to *ὅς ὥφθη ἐπὶ ἡμέρας πλείους*, and the text of the Harcleus margin seems to have rendered both passages by the same Syriac, which would more naturally represent *ἐπὶ*, but this scarcely justifies Zahn in assuming it as a Greek variant in this verse.

Chrysostom says that in this passage *διὰ ἡμ. τεσσ.* means 'from time to time during forty days.' *οὐκ εἶπε τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας, ἀλλὰ δι' ἡμερῶν τεσσαράκοντα, ἐφίστατο γὰρ καὶ ἀφίπτατο πάλιν* (*Hom. in Act.* 1, p. 6 D). But he extracts this meaning from his knowledge of the facts as related by *Luke* and *John* rather than from the Greek.

Kingdom of God] See Vol. I. pp. 269 ff. and 330 ff. for the original meaning of this expression, and its later use as meaning the Christian Church. In *Acts* it is found in i. 3, viii. 12, xiv. 22, xix. 8, xxviii. 23, xxviii. 31, and in xx. 25 with an ellipse of *τοῦ θεοῦ*. In all these passages it may mean the Church, but in none is the earlier eschatological meaning decisively excluded by the context.

4. lodging] Three interpretations of *συναλιζόμενος* have been suggested:

(i.) *συναλιζόμενος* is from the verb *συναλίζειν*, 'to gather together' (connected with *ἀλής* (*ā*), 'crowded'), a not very common word, but found in Greek literature from *Herodotus* to *Theodoret*. The difficulty is that the word is nowhere found in the middle

voice, and can scarcely mean 'being gathered together with them.' Moreover, even if this interpretation were correct the aorist rather than the present would be expected.

(ii.) συναλιζόμενος is a middle form from συναλίζω meaning 'to eat salt together with,' and derived from ἀλίζω (ἄ), 'to salt.' This gives an excellent meaning, 'while he was eating with them' referring back to Luke xxiv. 42, and the tense causes no difficulty. There is no evidence for this meaning in the first and second centuries, but in Clem. *Hom.* xiii. 4 (repeated in the two *Epitomes*) Peter tells Mattidia that being a heathen she cannot eat with Christians: even relatives are separated; but if they be baptized, τότε δὴ αὐτοῖς καὶ συναλιζόμεθα. That this means 'eat together with' is confirmed by the parallel passage in the *Recogn.* vii. 29, "tunc cum eis cibum sumimus." Much less strong are the two other instances of the word usually quoted from literature, as distinct from the later glossaries which only catalogue an interpretation of Acts. (a) It has often been the custom of commentators to say that Origen quoted the word in the *Hexapla* from 'another' version (i.e. not Symmachus, Theodotion, Aquila or LXX) of Ps. cxli. 4 (LXX, cxl. 4) as a rendering of אכלנו, 'let me eat.' The ultimate source of this statement is Nobilius Flaminus, the sixteenth-century scholar, who in the notes to the Roman edition of 1587 quotes it from Chrysostom's commentary on the Psalms. But Field notes that in the edited text of Chrysostom the word is συναλισθῶ, not συναλισθῶ. Either Nobilius or the editors of Chrysostom made a mistake. It should be noted that Nobilius was writing before either of the two great printed texts of Chrysostom by Montfaucon and Savile. Was he quoting from a manuscript? It should be remembered that the text of Chrysostom greatly needs editing. In any case the confusion is interesting for its bearing on the view stated in the next paragraph that the difference between συναλίζομαι and συναλίζομαι is orthographical. (b) It is usually stated that in Manetho (ed. Kochly, p. 112) vi. 339 πῆμα λυγρῶ γαμέτη συναλιζόμενον κακόηθες implies this meaning,

because the *a* in συναλιζόμενον is short, but the context shows that the meaning is 'united in' and has no reference to eating salt, while the evidence from quantity is negligible in a fourth-century writer described by Kochly as remarkable for *metrorum ignorantia et ingenii stupore*. Torrey thinks that συναλιζόμενος represents an Aramaic ܢܚܪܐ, which meant originally 'to eat salt in company with' (cf. Ezra iv. 14). But it scarcely seems likely that a translator would have tried to represent the mere accidents of etymology. In versions and Fathers a rendering implying this meaning is frequent, but not the earliest. It is found in the Peshitto, Harclean, Bohairic, Armenian, Vulgate, and in Chrysostom *Hom.* 1 (p. 8 c), but not in Eusebius, or in Augustine. The strongest argument in its favour is the parallel in x. 41 συνεπάγομεν καὶ συνεπίομεν αὐτῷ μετὰ τὸ ἀναστῆναι αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν. Cf. Luke xxiv. 43.

(iii.) Possibly συναλιζόμενος is only an orthographical variant for συναλίζόμενος. According to Liddell & Scott the verbs ἀλίζω and αὐλίζω are often confounded, and the evidence of the scholiasts (quoted by Wettstein) shows that Greeks sometimes thought that ἀλίζω and αὐλίζω were identical. αὐλίζω meant originally to stay in the court of a house, and came to mean especially to 'pass the night'; it is common as a military term, 'to bivouac,' and seems to have weakened to simply 'lodge.' Cf. Prov. xxii. 24 μὴ ἴσθι . . . συναυλίζου, and Babrius 106. 6. Συναυλιζόμενος was read by Eusebius (*Quaest. ad Marinum*, see Addit. Note 1), and it, or συναλιζόμενος interpreted in the same sense, seems to have been the reading of Augustine and Ephrem. Thus though the weight of ms. evidence demands the printing of συναλιζόμενος, it must be rendered 'lodging with' or 'staying with,' the reading of Eusebius and the other authorities which read συναυλιζόμενος being regarded as an orthographical correction. On the whole this seems the most probable view. It has been fully expounded by H. J. Cadbury in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, xlv. (1926), pp. 310 ff.; note especially the evidence for the interchange of *av* and *a* in footnote 21.

See T. D. Woolsey, *Bibliotheca*

commanded them not to stay away from Jerusalem but to await the promise of the Father "which you heard from me, that John 5

Sacra, 1882, pp. 602 ff.; W. H. P. Hatch, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1911, pp. 123 ff., and C. R. Bowen, *ZNTW.*, 1912, pp. 247 ff., and *The Resurrection in the N.T.*, pp. 374 ff., but reference should also be made to Wettstein's comment, and to the material in Stephanus's *Thesaurus*.

not to stay away] *μη χωρίζεσθαι*. If the tense be pressed it means 'give up leaving Jerusalem,' and implies that to stay away was the apostles' intention, and probably that they were at the moment outside Jerusalem. This may be a weakened reminiscence of the Galilean episode (see Vol. II. p. 138), and in any case suggests that the place in which Jesus was staying with the apostles was outside the city. Cf. Eusebius, *Quaestiones ad Marinum*, Migne *P.G.* xxii. col. 1005, "Ἐνθεν ὁ Λουκᾶς ἐν ταῖς Πράξεσιν, ἐπεὶ πολλάκις ἐαυτὸν ἐδείκνυ τοῖς μαθηταῖς, ἐπιτηρεῖ λέγων, ὡς ἄρα δι' ἡμερῶν τεσσαράκοντα ὀπτανόμενος αὐτοῖς καὶ συναυλιζόμενος, τὰ περὶ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ θεοῦ παρεδίδου μαθήματα, παρήνει τε ὁρμᾶν εἰς τὴν Ἱερουσαλὴμ, κάκει κηρύττειν Ἰουδαίοις πρώτοις τὸν λόγον" μηδὲ πρότερον ἀναχωρεῖν τῆς πόλεως, ἀλλὰ περιμένειν τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν τοῦ Πατρὸς, περὶ ἧς μικρὸν ὕστερον διαληφόμεθα (74). And Chrysostom, *Hom.* 1, Πρῶτον αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν ἐξήγαγε, δεδοικότες ἔτι καὶ τρέμοντας, ἵνα μετὰ ἀδείας ἀκούσῃσι τῶν λεγομένων. Εἰτα, ἐπειδὴ ἤκουσαν, καὶ τεσσαράκοντα συνδιέτριψαν ἡμέρας, Παρήγγειλε μὴ ἀπὸ Ἱεροσολύμων χωρίζεσθαι, where *μη χωρίζεσθαι* clearly is equivalent to 'return to Jerusalem.' See Addit. Note 2.

In taking this view Eusebius and Chrysostom were doubtless influenced by their knowledge of Mark and Matthew, but their comments are interesting and show that to them *μη χωρίζεσθαι* means 'do not do as you are doing.'

The negative form of the sentence in itself suggests that Luke was aware of definitely contradicting the tradition of the appearances of Jesus distant from Jerusalem. How skillfully he makes the change may be seen by comparing the use of 'Galilee' in Mark xvi. 7 and Luke xxiv. 6. It

is a striking fact in this connexion that the only geographical distances given in Luke or Acts are two which indicate how near to Jerusalem were the appearances of the risen Jesus (a) at Emmaus (Luke xxiv.) and (b) on Olivet (Acts i.).

the promise, etc.] For the awkward change from indirect to direct narration cf. xxiii. 22. 'Which you heard from me' refers to Luke xxiv. 49 καὶ ἰδοὺ, ἐγὼ ἀποστέλλω τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν τοῦ πατρὸς μου ἐφ' ὑμᾶς, ὑμεῖς δὲ καθίστατε ἐν τῇ πόλει ἕως οὗ ἐνδύσηθε ἐξ ὕψους δύναμιν. That the ἐπαγγελία is the gift of the Spirit (recorded in Acts ii.) is shown by Acts ii. 33 τῇ δεξιᾷ οὖν τοῦ θεοῦ ὑψωθείς τὴν τε ἐπαγγελίαν τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου λαβὼν παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς, ἐσχέκεν κτλ. For the association of δύναμις and πνεῦμα see Luke i. 17, 35, iv. 14; Acts x. 38.

It would seem that the writer intends to represent the disciples as misunderstanding the 'promise.' Obviously the disciples connect the promise of the Spirit with the restoration of the Kingdom of Israel—a not unnatural confusion if the pouring out of the Spirit and the restoration of the Kingdom were both looked on as eschatological phenomena. They think that Jesus refers to the coming of the Davidic Messianic Kingdom. It is at least certain that the first disciples expected the Kingdom and that the Church came. This led to identifying the Church with the Kingdom; it also led to putting into the mouth of Jesus as instruction what the disciples really learnt only by experience. An exactly similar phenomenon is to be seen in the preaching to the Gentiles; the disciples came to this reluctantly and only by the light of experience, but once they had done so their conclusion was justified by being thrown back into the mouth of Jesus in the form of Matt. xxviii. 19 and Acts i. 8. (See H. Windisch, *Johannes und die Synoptiker* (1926), pp. 138 ff.)

5. that] The most natural sense of *ὅτι* is that it introduces a direct quotation of the words referred to. The absence of reference to John in

baptized with water but you will be baptized in Holy Spirit not many days after this."

6

So then, when they were assembled they asked him saying,

Luke xxiv. may not have prevented Luke from inserting one here. The passage is not so much a reference to Luke xxiv. as a rewriting of it. Elsewhere the words are ascribed to John, not to Jesus; but Luke, like many after him, is not incapable of ascribing quotations to the wrong source. He does the same in xi. 16. The alternative is to translate *ὅτι* by 'because'; but the meaning thus obtained seems rather forced.

you will be baptized] The promise of baptism with the Holy Spirit is first attributed to John the Baptist. It would be given by the one 'mightier than him,' who would 'come after him.' It is open to question whether by that he intended Elijah or the Messiah, but Christians interpreted it of the Messiah, Jesus. (Cf. Mark i. 6 ff. and the parallel passages.) The reception of the Spirit by the disciples at Jerusalem was in some circles interpreted as the fulfilment of this prophecy, and directly connected with Jesus. Experience then tended to give a new turn to their belief, in that whereas John's expectation was clearly that of a cleansing of the Chosen People first by Water, and afterwards by Fire and Spirit, in preparation for the coming of the Kingdom, the Christian view came more and more to regard the gift of the Spirit as an end in itself, not as part of the preparatory cleansing for the Kingdom.

In this passage, as in the Synoptic Gospels, baptism with Water is contrasted with and distinguished from baptism with the Spirit, but the two ideas soon coalesced and there emerges in Acts a Christian baptism with Water which is distinguished from that of John because it conveys the Spirit, rather than because it is Spirit-baptism instead of Water-baptism. The Spirit in baptism thus became something given, instead of the instrument of cleansing. The steps in the change are lost; but the result was that John's baptism in Water was

conflated in Christian practice with the belief that baptism conveyed the Spirit. See Vol. I. pp. 332 ff., the article on Baptism in Hastings' *Encycl. of Religion and Ethics*, and the note on viii. 16.

For the possibility that the original text was *Ἰωάννης μὲν ἐβάπτισεν ὕδατι, ὑμεῖς δὲ πνεύματι ἁγίῳ*, so that *βαπτισέτε* should be read instead of *βαπτισθήσεσθε*, see Vol. III. pp. 2, 4. If this view be adopted it is significant as providing a Lucan baptismal commission, analogous to Matt. xxviii. 19, of which the absence is otherwise very strange.

not many days] Blass thinks *οὐ μετὰ πολλὰς ταύτας ἡμέρας* is Latin, Torrey that it is Jewish Aramaic (Torrey, p. 6). It is true that, as Blass says, *ante hos quinque dies* is good Latin, but surely *non post multos hos dies* is not. Its equivalent is, however, apparently good Jewish Aramaic. In any case it is not good Greek, though somewhat reminiscent of the phrase in Exodus, *μετὰ δὲ τὰς ἡμέρας τὰς πολλὰς ἐκείνας* (Exod. ii. 23, iv. 18). Cf. Vol. II. pp. 43 f.

6-11. THE STORY OF THE ASCENSION. See Addit. Note 3.

6. so then] *μὲν οὖν*. The narrative of the *δευτέρος λόγος* begins with *οἱ μὲν οὖν*—a favourite formula of Acts in opening a new story which is nevertheless connected with what goes before. Cf. Acts i. 18; ii. 41; v. 41; viii. 25; ix. 31; xi. 19; xii. 5; xiii. 4; xv. 3, 30; xvi. 5; and contrast the different usage in other passages (e.g. xix. 38; xxv. 4, 11; xxviii. 5). (See especially the commentary of Rendall (1897), pp. 160 ff.)

they] Presumably the apostles mentioned above whose names are given in vs. 13. It would be grammatically possible to translate 'So then they who had come together,' but this, which would introduce a new body of disciples, is less in accord with Lucan usage (cf. Acts ii. 41; v. 41; viii. 25; xiii. 4; xv. 30; xxiii. 18).

“Lord, is it at this time that thou restorest the kingdom to Israel?” And he said to them, “No one can know times or seasons which the Father fixed by his own authority, but you will receive miraculous power, when the Holy Spirit is come upon you, and you will be my witnesses in Jerusalem, in all

that thou restorest, etc.] The text of the Western authorities is curious (see note, Vol. III. p. 4). Augustine reads *Si hoc tempore praesentaberis et quando regnum Israel?* (sermo 265). He explains that Jesus after the Resurrection was visible only to his followers, and they asked whether he would now make himself seen to every one. This is a not wholly incorrect expansion of the thought. The disciples interpret the reappearance of Jesus as a sign of the restoration of the Messianic Davidic Kingdom, but Jesus warns them that this is not its meaning. They will receive the Spirit, not as members of the Kingdom, but in order to be witnesses to Jesus.

The Lucan tendency is to change the centre of the preaching from the future coming of the Kingdom to the already accomplished life of Jesus. The position of the Galilean disciples was different from that of the Hellenistic Christians. The original hope of the disciples was that the Kingdom was at hand in the Apocalyptic sense, but the Hellenistic Christians, who in the end conquered the Empire, were preachers of the Lord Jesus, as having a present importance for each individual apart from the eschatological Kingdom in which he would ultimately reign. In Acts we have ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ and τὰ περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ side by side, but the latter is replacing the former.

7. no one can know] This is the Western reading; the Neutral and later text is ‘it is not yours to know’ (see Vol. III. p. 5). The Western reading is preferable because the paraphrast is unlikely to have ascribed ignorance to Jesus. Cf. Matt. xxiv. 36, where the oldest text reads (in agreement with Mark) περὶ δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκελευς . . . οὐδεὶς οἶδεν . . . οὐδὲ ὁ υἱός κτλ., and the later texts omit οὐδὲ ὁ υἱός. Luke omits Mark xiii. 32. Did he do so because he was preparing to use its content in this passage?

This is the first of a series of instances in which a motif in Mark is omitted by Luke in his parallel in the Gospel only to reappear in Acts. Cf. vi. 13 f., xii. 4.

On the words χρόνους—καιρούς see Milligan’s commentary on 1 Thess. v. 1. Probably, as in other cases of paronomasia, the combination had become stereotyped and the original distinction between the words was forgotten. The English ‘times and seasons’ is a fair equivalent.

by his own authority] ἐν means ‘by,’ ‘in the exercise of.’ Cf. Matt. xxi. 23 ἐν ποίᾳ ἐξουσίᾳ κτλ.

8. miraculous power] δύναμιν, the power which worked miracles on the disciples, and in turn enabled them to work miracles on others. This was the evidence which made them worthy witnesses. Cf. Luke i. 35, xxiv. 49. Few modern hypotheses have less ancient testimony in their favour than that miracles were not intended as evidence. On the contrary this was their main object, and therefore they were called σημεῖα. The ability to perform them was δύναμις, and by a usual form of Greek idiom the word in the plural (δυνάμεις) meant acts produced by this power. (Cf. 1 Cor. xii. 10.) Mk. xvi. 17 ff. is apparently an expansion of this promise of δύναμις to the disciples. σημεῖα δὲ τοῖς πιστεύουσιν ἀκολουθήσει ταῦτα ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι μου δαιμόνια ἐκβαλοῦσιν, γλωσσაῖς λαλήσουσι, καὶ ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ὄφεις ἀροῦσιν, κἂν θανάσιμόν τι πῶσι οὐ μὴ αὐτοὺς βλάβῃ, ἐπὶ ἀρρώστους χεῖρας ἐπιθήσουσιν καὶ καλῶς ἔξουσιν. It is noteworthy that a concrete example of each of these σημεῖα except that of drinking poison can be found in Acts, and that this is exemplified by the tradition that Justus Barsabbas did so (see note on i. 23).

witnesses] The word is found thirteen times in Acts, but only in Acts xxii. 20 can it mean ‘martyr,’ and even there ‘witness’ gives a

9 Judaea and Samaria, and to the end of the earth." And when he had said this he was lifted up and a cloud took him away from their eyes. And as they were gazing into heaven, as he was going, behold, two men stood by them in white garments who also said, "Men of Galilee, why do you stand looking into

perfectly good sense. (See Addit. Note 5.)

the end of the earth] In the LXX a common phrase for distant lands, especially in the prophets (cf. Is. xlix. 6, and many other passages), without any conscious reference to any one place. The fact that in 1 Clem. v. 7 τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως may mean Rome, and in Psalm. Sol. viii. 16 ἀπ' ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς is used of Pompey's coming from Rome, has no bearing on this verse.

This passage is the Lucan form of the Matthaean universal commission, "Go into all the world and make disciples of all the Gentiles." Both passages reflect the tendency to give the authority of Jesus to practices which the disciples were in reality driven to adopt only by stress of later circumstances. Both can be contrasted with Matt. x. 5, "Go not into the way of the Gentiles," and x. 23, "Ye shall not finish the cities of Israel until the Son of Man come." These can hardly be reconciled with the universal commission, or attributed to a special passing occasion, for both refer to the work to be accomplished before the Parousia. But far more decisive is the evidence of Acts itself; for if Jesus really commanded the apostles to preach to the Gentiles, would they have been so reluctant as Acts vi.-xv. proves that they were? (See Vol. I. pp. 317 ff.)

It is to be noticed that the promise in Matthew that Jesus will be with the disciples always (And lo! I am with you always, etc.) is replaced in Acts by the promise of the Spirit. For a similar but reverse change cf. Mark xiii. 11 οὐ γὰρ ἐστε ὑμεῖς οἱ λαλοῦντες ἀλλὰ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον with Luke xxi. 15 ἐγὼ γὰρ δώσω ὑμῖν στόμα καὶ σοφίαν.

9. cloud] The theory of an ascent or descent on a cloud was not uncommon. Cf. the story of Elijah (2 Kings ii. 11); the vision of the 'Son of Man' in Dan. vii. 13 ff.;

Enoch xxxix. 3; 1 Thess. iv. 17; Rev. i. 7; Mark xiii. 26, xiv. 62, and especially the account of the translation of Moses in Josephus, *Antiq.* iv. 8. 48 καὶ προσομιλοῦντες ἐτι, νέφους αἰφνίδιον ὑπὲρ αὐτὸν σπάντος ἀφανίζεται κατὰ τινος φάραγγος. The presence of a cloud at the end of Moses' life (whether assumption or burial) is attested also in an apocryphal work given in Fabricius, *Cod. Pseud. V.T.* ii. pp. 121 f. Unfortunately the passage where this event was described in the *Assumption of Moses* is not extant. It is likely that in Acts the detail of the cloud was due to the conventional use of it in traditions of ascensions (Charles thinks it may be due to the actual apocryphal *Assumption of Moses*) rather than to the equally stereotyped detail of the cloud at the *παρουσία*, for which of course the N.T. itself, following Daniel vii. 14, offers several proofs. The author of Acts says that the *παρουσία* will be 'in like manner.' Note the influence of this theory on the text (see Vol. III. p. 5).

10. white garments] White is the garb of angels. Cf. 2 Macc. xi. 8; Mark ix. 3; Hermas, *Vis.* iv. 2. 1, 3, 5; *Sim.* viii. 2, 3. The Greek is ἐσθήτη in the Western and Antiochian, but ἐσθήσεσι in the B-text. Examples of ἐσθήσεσι from MSS. of κοινή writers are given by W. Crönert, *Memoria Graeca Herculensis*, p. 173.

11. who] the Greek is οὗ καὶ. The more usual pronoun in Acts would be οἷτινες. Cf. Moulton, *Grammar of New Testament Greek*, and see especially Cadbury, 'The Relative Pronouns in Acts and Elsewhere' in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1923, pp. 150 ff., who shows that in the Greek of Acts the difference between *ὅς* and *ὅστις* has disappeared. The general rule is that the relative is declined, *ὅς*, *ἥτις*, *ὃ*, *οὗ* etc., *οἷτινες*, *αἷτινες*, *αἷ*, *ὧν* etc. The exceptions to this usage can usually be explained as due to euphony.

the sky? This Jesus, who was taken up from you into the sky, shall come in the same way as you saw him going into the sky."

Then they returned to Jerusalem from the Mount called ¹² Olive-orchard which is near Jerusalem a Sabbath's journey distant. And when they entered they went up to the attic where ¹³ they were lodging, both Peter and John and James and Andrew, Philip and Thomas, Bartholomew and Matthew, James the son of Alphaeus, and Simon the zealot, and Judas the son of James. These were all together attending the Place of prayer ¹⁴

12-14. THE RETURN TO JERUSALEM.
See Addit. Note 2.

12. Olive-orchard] See Addit. Notes 3 and 35.

Sabbath's journey] The Rabbinical law of a journey on the Sabbath was based on Exodus xvi. 29, "abide ye every man in his place, let no man go out of his place on the seventh day," interpreted by Numbers xxxv. 5, which defines the suburbs of cities of the Levites as 2000 cubits measured from the city walls in every direction. Thus 2000 cubits or 6 stadia outside a town was a Sabbath day's journey. So, too, Origen, *De Princip.* iv. 17 (cf. Cramer's *Catena*, p. 10), and Epiphanius, *Haer.* lxvi. 81. (See also Strack and Billerbeck, ii. pp. 590 ff.) This is a little more than half a mile. This agrees as to the distance of Olivet from Jerusalem with Josephus, who, however, varies a little, as in *B.J.* v. 2. 3 he gives 6 stadia, and in *Antiq.* xx. 8. 6 only 5 stadia. See also Mishna, *Erubin*.

distant] ἔχον. Blass wishes to emend to ἀπέχον, but in Ps. Arrian, *Periplus Maris Eryth.* §§ 4, 37, 51 (ed. K. Müller, *Geogr. Gr. min.* i.), ἔχειν is found three times in this sense in the ms., though the editors always emend it to ἀπέχειν in the printed text.

13. attic] This translation is too strong, and 'upper room' is too weak. The collection of quotations by Wettstein goes to show that the custom was frequent of subletting an upper room, and that it was the accommodation of the poor. Cf. for instance the Jewish tract *Sabb.* f. 21. 2, "There are three whose life is no life . . . he who lives in an upper room." On the other hand there is

rabbinic evidence that an upper room (ע"ב) was traditionally the study and the room for prayer of a Rabbi (see Strack, ii. p. 594). The room intended is probably the ἀνάγαιον of Luke xxii. 12. One of Zahn's most attractive combinations is his suggestion, based on Acts xii. 12, that this upper room was in the house of Mary the mother of Mark. Certainly it would explain much if the house to which Jesus went on his arrival in Jerusalem was the home of the earliest evangelist.

lodging] The papyri show that καταμένειν is used of temporary residence (see Moulton and Milligan, and cf. Eusebius, *H.E.* i. 13. 11).

zealot] Probably a Lucan anachronism (see Vol. I. p. 425). On the whole list see Addit. Note 6.

14. together] See note on v. 12.

Place of prayer] τῇ προσευχῇ. This is usually explained as the public prayers of the Jewish service in the temple, and reference is made to Luke xxiv. 53 καὶ ἦσαν διὰ παντὸς ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ εὐλογοῦντες τὸν θεόν, though Origen (*Contra Celsum*, viii. 22) takes it as meaning private prayer in the 'upper room.' The presence of the article rather suggests the third possibility that προσευχή is a Place of Prayer or Synagogue, as it so often is in Hellenistic-Jewish Greek. This meaning is almost certain in Acts xvi. 13 and 16, and not improbable in Acts vi. 4. Cf. τῷ Rom. xii. 12 and Col. iv. 2. It seems less probable (Cadbury, *Style and Literary Method of Luke*, p. 113) in Luke vi. 12, and in Luke xxii. 45 ἀναστὰς ἀπὸ τῆς προσευχῆς seems to mean 'arising from his prayer.'

with certain women and Mary the mother of Jesus, and with his brothers.

5

And in these days Peter rose in the midst of the brethren and

The rendering 'Place of Prayer' might be supported by the use of *προσκαρτερεῖν*, see *CIG.* ii. p. 1005 add. n. 2114 bb (dated A.D. 81), where the emancipation of Jewish slaves is limited by the condition *χωρὶς εἰς τὴν προσευχὴν θωπεῖας τε καὶ προσκ[αρτερ]ήσεως* (see Schürer, *GJV.* ed. 4, iii. pp. 23 and 93), but cf. also Acts ii. 42 where *προσκαρτερεῖν ταῖς προσευχαῖς* seems to mean 'attend the services of prayer.' For the general use of *προσ-ευχή* = synagogue cf. Schürer, *GJV.* ii. pp. 517 ff. and see Vol. I. p. 161, and for the probability that the Christians in Jerusalem at first formed themselves into such a Synagogue or 'Keneseth' see Vol. I. p. 304. Cf. also *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, ii. p. 541; *Expository Times*, xix. p. 41; Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, s.v., and Moulton and Milligan, *Vocabulary*, s.v.

with certain women] *γυναῖσι*. The absence of the article is noticeable and can scarcely be reproduced in translation. It may be an abbreviated form of the Attic phrase *μετὰ γυναικῶν καὶ τέκνων*, 'with women and children' (see Blass *ad loc.*). If so, it is practically equivalent to 'with their wives.' Codex Bezae took this view and expanded the phrase to *σὺν ταῖς γυναῖσι καὶ τέκνοις* (cf. Acts xxi. 5 where the Tyrian Christians accompany Paul to his ship *σὺν γυναῖσι καὶ τέκνοις*). There is nothing impossible in this view if in 1 Cor. ix. 5 Paul means that the apostles used to take their wives with them on their journeys. It is slightly supported also by the *καὶ* before *Μαριάμ*, which suggests that she was not one of the *γυναῖκες*, and thus that *γυναῖκες* means 'wives.' Contrast Luke viii. 2. The more usual interpretation (which would, however, surely require *ταῖς γυναῖσι*) is that the women are those mentioned in Luke viii. 2 and xxiv. 10. In this case their names would include Mary Magdalen, Joanna the wife of Chuza, and Mary the mother (?) of James. Later traditions added to these Salome from the other gospels,

and sometimes said that Joanna was Peter's wife, apparently distinguishing her from the wife of Chuza. There was also much confusion as to the 'other Mary.' For the texts of these traditions see Th. Schermann, *Prophetarum vitae fabulosae*, pp. 193 f. Unless this passage is derived directly from a source the reference to women may be another instance of Luke's emphasis on the place and participation of women, while the allusion to Jesus' brothers accords, obscurely to be sure, with his tendency to mention by anticipation someone who is to be more prominent later, in this case James (cf. xii. 17, xv. 13).

Mary] The spelling of this name varies in the N.T. between *Μαριάμ*, the transliterated form of מַרְיָם, and *Μαρία*, a Graecized form. For this name Josephus writes *Μαριάμνη*, *Μαριάμμη*, or *Μαριάμη*, and the LXX *Μαριάμ*. There is apparently no significance in these variations. See J. B. Mayor on 'Mary' in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*; J. H. Moulton, *Grammar of N.T. Greek*, ii. pp. 144 f.; O. Bardenheuer, 'Der Name Maria' in *Bibl. Stud.* i. (1895) 1, and R. Seeberg, 'Die Herkunft der Mutter Jesu,' in *Festschrift für Bonwetsch*, 1918, pp. 13 ff.

his brothers] For a discussion of the relationship implied cf. J. B. Lightfoot, *Galatians*, pp. 252 ff., and J. H. Ropes, *Epistle of James*, pp. 53 ff.

15-26. THE SPEECH OF PETER AND THE ELECTION OF MATHIAS. See Addit. Note 6.

15. in these days] A well-known formula in the later lectionaries, but it is absurd to see lectionary influence in it here.

rose] *ἀναστὰς*. Dalman, *Words of Jesus*, p. 23, lists this with *ἐγερθεῖς* among the Semitisms of the gospels (not in John). He condemns Blass for classing it as an Aramaism (*Evangelium secundum Lucam*, 1897, p. xxiii) as it "is a well-established Old Testament idiom," but he admits that the same mode of speech is quite

said (and there was a crowd of persons amounting to about a hundred and twenty), "Brethren, it was necessary for the passage to be fulfilled which the Holy Spirit spake beforehand by the mouth of David concerning Judas, who was guide to those who arrested Jesus, for he was numbered among us and obtained the rank of this ministry." (Now this man purchased a

possible in Aramaic. It can quite well be explained as due to the influence of the LXX.

brethren] ἀδελφῶν = Christians, as frequently, but coming in this sense immediately after its use as 'brothers of the Lord' it is very harsh and this led to the substitution of μαθητῶν in the Western text. For the various names for Christians see Addit. Note 30.

persons] ὀνομάτων in the sense of persons is found in Num. i. 18 κατὰ γενέσεις αὐτῶν, κατὰ πατριὰς αὐτῶν, κατὰ ἀριθμὸν ὀνομάτων αὐτῶν. Cf. Num. i. 20, xxvi. 53, 55; Rev. iii. 4, xi. 13; Ignatius, *Smyrn.* 13. 2; *Polyc.* 8. 3. (See further Moulton and Milligan, *Vocabulary*, s.v., and Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, pp. 196 ff.)

amounting to] This is a customary meaning of ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ in papyri. See also note on ii. 47.

a hundred and twenty] It can scarcely be an accident that this number is that of the Twelve multiplied by 10. It is remarkable that *Sanhedr.* 1. 6 enacts that the number of officers in a community shall be a tenth of the whole, and that 120 is the smallest number which can hold a 'small Sanhedrin.'

16. Brethren] ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί is a Greek, not a Hebrew or Aramaic formula. The ἄνδρες adds nothing and can hardly be translated, but it is a question whether ἀδελφοί ought not to be translated 'Christians'; it certainly is the name of the members of the society. See Addit. Note 30.

it was necessary] The passage is that quoted in vs. 20 (Pss. lxi. 25 and cix. 8), and the tense of ἔδει in ἔδει πληρωθῆναι τὴν γραφὴν shows that the meaning is that the prophecy has been already fulfilled. The election of a new member of the Twelve is not regarded as the fulfilment but is a consequence of it and is led up to by

the δεῖ οὖν of vs. 21. Misunderstanding this, and taking Peter's meaning to be 'We must fulfil the prophecy by the election of a successor,' led to the change in the Western text of ἔδει to δεῖ.

It is, however, very doubtful whether the fulfilment was seen in the death of Judas and the consequent emptiness of his house, or in the vacancy of his office as one of the Twelve. The first quotation (from Ps. lxi.) seems to point in one direction, the second (from Ps. cix.) in the other. With this question is also bound up that of whether the account of the death of Judas is part of the speech or a note added by the writer. Probability is usually thought to favour the latter view, adopted in the text. If so, the vacancy in the office ought to be the fulfilment of the prophecy, and the suspicion is raised that the original text only quoted Ps. cix. 8. But speeches in ancient literatures were far more devices for illustrating the narrative and for commenting on it than reports of what was actually said. It is very unlikely that Peter really inserted an account of the death of Judas in his speech, but it is not impossible that Luke or his source did so. A modern writer would have used a footnote. Cf. Vol. II. p. 277 note 2, and see Addit. Notes 4 and 32.

passage] ἡ γραφή is 'a passage of scripture,' 'a text'; Scripture in the modern sense is αἱ γραφαί.

17. obtained the rank] This is about the meaning of ἐλαχεν τὸν κλῆρον. Cf. Eus. *H.E.* v. 1. 10 ἀνελήφθη καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς τὸν κλῆρον τῶν μαρτύρων. κλῆρος originally meant 'a lot,' and then either a place or an office obtained by lot. Thus κληρωτός was the name of a special class of officials at Athens, and ὁ κλῆρος came to be a usual name for officials in the Christian Church,

farm with the reward of his wickedness and, becoming prone, burst in the midst and all his bowels gushed out. And this became known to all who lived in Jerusalem so that that farm was called in their language Akeldama, that is, 'Farm of blood.') "For it is written in the Book of Psalms, 'Let his homestead be

Ps. lxix. 25.

the sense of 'lot' being quite forgotten. There is no evidence that it ever meant 'vote,' but see note on i. 26.

18. farm] An 'estate in the country,' or 'a farm,' is the meaning of χωρίον rather than a 'field.' Cf. Thuc. i. 106; Plat. *Legg.* 844 B; Lysias, *Or.* vii. 4; Matt. xxvi. 36; Mk. xiv. 32; Acts xxviii. 7, and especially Polyc. *Martyr.* 7. 1 (κάκειθεν δὲ ῥδύνατο εἰς ἕτερον χωρίον ἀπελθεῖν in which ἕτερον χωρίον refers back to ἀγρίδιον [v. 1], ἕτερον ἀγρίδιον [vi. 1]), and note that in Matt. xxvi. 36 the rendering of χωρίον is *villa*.

reward of his wickedness] This translation is natural and fits the context. But the frequent use of (τῆς) ἀδικίας as equivalent to an adjective in the LXX (following the Semitic idiom) and in Luke xvi. 8, 9, xviii. 6 (cf. Acts viii. 23), and the occurrence in 2 Peter ii. 13, 15 of precisely the phrase μισθὸς ἀδικίας suggests that here also μισθὸς τῆς ἀδικίας may simply mean 'unjust reward.'

becoming prone] Some such phrase is the only possible English for πρηνής γενόμενος. πρηνής means 'prone,' and in the various passages in which it may properly be rendered 'headlong' the sense is derived from its association with some verb which means 'to throw.' The clearest instance in almost contemporary Greek is 3 Macc. v. 50 and vi. 23. The first of these passages describes the Jews 'casting themselves down' on their faces (πρηνεῖς . . . ῥίψαντες ἑαυτοὺς) in supplication; they remain thus while Eleazar prays; and in the second passage the king takes pity seeing them waiting for death on their faces (συνιδὼν πρηνεῖς πάντας εἰς τὴν ἀπόλειαν).

But though the translation be clear, the meaning is obscure. Why should 'becoming prone' lead to rupture? It is therefore conceivable that πρηνής has some other sense, and F. H. Chase and others have tried to find in it a

medical term meaning 'swollen,' but without much success (see Addit. Note 4). Torrey thinks that the Aramaic source read ܠܗܝܝܐ = 'and he fell,' and implies suicide (see Torrey, *Composition and Date of Acts*, p. 24). The difficulty is to explain why so simple an Aramaic phrase was rendered by so clumsy Greek. It is also not impossible, though unprovable, that the writer was thinking of the κατὰ γῆν γενόμενος in the death of Antiochus Epiphanes (2 Macc. ix. 8), perhaps combined with Wisdom iv. 19 (ῥήξει . . . πρηνεῖς). The intimate association of the language of Acts with 2 Macc. is shown in Vol. II. pp. 73 ff.

19. Akeldama] Ἀχελδαμάχ. As χ represents κ, and seems to be used in transliteration (cf. Sirach for Sira) to show that the word is indeclinable (see Strack, i. p. 1029), this may represent ܐܬܪܐ ܠܚܝܬ meaning 'field of blood'; but another transliteration suggested by Klostermann is ܐܬܪܐ ܠܥܝܢ which means 'field of sleep' and is used, like κοιμητήριον (cemetery), for a burial-place. According to Matthew this was the use made of the field called the 'field of blood'; Klostermann therefore thinks that ܐܬܪܐ ܠܥܝܢ was the original form, and that the meaning 'field of blood' was a later etymology manufactured by Christians in connexion with the death of Judas (see his *Probleme im Aposteltexte*, pp. 1 ff.). But was there ever a word ܥܝܢ 'sleep'? and is the phrase ܐܬܪܐ ܠܥܝܢ ever really used for a cemetery?

20. written] The quotation is inaccurate. In the LXX Ps. lxix. 25 reads γεννηθῆτω ἡ ἔπαυλις αὐτῶν ἡρημωμένη, καὶ ἐν τοῖς σκηνώμασιν αὐτῶν μὴ ἔστω ὁ κατοικῶν. This also agrees with the Hebrew. In the second quotation (from Ps. cviii. 8) the text agrees with the LXX except that Acts reads λαβέτω for λάβου.

homestead] This is the usual meaning of ἔπαυλις in papyri. In the

s. cix. 8.

desolate and let there be none that dwells in it,' and 'let another take his overseership.' Therefore it is necessary that of the 21 men who came together with us in all the time in which the Lord Jesus went in and out among us, beginning from the 22 baptism of John until the day when he was taken up from us,—that one of these become with us a witness of his resurrection." And they put forward two, Joseph called Barsabbas who was 23 surnamed Justus, and Matthias. And they prayed and said, 24

intention of the writer of Acts it seems to refer to the estate which Judas bought rather than to his office as an apostle, though it is conceivable that there is a double allusion. It is, however, possible that this quotation was added along with the inserted note of the writer on the death of Judas, and was not part of the original account of the speech of Peter.

21. **went in and out**] The expression is apparently Semitic. Cf. ix. 28; Num. xxvii. 17; Deut. xxviii. 6, xxxi. 2; 1 Sam. xviii. 13, 16, xxix. 6; 2 Sam. iii. 25; 1 Kings iii. 7; 2 Chron. i. 10; John x. 9.

22. **beginning from**] The Greek ἀρχάμενος is redundant and unidiomatic. Doubtless it represents the Aramaic idiom 'from (מן) . . . to (עד)' (see Torrey, pp. 25 ff.), but whether it be due to the translation of a source or is 'Biblical Greek,' is doubtful. Cf. Matt. xx. 8; Luke xxiii. 5, xxiv. 27, 47; Acts x. 37; and see note on i. 1. In any case the participle is probably not to be taken as agreeing with Ἰησοῦς, but as a nominative absolute that has become adverbial.

the baptism of John] Either 'the time when John was baptizing' or 'the baptism of Jesus by John.' In this context the latter is preferable — 'from his Baptism to his Ascension.' But the parallel in x. 37 (ἀρχάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας μετὰ τὸ βάπτισμα ὃ ἐκήρυξεν Ἰωάννης) suggests the former. Cf. xiii. 24 and xviii. 25.

23. **put forward**] According to this text the assembled community nominated two of the number; but according to the Western text Peter made the nomination. This small but

important variant may imply a different theory of church government.

Barsabbas] Either בר שבת, a shortened form for שבת, 'son of the Sabbath,' see Dalman, *Gramm. d. jüd.-paläst. Aram.* p. 143, or בר שכא, 'son of the aged.' In the latter case the doubled -ββ-, if correct, is due to the Greek tradition. Codex Bezae and some Latin mss. read *Barnabas*, but it is doubtful whether this is the oldest Western text. In Acts xv. 22 another Barsabbas is mentioned, named Judas, and there Codex Bezae reads *Barabbas*.

Justus] Presumably a Latin name (cf. the historian, Justus of Tiberias). Papias is quoted by Philip of Side as referring to Barsabbas: Παπίας ὁ εἰρημένος ιστόρησεν ὡς παραλαβὼν ἀπὸ τῶν θυγατέρων Φιλίππου ὅτι Βαρσαβᾶς ὁ καὶ Ἰούστος δοκιμαζόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ἀπίστων ἰὼν ἐχίδνης πῶν ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀπαθῆς διεφυλάχθη. (For the discussion of this fragment see de Boor, *TU.* v. 2, p. 170 f.) The same tradition is referred to Papias in Eus. *H.E.* iii. 39. 9.

On the custom among Jews of bearing a Gentile name as well as a Jewish see Strack, ii. 712. The Gentile name often resembled the Jewish, Jason for Jesus (Josephus, *Antiq.* xii. 5. 1), Paul for Saul. One of the examples cited from the rabbis notes that the twelve patriarchs in Egypt did not change their names, Reuben to Rufus and (as here) Joseph to Justus, etc. Compare 'Jesus which is called Justus,' Col. iv. 11, and see Lightfoot's note on this passage. For Judas called Barsabbas see Acts xv. 22.

Matthias] A shortened form of *Martha* = מרתה 'the gift of Yahweh.' There is no trustworthy

“Thou, Lord, the knower of the hearts of all men, show which one thou didst choose, of these two, to take the place of this ministry and apostleship from which Judas transgressed to go to his own place.” And they gave lots for them and the lot fell on Matthias and he was voted in with the twelve apostles.

tradition about him: Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* iv. 6. 35) identifies him with Zacchaeus, and the *Clementine Recognitions* (i. 60) with Barnabas. The Old Syriac text (referred to by Aphraates, *Hom.* 4, ed. Wright, p. 65) and the Syriac text of Eusebius (*H.E.* i. 12. 3, ii. 1. 1, iii. 39. 10, etc.) have the strange reading Thulmai (=Tholomaeus or Ptolemy) instead of Matthias. There seems no other trace of this Tholomaeus in Christian literature. There is a lacuna at this point in Ephrem's commentary, and the Armenian catena has a passage which though labelled 'Ephrem' is of a different origin. Zahn thinks that the original text was *Μαθθίαν τὸν καὶ Πτολεμαῖον* or some such phrase, to balance the double name of Barsabbas (see, Zahn, pp. 62 f.).

24. they prayed] The African Latin reads 'he prayed.' See note on vs. 26. For the attribution of a prayer or a speech to more than one person cf. xxi. 20.

Lord] The epithet *καρδιογνώστα* suggests that this refers to Jehovah, but it is used in *Apost. Const.* iii. 7. 8 of Christ, and the apostles had been chosen by Jesus 'through the Holy Spirit' (i. 2), and therefore the use of the same word (*ἐξελέξω*) for the choice of a substitute for Judas may indicate that Jesus is intended. Such passages as Acts ix. 14, 21, xxii. 16, vii. 59, 60, xiv. 23, show that the name of Jesus was invoked by his followers, and that he was regarded as able to help them; but it is doubtful whether they prove that he was prayed to in the same way as God. The invocation of Jesus by Jewish Christians may at first have been parallel to the later Christian invocation of saints, and the word 'Lord' is not in itself decisive (see Addit. Note 29 and cf. Vol. I. pp. 408 ff.).

knower of the hearts] *καρδιογνώστης* is found chiefly in Christian liturgical

use: *Hermas, Mand.* iv. 3. 4; *Acta Pauli et Theclae* 24; *Apost. Const.* ii. 24. 6; iii. 7. 8; iv. 6. 8; vi. 12. 4 (cf. Didasc. *ad loc.*); viii. 5. 6. Cf. *Clem. Alex. Strom.* v. 14, 96, where Thales is said to have interpreted the word, . . . *καὶ τὸ καρδιογνώστην λέγεσθαι πρὸς ἡμῶν ἀντικρυς ἐρμηνεύει. ἐρωτηθεὶς γὰρ τοι ὁ Θάλης . . . εἰ λανθάνει τὸ θεῖον πράσσειν τι ἄνθρωπος, καὶ πῶς, εἶπεν, ὅς γε οὐδὲ διανοοῦμενος;*

25. his own place] Cf. Ignatius, *Magn.* v. 1, and the similar phrase (in a good sense) *τὸν ὀφειλόμενον τόπον* in Polycarp, *Philipp.* ix. 2, 1 Clem. v. 4.

26. gave lots] In view of the parallels in the LXX and of the large part played by the casting of lots in arranging the Temple service (see Strack, ii. p. 596) this passage can hardly be translated otherwise. Cf. 1 Chron. xxvi. 14. The method employed by the Jews was to put the names written on stones into a vessel and shake it until one fell out. But the proper verb would be *ἐβαλον*, and *ἔδωκαν* does not fit into the picture. It is possible, therefore, that the meaning may be 'gave their votes' (cf. *συνκατεψηφίσθη*, and the parallel in Esther ix. 24 *καθὼς ἔθετο ψήφισμα καὶ κλῆρον ἀφανίσαι αὐτοῦς* where *κλήρος* can hardly mean 'lot'). This was probably the view of the maker of the Western text, which changes *ἔστησαν* to *ἔστησεν* so as to represent Peter as acting for the assembly in choosing the two candidates and in praying, but does not also change *ἔδωκαν* to *ἔδωκε*. Apparently his theory was that the candidates were selected by Peter and the choice between them made by vote of the community. Hence he left *ἔδωκαν* but changed *κλήρους αὐτοῖς* to *κλήρους αὐτῶν*. But the use of *ἔδωκαν* may be a Hebraism,—a literal rendering of *לָּקַח*.

twelve] Or possibly 'eleven,' see Vol. III. p. 10.

And towards the completion of the 'Weeks' all were together 2

1-40. THE GIFT OF THE SPIRIT ON THE DAY OF PENTECOST. This is the beginning of the complex of narratives which Harnack and others attribute to the Jerusalem source B (J^b). It contains ii. 1-40, followed by a summary (vss. 41-47) which may be editorial, and is possibly continued in iv. 36-v. 11 and v. 17-42. See p. 31, Vol. II. pp. 139-147 and Addit. Note 12 for the characteristics of J^b, and its differentiation from J^a. For the gift of the Spirit see Addit. Notes 9 and 10.

1. the 'Weeks'] This translates the intention rather than the Greek of the writer. ἐν τῷ συμπληροῦσθαι τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς πεντηκοστῆς can be translated only 'at the completion of the day of Pentecost.' But this is impossible, for vs. 15 says that the day was only beginning. The consequent difficulty has been treated at length in many commentaries, but most decisively by J. H. Ropes in the *Harvard Theological Review*, xvi. (1923), pp. 168 ff. He shows that συμπληροῦσθαι is a Semitism found in the LXX and N.T. to indicate the completion of a period, and that the aorist and imperfect appear to be used without any difference (cf. Burton, *Moods and Tenses*, § 109). But ἡ ἡμέρα τῆς πεντηκοστῆς is inappropriate for use with this verb, because it denotes a point of time rather than a period. ἡ πεντηκοστή is good Hellenistic Greek for the Hebrew Feast of Weeks (cf. Tobit ii. 1; 2 Macc. xii. 31 f.; Josephus, *Antiq.* iii. 10. 6; xiv. 13. 4; xvii. 10. 2; *B.J.* i. 13. 3; ii. 3. 1; vi. 5. 3). The addition of ἡμέρα is probably due to Luke's predilection for such phrases; he uses, apparently incorrectly, ἡ ἡμέρα τῶν ἀζύμων in Luke xxii. 7, and alone among the writers of the N.T. uses the O.T. phrase ἡ ἡμέρα τοῦ σαββάτου. If Torrey's hypothesis of an Aramaic source be correct he may have been translating כַּעֲשֵׂה (see Torrey, p. 28), but in any case he was thinking of the Weeks and their culmination in the Feast.

The only point at which Ropes's argument seems to me open to question concerns the difference between the aorist and imperfect. This point does not seriously affect the meaning here, but I think that a com-

parison of the passages in Luke and Acts (Luke i. 57, ii. 21, 22, ix. 51, Acts vii. 23, xiii. 25, and xxi. 27) suggests that when Luke wished to say 'at the expiration of a period' he used the aorist, and when he wished to say 'towards the completion of a period' he used the imperfect. In spite of Ropes's warning that Luke ix. 51 is too obscure to be used, I think it means 'towards the completion of the period closed by the Feast of Weeks.' This view was perhaps taken by Chrysostom (*Hom.* iv.), though the exact text of his comment is unfortunately doubtful. The printed text reads τοῦτέστιν, οὐ πρὸ τῆς πεντηκοστῆς, ἀλλὰ περὶ αὐτὴν, ὡς εἰπεῖν τὴν πεντηκοστήν. But there is a variant in the mss. which omits the οὐ, and it is probable that this is the preferable text. In any case Chrysostom seems to be struggling between his sense that the Greek means 'just before the day of Pentecost' and his consciousness that ecclesiastical propriety rather indicated a feast day for the gift of the Spirit.

The variant reading 'in the days of Pentecost' found only in Latin and Syriac is certainly wrong (see Vol. III. pp. 10 f.), and due to the later Christian practice of using Pentecost to mean the period of fifty days after Easter. This practice is reflected in the comment of Gregory of Nyssa, *Oratio de Spiritu Sancto*, Migne, *P.G.* xlvi. col. 697 Σήμερον γὰρ κατὰ τὴν ἐτήσιον τοῦ ἔτους περίοδον τῆς πεντηκοστῆς συμπληρουμένης, κατὰ τὴν ὥραν ταύτην, εἶπε περὶ τὴν τρίτην ὥραν τῆς ἡμέρας ἐσμέν, ἐγένετο ἡ ἀνεκδιήγητος χάρις.

The institution of the Feast of Weeks is described in Levit. xxiii. 15 ff., "And ye shall count unto you from the morrow after the sabbath, from the day that ye brought the sheaf of the wave offering, seven sabbaths shall there be complete, even unto the morrow after the seventh sabbath shall ye number fifty days." Cf. Deut. xvi. 9. There was difference of opinion among the Jews as to the reckoning of 'the Weeks.' The ordinary

2 at the same place. And there was from the sky a sudden noise
as of a violent breeze blowing, and it filled the whole house
3 where they were seated. And there appeared tongues distributed
among them, as if of fire, and it sat on each one of them,

view, followed by Josephus, Philo, and Johanan ben Zakkai, held that for this purpose the 15th of Nisan was 'a sabbath' and reckoned the 16th as the day intended by Levit. xxiii. 16, 'the day after the sabbath.' The Boethusians (see Vol. I. p. 117) held that Sabbath meant sabbath in the ordinary sense and reckoned accordingly. It is, however, very improbable that Boethusian interpretations affected Acts (see Strack, ii. pp. 598 f., and G. B. Gray, *Sacrifice in the O.T.* pp. 332 ff.).

If the ordinary Jewish view be held in Acts, on what day of the week was the gift of the Spirit? If the Crucifixion was on Nisan 15, and—as all the gospels imply—the day of the week was a Friday, the Feast of Weeks was on a Sabbath. If the Crucifixion was on Nisan 14, as John and possibly Luke suggest, the Feast of Weeks was on a Sunday. This might have some bearing on the Christian custom of observing Pentecost on a Sunday, but it is very improbable, as the facts are in any case explained by the tendency to put the great festivals on Sundays; cf. Easter, and the Quartodeciman controversy, which ended in the Christian observance of Easter on a Sunday, not on the day of the Jewish Passover. (See Zahn, p. 67.)

all] Does this mean all the Christians or all the apostles? Wendt, Blass, and others, following Chrysostom (*Hom.* iv.), think that it refers to the 120 of i. 15. Zahn goes farther and argues that women were excluded from the choice of Matthias but not from the gift of the Spirit. On the other hand the promise of the Spirit in i. 4 f. is to the apostles, and in ii. 14 Peter stands up with the other apostles as though it were on them that the Spirit had descended.

2. filled the whole house] Ephrem (see Vol. III. p. 397) says that the house was filled with fragrance. Had he a variant in the text or was he influenced by Is. vi. 4? (See H. J. Cadbury, "The

Odor of the Spirit at Pentecost," *J.B.L.* xlvii., 1928, pp. 237-256.)

house] Commentators dispute whether this was a private house or part of the temple, but there is nothing in the text to settle the point, and *οἶκος* by itself means house. See note on i. 13.

3. tongues] The word is perhaps chosen because of the later phenomena of glossolalia. It is possible, however, that 'tongues of fire' was a fixed phrase as with us 'tongues of flame.' See Enoch xiv. 9, 10, 15 (γλώσσαι πυρός). The author emphasizes the external character of the Spirit's manifestation as in vs. 2 ἡχος ὥσπερ φερομένης πνοῆς βίας, Luke iii. 22 σωματικῶς εἶδει ὡς περιστεράν. The use of ὥσπερ κτλ. is not to deny the reality of the appearance but to warn the reader that the natural object named does not give an exact description. Fire about the head occurs in both Gentile and Jewish thought as a mark of supernatural favour (see Wendt and Strack *ad loc.*).

distributed] διαμεριζόμεναι can hardly mean 'cloven.' Perhaps originally the list of nations in verses 9 ff. was exactly twelve as Harnack suggested. In that case each apostle spoke one of the languages (but see note on ii. 9). Compare the use of the verb in the Magic Papyrus of Paris 574, lines 3056 ff., ὀρκίζω σε τὸν καταδείξαντα τὰς ἑκατὸν τεσσαράκοντα γλώσσας καὶ διαμερίσαντα τῷ ἰδίῳ προστάγματι. This papyrus is certainly of Jewish origin and reminds us of the Jewish legend (Philo, *De decal.* 9 and 11, *De septem.* 22, and rabbinic parallels) of the giving of the law to all the nations (usually reckoned as 70 as in Gen. x.) in their own language. (See Addit. Note 10.) The choice of διαμερίζομαι, both in this papyrus and in Acts, may be influenced by its use in Deut. xxxii. 8 of the assignment of the nations to angels, quoted in 1 Clem. xxix. 2 and Justin, *Dial.* 131. 1.

fire] Cf. the promise of baptism

and all were filled with Holy Spirit and began to talk in other 4 tongues as the Spirit caused them to make utterance.

And there were [Jews dwelling] in Jerusalem devout men of 5 every nation of those under heaven. And when there was this voice 6 the crowd came together and were perplexed because each one heard them speaking in his own language. And all were surprised 7 and wondered, saying, "Are not, lo, all these who are speaking Galileans, and how do we hear them each one in our own language 8

with the 'Holy Spirit and with fire,' Matt. iii. 11 and Luke iii. 16. Also the tradition of a fire on the Jordan at the baptism of Christ (in Matt. iii. 16, in a *g*¹, and in Justin, *Trypho* 88). Fire played no part in ordinary Christian baptism, but was adopted (to the exclusion of water?) by the Carpocratians. (See Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* i. xx. 4, ed. Harvey = i. xxv. 5, ed. Massuet, and Hippolytus, *Refut.* vii. 32.)

it sat] The text is clumsy but it can hardly be a corruption. Probably it is a 'sense' construction and the subject is 'fire.' Codex Bezae, but not the African Latin, emends to *ἐκάθισαν*, 'they sat,' i.e. the tongues.

4. utterance] ἀποφθέγγεσθαι. Cf. Chrysostom, *Hom.* iv. ἀποφθέγματα γὰρ ἦν τὰ παρ' αὐτῶν λεγόμενα. An ἀπόφθεγμα is a 'weighty saying' such as Plutarch collected. In the LXX it is used of seers and soothsayers (σοῦνται), cf. 1 Chron. xxv. 1; Micah v. 12; so also Philo, *Vita Mos.* ii. 6, § 33 (Mangey, ii. p. 139), and Cyril in Cramer's *Catena*, p. 23. The verb calls attention to the sound rather than to the content of the utterance (λέγειν and in late Greek λαλεῖν) and is therefore particularly appropriate to articulate oracular speech. The same difference exists between ἦχος and φωνή. Cf. 1 Cor. xiii. 1 χαλκὸς ἥχων, xiv. 7 f. φωνήν (φθόγγος).

5. [Jews dwelling] On the text see Addit. Note 10.

devout] The use of εὐλαβής in viii. 2, xxii. 12, and Luke ii. 25 negatives the suggestion that it is used here as a synonym for φοβούμενος or σεβόμενος τὸν θεόν in the sense of a Gentile who accepted the God of the Jews but had not become a proselyte or an observer of the Law. The Empire doubtless

contained many of these God-fearers, and the multitude at Pentecost may have been largely composed of them, but this view can only be supported by general probability, and must not be made dependent on the meaning of εὐλαβής.

6. voice] The sound mentioned here is φωνή, the voice of the inspired speakers rather than the ἦχος of the second verse. But the Jewish tradition was that at the giving of the Law the voice of God was heard by all nations throughout the world. (See Addit. Note 10.)

the crowd] The word πλῆθος has various shades of meaning varying from 'congregation' to 'mob.' Here it seems to mean the whole number of the 'devout men' of vs. 5 rather than the Christian community. See note on iv. 32.

perplexed] This seems the meaning of *συνχέω*, rather than 'refuted'; but there seems to be no study of the word on the basis of Hellenistic Greek. Cf. ix. 22.

7. Are not, lo] This very awkward phrase fairly represents the equally awkward Greek οὐχὶ ἰδοὺ . . . εἰσὶν, which may be the translation of the Aramaic *ܐܬܝܢ* (see Torrey, p. 28). But οὐκ ἰδοὺ occurs frequently in the LXX in rhetorical questions, e.g. in the formula "Are they not written in the book of the acts of, etc.?" There at any rate it is not the literal imitation of the Semitic original (*ܐܬܝܢ*), but, according to Thackeray, "in time became the recognized equivalent for the classical ἀρ' οὐ;" (*Grammar of the O.T. in Greek*, i. pp. 125 f.). Possibly here we should connect ἰδοὺ specially with the following πάντες, in accordance with the idiom by which this

9 in which we were born ? Parthians and Medes and Elamites and dwellers in Mesopotamia, Judaea and Cappadocia, Pontus and Asia, Phrygia and Pamphylia, Egypt and the parts of Libya

writer emphasizes quantitative adjectives by placing *ἰδοῦ* just before them (Luke xiii. 16 *ἔδωκεν ὁ Σατανᾶς ἰδοῦ δέκα καὶ ὀκτὼ ἔτη*, xiii. 7, xix. 8). For this usage vernacular Greek provides exact parallels. See Moulton and Milligan, *Vocabulary*, p. 299. On the aspiration in *οὐχ ἰδοῦ* (ND, etc., corrected either to *οὐχι* B or *οὐκ* C, etc.) see J. H. Moulton, *Grammar of N.T. Greek*, i³. p. 244, ii. p. 100.

9. Parthians, etc.] This list apparently is intended to cover 'every nation under heaven' and is an interesting sidelight on the meaning of that phrase. Roughly speaking, the names represent the Parthian Empire east of the Tigris, and the Roman Empire as far west as the province of Asia.

Parthians, Medes, and Elamites are three eastern races. Parthians represent the Persians of the Old Testament. Medes and Elamites no doubt existed as tribes, and the Elamites are mentioned in Tacitus (*Ann.* vi. 44), Plutarch (*Pomp.* xxxvi.), and Strabo (xi. 12. 4, and xv. 3. 12), but they appear here rather because of their prominence in the Old Testament. Taken together these three names represent the country east of the Tigris, outside the Roman Empire.

The construction is then changed; a list of nine countries (Mesopotamia, Judaea, Cappadocia, Pontus, Asia, Phrygia, Pamphylia, Egypt, and Cyrenian Libya) are introduced by the word 'inhabitants of.' If Judaea be taken in the prophetic sense as the country 'from Euphrates to the river of Egypt' this covers in fairly methodical order all the districts round the east of the Mediterranean. If, however, Judaea be interpreted in accordance with fact rather than prophecy it seems out of place and leaves a gap between Mesopotamia and Cappadocia, a defect which Tertullian remedied by emending *Judaeam* to *Armeniam*, and Augustine by reading *Judaei* for *Judaeam* (see Vol. III. p. 14). But Luke's usage of 'Judaea' is obscure, and perhaps

depends on his sources. Cf. Luke iv. 44 and vii. 17. Burkitt suggests *Γορδαλαν* (Kurdistan) as an emendation.

To this is added five more names, Roman citizens (see note on *Ῥωμαῖοι*), Jews and proselytes, Cretans and Arabians, introduced by *ἐπιδημοῦντες*, just as the previous list was introduced by *κατοικοῦντες*, but no place-name follows. The probable meaning, therefore, is 'residents in Jerusalem.'

The difference between *κατοικεῖν* and *ἐπιδημοῦντες* seems to be that between those living habitually in a country (*κατοικοῦντες*) and temporarily residing there (*ἐπιδημοῦντες*). But the distinction is not always clear. If it be accepted the meaning is that besides the visitors from other countries there were also some residents of Jerusalem who were not Palestinians. If so 'Jews' means Jews of the Diaspora who were at present living in Jerusalem, not merely visiting it. The Cretans and Arabians represent the two extremes of West and South-east which were not covered by the previous names.

The textual evidence for this list is singularly unanimous except for the word 'Judaea.' But there is no reason for omitting it with Harnack or for following the African Latin and reading *Judaei* with Zahn. Nor is there sufficient reason for omitting 'Cretans and Arabians' as Harnack wished; it is true that, if Judaea, Cretans, and Arabians be omitted, and Romans be taken ethnologically instead of politically, there are twelve names, one for each apostle, but there is no reason to suppose that this was in the writer's mind. Nor is it necessary to ask exactly what language was supposed to be represented by each of these names. The list is in the main a rhetorical way of saying that every nation and land was represented. It is futile to treat it as an essay in geography or ethnology. (Cf. Harnack, *Acts of the Apostles*, pp. 65 ff.)

which is near Cyrene, and the residents, Roman citizens and Jews and proselytes, Cretans and Arabians, we hear them telling the great deeds of God in our language." And all were surprised and perplexed, saying one to another, "What does this mean?" But others jeered and said, "They are full of sweet wine."

But Peter stood up with the eleven and raised his voice and

10. Roman citizens] Ῥωμαῖος regularly means a citizen of the Roman empire, not an inhabitant of the city of Rome (cf. Acts xxii. 25 ff.).

11. we hear] It is of course impossible to suppose that the preceding list of names was really recited by the speakers. The African Latin, perhaps representing the Western text, reads *audierunt loquentes illos suis linguis magnalia dei*, which seems an attempt to make the list into a comment by the writer. It is a tempting variation but transcriptionally improbable.

telling, etc.] λαλούντων τὰ μεγαλεῖα seems to be a periphrasis for μεγαλυνόντων (cf. x. 46). μεγαλείος is a late form of μέγας, found three times in the Psalms and eight times in the Apocrypha, though only once in the early books of the LXX (Deut. xi. 2). τὰ μεγαλεῖα (*magnalia*) seems to be a ceremonious phrase found in an inscription to Germanicus (αὐτοῦ τὸ μεγαλεῖον τῆς ἀθανασίας), in Dittenberger's *Sylloge*³, 798, and used by Jews and Christians in reference to God.

13. sweet wine] The sweet wine mentioned is probably the freshly made wine which has not yet been kept long enough and is still fermenting. Cf. Lucian, *Philops.* 39 ἤκω, νῆ τὸν Δία, ὥσπερ οἱ τοῦ γλεύκους πίνοντες, ἐμπεφυσημένοι τὴν γαστέρα, ἐμέτου δέμενοι. How could 'new wine' be obtained at Pentecost, which is just before, not after, the vintage? This difficulty has led commentators to adopt various strange suggestions (see Blass *ad loc.*), but the problem is solved by Columella (see Wettstein *ad loc.*) who gives a receipt for keeping γλεύκος from going sour. Strack (ii. p. 614) thinks that it is wine which had been mixed with honey.

14-36. This speech of Peter deals with three subjects. (i.) ii. 14-21, the eschatological significance of the

glossolalia on the day of Pentecost, proved from Joel ii. 28 ff. (ii.) ii. 22-31, the message concerning Jesus, proved from Ps. xvi. 8-11, and showing from Ps. cxxxii. 11 that the scriptural proof could not refer to David himself (ii. 29-31). (iii.) ii. 32-36, the connexion of Jesus with the gift of the Spirit and the significance of the gift as evidence that Jesus is 'Lord and Christ.'

Was this speech originally in Aramaic? In favour of the theory of an Aramaic original is the combination of λῶσαι with ὠδίνες, and the phrase in vs. 24 καθότι οὐκ ἦν δυνατόν κρατεῖσθαι αὐτὸν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, which is far more intelligible if ὠδίνες in the same verse be replaced by the Hebrew word (כֶּבֶד) for bonds, which is found in the text of Pss. xviii. 5 and cxvi. 3. Unlike some passages where the argument, as well as the words, depends on the LXX, the argument here depends rather on the Hebrew. But against the theory may be argued that ὠδίνες θανάτου had become a traditional phrase (see note on vs. 24), and that (a) the quotations from Scripture are taken from the LXX; (b) the phrase in vs. 36 κύριον αὐτὸν . . . ἐποίησεν refers back to vs. 21 πᾶς ὃς ἂν ἐπικαλέσθαι τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου σωθήσεται, and this is more natural and forcible in Greek than in Aramaic, if we can judge from the analogy of Syriac, which does not use the same form of the word Lord for Jesus as for Jehovah (see Vol. I. p. 409).

14. with the eleven] 'With the eleven others' is probably intended by the redactor, but 'including himself as the eleventh' would be more consistent with Greek idiom, and Preuschen, thinking that it was the meaning of the source, concludes that the story of the choice of Matthias did not originally come before the narrative of Pentecost.

raised his voice] Cf. Demosthenes

gave utterance to them: "Fellow Jews, and all dwellers in Jerusalem, let this be known to you and give ear to my words.

15 For these men are not as you suppose, drunk, for it is the third
16 hour of the day, but this is that which was spoken by the prophet,

17 'And it shall be after these things, saith God, I will pour out of Joel ii. 28 ff.
my spirit upon all flesh, and your sons and your daughters shall
prophecy, and your young men shall see visions, and your old
18 men shall dream dreams. Yes, and on my slaves and on my

xviii. 291 *ἐπάρας τὴν φωνήν*, in the sense of speaking loudly, but it is a common idiom in the LXX where it merely means 'began to speak.'

gave utterance] *ἀπεφθέγγετο*. See vs. 4. The implication is that the speech of Peter is an inspired utterance, and that it was in quite articulate language. It is noteworthy that as the verb is used here following the charge of drunkenness, so it recurs in xxvi. 25 following the charge of madness: *οὐ μαίνομαι . . . , ἀλλὰ ἀληθείας καὶ σωφροσύνης ῥήματα ἀποφθέγγομαι*.

Fellow Jews, etc.] Is there any special contrast between this phrase, *ἄνδρες Ἰσραηλῖται* in vs. 22, and *ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί* in vs. 29? Probably not. The change is merely rhetorical. Peter's speech gradually becomes more and more doubtful to Jewish ears; and the more contentious the subject of a speech the more friendly should be its expression. Or should *ἄνδρες Ἰουδαῖοι* here be translated 'Men of Judaea'? dwellers] See note on vs. 9.
give ear] Cf. Ps. v. 1.

15. the third hour] About 9 A.M. The Jewish custom was not to eat until after this hour, which was that of morning prayer. The fourth hour, or on the Sabbath the sixth hour, was that of breakfast. (Cf. Josephus, *Vita*, 54.)

16. the prophet] Joel ii. 28-32. The name of the prophet is probably a Western non-interpolation. Confirmation of its omission is the fact that elsewhere formal quotations from the minor prophets refer to them merely as *οἱ προφῆται* (vii. 42 f. *ἐν βίβλῳ τῶν προφητῶν*, xiii. 40 f., xv. 16 f.) without the prophet's name.

17 ff. The textual question in these verses has considerable bearing on the interpretation (see Vol. III. pp.

16 f.). The Western text represents a series of changes from the LXX all making the quotation more suitable to the occasion. The chief changes are: (i.) *In the last days for after these things*, which is unintelligible without the context to show what 'these things' are; (ii.) *their for your with sons and daughters*, because the writer had put 'all flesh' into the plural (*πάσας σάρκας*) and wished to bring out Peter's contention that the promise is to all flesh, not only to the Jews. A similar reason produced (iii.) the omission of *my before slaves* (*δούλους* for *δούλους μου*), because 'my slaves' might be taken to mean the Jews; (iv.) the omission of *blood and fire and vapour of smoke*, which were apparently dropped merely to shorten the quotation.

Ropes thinks that this revision is due to the redactor of the Western text. If so, the original text was an almost accurate copy of the LXX. This was slightly revised in the B-text, and more vigorously in the Western text. But the reverse is possible; the Western text may be original and the B-text a revision in the light of the LXX. In favour of this view is the fact that the Western text in this passage apparently assumes that the crowd at Pentecost was composed of 'pious' foreigners, not Jews, and that Peter's speech was really the beginning of the mission to the Gentiles. This fits with one possible meaning of the text of ii. 5 which Ropes and I believe to be original (*ἦσαν δὲ ἐς Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἄνδρες εὐλαβεῖς ἀπὸ παντὸς ἔθνους*), but not with the African text (which read *Ἰουδαῖοι ἄνδρες ἀπὸ π. ἔθν.*). Therefore it is more likely to be original rather than merely Western, as the

handmaids in those days I will pour out of my spirit. And I 19
will give wonders in the sky above and signs on the earth below,
blood and fire and vapour of smoke. The sun shall be turned 20
into darkness and the moon into blood before there come the
day of the Lord, great and splendid. And it shall be whosoever 21
shall call on the name of the Lord shall be saved.'

"Men of Israel, hear these words. Jesus the Nazarene, a man 22
appointed by God to you by miracles and wonders and signs

Western reviser would have conformed the text to his own interpretation, and the Neutral reading is in this case to be taken as an accommodation to the LXX, which is not unlikely in a text which was dominant in Alexandria. Against this view is the fact that the Neutral text is not a complete adjustment to the LXX. It includes the significant '*and they shall prophesy*' (rightly regarded by Ropes as a 'Western non-interpolation') which would scarcely have been inserted by a reviser adjusting the quotation to the LXX text. The whole matter is exceedingly obscure, and must remain so, because we are dealing with two unknown quantities—the text and the meaning. If we assume one we can find the other, but this is just what we have no right to do, and in such cases the chief duty of a commentator is to guard against the conversion of real obscurity into apparent lucidity.

For Rabbinical exegesis cf. especially Midr. Ps. xiv. 6 (57 b): "R. Levi (c. A.D. 300) said . . . the Master is God who said, 'O that they had such a heart as to fear me' (Deut. v. 29); the Pupil is Moses who said, 'O that all the Lord's people were prophets' (Numb. xi. 29); but neither the words of the Master nor of the Pupil find fulfilment in this world, but in the future the words of both will find fulfilment, the words of the Master for 'I will give you a new heart' (Ezek. xxxvi. 26) and the words of the Pupil for 'I will pour out my spirit upon all flesh' (Joel ii. 28)." See further references in Strack, ii. pp. 615 ff.

19. blood and fire and vapour of smoke] Omitted by the Western text. Ropes thinks the omission is due to the reviser's desire to make the quota-

tion fit the circumstances. It is conceivably a Western non-interpolation, but the case for this view is not really similar to *καὶ προφητεύουσιν* in vs. 18, because the words are part of the text in the LXX.

20. splendid] Probably a better rendering of *ἐπιφανής* than 'manifest.' It had lost its etymological meaning and connoted conspicuousness and glory. But though 'splendid' is the thought which *ἐπιφανής* suggested, it had been used by the makers of the LXX owing to a confusion between the Hebrew root *ראה* 'to see' and *ירא* 'to fear.' The Hebrew text of Joel really means 'terrible.'

21. call on the name of the Lord] 'the Lord' in Joel is of course Jehovah. But there is probably a play on the words here, and *κύριος* here is equated with *κύριος* applied to the Messiah in ii. 34 and to Jesus in ii. 36.

22. Nazarene] See Vol. I. pp. 426 ff., and cf. F. C. Burkitt, *The Syriac Forms of New Testament Proper Names*, 1912; E. Meyer, *Ursprung und Anfänge*, and J. Klausner, *Jesus of Nazareth*, and Addit. Note 29.

appointed] This is probably the right translation, although the name of the office is lacking. In the papyri (not to mention the inscriptions and contemporary historians) the verb is used very often of persons nominated or designated beforehand to office (*designatus*), or proclaimed or appointed as holders of office. It may be used, that is, either before or after the term of an appointed official has begun, e.g. P Oxy 1021. 7 (acclamation of Nero as *αὐτοκράτωρ*), P Lond 1178. 9 (*consul designatus*), also of gymnasiarchs, heralds, high priests, etc. See Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, s.v. It is impossible therefore to tell whether here

which God did through him in the midst of you as you yourselves
 23 know, him, given up by the appointed will and foreknowledge
 of God, did you slay, nailing him up by the hand of men without
 24 law, whom God raised up, loosing the pangs of death because
 25 he could not be held by it. For David says of him, 'I foresaw Ps. xvi. 8-11.

God's proclamation of Jesus through signs, etc., is proleptic, as Tertullian's *destinatum* suggests, or means actual elevation to Messiahship. Other passages in Acts suggest that he was rather 'Messiah elect' than 'the elected Messiah.' Cf. the use of *ὀρίζω* in x. 42, xvii. 31, Rom. i. 4. Codex Bezae reads *δοκιμασμένον* (approved), which corresponds to the Latin *approbatum*, but Tertullian has *destinatum*. It is possible that 'approved' is the original text, and was emended partly because of its adoptionist implications, partly because of the harshness of *εἰς ὑμᾶς* (*hymas*). It is also possible that the Western text means 'a man from God, approved,' etc.

to you] It is tempting to follow D in reading 'to us,' especially if *δοκιμασμένον* be read, for Jesus was 'pointed out' to all, but 'approved' only to the disciples. But the change *hymas*—*umās* is too frequent, and the evidence here is not sufficient.

miracles and wonders and signs] The classical distinction between *δύναμις*, *τέρας*, and *σημεῖον* may easily be exaggerated. In this verse *τέρας* and *σημεῖον* are added in allusion to the prophecy quoted in vs. 19. *σημεῖα* is added by the writer to the LXX, as *τέρατα καὶ σημεῖα* was a fixed phrase in Christian and contemporary Greek, and *τέρατα* is never found in the N.T. without *σημεῖα*.

23. given up] *ἐκδοτον* is almost a synonym for *παράδοτον* 'betrayed.' So Josephus, *Antiq.* vi. 13. 9 Σαῦλος δὲ γνωρίσας τὴν Δαυίδου φωνήν, καὶ μαθὼν ὅτι λαβὼν αὐτὸν ἐκδοτον . . . οὐκ ἀπέκτεινεν. Cf. *Antiq.* xiv. 13. 8 and xviii. 9. 7.

appointed will] *τῇ ὀρισμένῃ β.* = *κατὰ τὸ ὀρισμένον* Lk. xxii. 22.

men without law] *ἀνόμων* might mean wicked, but in this context is more probably 'heathen' = *εἰσ* *ἔθνη* (cf. Is. xiv. 5) which is often used in

Jewish literature of the Romans. The Roman Empire is frequently referred to as the *מלכות הרשעה*.

24. pangs] *ὠδίνες* can hardly be translated otherwise and is correctly used in the LXX to translate *הָיָה* and cognate words. But it is also used to translate *הַבָּל* which means 'bonds' as well as 'pangs.' Cf. 2 Sam. xxii. 6; Job xxi. 17, xxxix. 3; Ps. xviii. 4 f., cxvi. 3; Hos. xiii. 13; Is. xiii. 8, xxvi. 17, and Jer. xiii. 21. The combination of *ὠδίνες* with *λύειν* seems to be found only in Job xxxix. 2, a passage of great obscurity in which *ὠδίνες* is a poetical paraphrase to render the Hebrew *לֵדָה*, i.e. birth.

A possible suggestion is that of Torrey that the Aramaic source was *שָׂרָא הַבְּלִיא דִּי כוּמָא* (Torrey, pp. 28 f.) and that Luke was influenced in his translation by knowledge of the LXX which translates *הַבָּל* by *ὠδίνες* even when the meaning certainly is 'bonds' (so especially Ps. xviii. 5 f. *ὠδίνες ἄδου περιέκυκλωσάν με, προέφθασάν με παγίδες θανάτου*). But the occurrence of *ὠδίνες θανάτου* (*ἄδου*) in the LXX had made it a fixed phrase capable of new combinations with verbs of holding, loosing, etc. Cf. Vol. II. p. 97. Polyc. *Ad Phil.* i. 2 *λύσας τὰς ὠδίνας τοῦ ἄδου* may be due either to Acts or to Job, but it shows that the phrase is not necessarily due to immediate translation. For a similarly confused figure of speech cf. Matt. xvi. 18. How can the 'gates of Hell' prevail against an ecclesia?

The best discussion of the question is in Field's *Notes*, p. 112.

25 ff. Ps. xvi. 8-11 from the LXX. In contrast to the quotation from Joel there are no variants in the Western text. The eschatological interpretation of this Psalm is common in Rabbinical literature, but only the Midrash gives a directly Messianic exegesis, and that on a phrase which is changed in the LXX and in Acts, "And my glory rejoices," that is over

the Lord before me alway, for he is at my right hand that I be not shaken. For this reason my heart rejoiced and my tongue 26 was glad, and, moreover, my flesh also shall tabernacle in hope because thou wilt not abandon my soul to Hades nor wilt thou 27 give thy Holy One to see corruption. Thou didst make known to 28 me paths of life, thou shalt fill me with gladness with thy presence.'

"Brethren, it is permitted to speak with boldness to you 29 concerning the patriarch David, that he is both dead and buried and his tomb is among us until this day. Therefore 30 being a prophet, and knowing that God swore with an oath to him that there should sit of the fruit of his loins on his throne,

Ps. cxxxii.
11.

the King the Messiah"; but the LXX and Acts read 'tongue' for 'glory.'

25. of him] Lit. 'to him,' i.e. with reference to him.

foresaw] That the author of Acts understood the *προ-* in *προορώμην* temporally is indicated by *προιδών* in vs. 31 and agrees with his general thought and purpose in the speeches. But the verb is used as a deponent in Hellenistic Greek (e.g. P Par 26. 21) without reference to the future, and the context shows that this must have been the intention of the original translator of the Psalm. Compare note on iii. 20 *προεχειρισμένον*.

26. in hope] Ps. xvi. 9. The Hebrew of the Psalm is 'shall dwell safely'; the LXX is *κατασκηνώσει ἐπ' ἐλπίδι* (cf. Prov. i. 33 for the rendering of *לִבְיָהּ*). The variant is very important. The meaning of the original is that owing to the help of the Lord the Psalmist is not afraid of death; he will 'dwell safely.' But, using the LXX, the writer of Acts makes him look forward 'in hope,' and the whole point of Peter's speech is that this hope was not fulfilled in the case of David but only in that of Jesus. It seems an indication that the speech is really based on the LXX, not on an Aramaic document which a translator conformed to the LXX. At a later date the Rabbis also interpreted the phrase 'dwell safely' of the resurrection, but not in the same way as Acts. The Midrash is "'My flesh shall dwell securely,' that is after death." Rabbi Jizchaq (i.e. Isaac)

(c. A.D. 300) said that this means that corruption and the worm shall have no power over it. (See Strack, ii. p. 618.)

27. abandon . . . to] *ἐγκαταλείπω* is stronger than 'leave,' and though *εἰς ᾗδην* might legitimately be rendered 'in Hades,' this is one of the passages in which the original difference between *εἰς* and *ἐν* may be observed.

(29.) it is permitted] *ἐξον*, once usual in Greek as an accusative absolute, was afterwards replaced by *ἐξόντος* and itself used with *ἔστι* understood, as here and in 2 Cor. xii. 4, or as elsewhere with *ἔστι* or *ἦν* expressed, as in Esther iv. 2; Matt. xii. 4; Ignatius, *Smyrn.* viii. 2; Apollodorus ii. 5, 12.

dead] R. Jose b. Bun (c. 350) says that David died at Pentecost, and the Midrash to Ruth adds that it was on a Sabbath (see Strack, ii. p. 619).

tomb] Josephus says that Hyrcanus robbed David's tomb of 3000 talents of silver, but when Herod tried to repeat the theft flames came out and prevented him. He then built for it a portico of white marble. Its place is not known with certainty, but it was probably on the south side of the S.E. hill. The modern tradition which places it in the 'Zion church' is not older than the crusades. The Abot of Rabbi Nathan (35) says that there were no graves in Jerusalem except those of David and his family and of the prophetess Huldah. See Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 8. 4; *B.J.* i. 2. 5; and cf. Baedeker's *Palestine*.

30. of the fruit of his loins] A

31 he spake with foreknowledge concerning the resurrection of the
 Messiah that he was neither left in Hades nor did his flesh see Ps. xvi. 10.
 32 corruption. This Jesus did God raise up, of which we all are
 33 witnesses. Therefore being exalted by the right hand of God,
 and having received from the Father the promise of the Holy
 34 Spirit, he poured out this which you see and hear. For David
 did not ascend into the skies, but he himself says, 'The Lord Ps. cx. 1.
 35 said to my Lord, sit on my right hand until I make thine enemies
 36 a footstool of thy feet.' Therefore let the whole house of Israel
 know with certainty that God made him both Lord and Messiah,
 this Jesus whom you crucified."

common LXX phrase, but in Ps. cxxxii. 11, to which reference is made, the LXX reads ἐκ καρποῦ τῆς κοιλίας αὐτοῦ. This was adopted by the Western text (*ventris* latt. but *καρδίας*, doubtless by a scribe's error, in Dd), but it is probably not Lucan, for Luke uses κοιλία = womb (see note on iii. 2). The use of ἐκ καρποῦ, etc., as an object is extremely harsh in Greek, but it is found in the LXX, and was not emended in any text, except that some Western authorities added κατὰ σάρκα. Compare the use of the partitive genitive with or without ἐκ as subject or object, e.g. xxi. 16; Luke xxi. 16 (Blass-Debrunner, *Grammatik des neut. Griech.* § 164. 1), and perhaps even above, vs. 17 ἐκχέω ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματός μου.

sit...on his throne] Some authorities insert before this 'to raise up the Christ,' doubtless feeling that this was called for by the mention of the resurrection in vs. 31, but this was not the original Western reading; see Vol. III. p. 20. The translation given assumes that the verb καθίσαι here is intransitive, as usually in the N.T. But the verb may also be transitive, in which case the heir of David is the object of the verb. This rendering, "God swore with an oath to him to seat of the fruit of his loins on his throne," suits the derivation of the passage from Ps. cxxxii. (cxxxii.) 11: ὥμοσε κύριος τῷ Δαυεὶδ ἀληθεῖαν . . . ἐκ καρποῦ τῆς κοιλίας σου θήσεται ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον σου. Note also that in vs. 36 God is the subject.

32. of which] Or 'of whom': the

Greek is equally capable of either meaning, but the analogy of i. 22, where 'to be a witness of the resurrection' is emphasized as a function of the apostles, turns the scale in favour of 'of which.' Cf. also iii. 15, but on the other side xiii. 31.

33. exalted by the right hand] Cf. v. 31 and Ps. cxviii. 16 ff. According to a Midrash quoted by Rashi on this passage, 'the right hand of the Lord exalts,' God created the earth with his left hand but the heavens with his right, and therefore death does not reign in heaven. The right hand of the Lord will exalt also the righteous in the future, it will raise them up so that they will live for ever, and so 'I will not die but live.' Though there may be no reference in Acts to this curious exegesis, there may well be an allusion to the Psalm which was a favourite of early Christians. Cf. Mark xi. 9 f. = Ps. cxviii. 25 f., and Mark xii. 10 = Ps. cxviii. 22 f. Yet vs. 34 suggests that the author meant by τῇ δεξιᾷ 'at' rather than 'by means of' God's right hand. (See Strack *ad loc.*)

poured out this] The τοῦτο seems to refer to πνεῦμα. The construction is somewhat harsh and led to the amplification τοῦτο τὸ δῶρον in some forms of the Western text (see Vol. III. *ad loc.*). Torrey thinks that the phrase was שפך חמא ד' אנתון חיותן ושבעתן and renders 'hath poured it out, as ye have seen and heard' (see Torrey, p. 29).

36. both Lord and Messiah] The quotation from Ps. cx. is the proof of

When they heard they were cut to the heart and said to 37 Peter and to the rest of the apostles, "What shall we do, brethren?" And Peter said to them, "Repent and be baptized 38 each one of you in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of your sins; and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Spirit.

Joel iii. 5. For to you is the promise and to your children and to all 39 those who are distant whomsoever the Lord our God may call."

both. It cannot refer to David, therefore it refers to the Messiah, and shows that *κύριος* and *χριστός* are intended as synonyms. The only question is whether the writer was interpreting the Greek *κύριος* by the Jewish term Messiah *χριστός*, or *vice versa*. Ps. cx. does not give the word *χριστός*, but cf. Ps. ii. 2 quoted in iv. 26 (to the author of Acts both *κύριον* and *χριστοῦ* in this Psalm probably referred to Jesus) and Ps. cxxxii. 10 (of which vs. 11 is quoted in vs. 30) which contains the word *χριστός*. See Addit. Note 29.

37. cut to the heart] *κατενύγησαν τὴν καρδίαν* from the LXX of Ps. cviii. 16. The Western text is longer: "Then all who had come together and heard were cut to the heart, and some of them said to Peter and the apostles (omitting 'others'), what then shall we do, brethren? Show us."

38. in the name of] That is, 'with the authority of.' Cf. Mark ix. 38 ff. The use of 'a name' as a source of authority is common in all magical ceremonies. See Addit. Note 11 and Heitmüller, *Im Namen Jesu*. It cannot be doubted that the meaning of the editor is to describe Christian baptism (i.) as containing the formula 'In the name of Jesus' (cf. Acts viii. 16, x. 48, xix. 5); (ii.) as conferring forgiveness of sins; (iii.) leading up to, if not actually conveying, the gift of the Spirit. It may be, however, that here *εἰς ἄφεσιν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν* should be connected as much with *μετανοήσατε* as with *βαπτισθήτω* (cf. Luke iii. 3 *βάπτισμα μετανοίας εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν*) since this association of ideas is shown to be Lucan by Luke xxiv. 47 *μετάνοιαν εἰς [v.l. καὶ] ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν*, Acts v. 31 *μετάνοιαν . . . καὶ ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν*. Or is this primitive, and the association with baptism Lucan? For the

possibility that the reference to baptism in this passage is entirely due to the editor and was not found in his source, and for the varying attitude of different sections of Acts towards the relation of baptism to the gift of the Spirit, see Vol. I. pp. 337 ff.

Christian tradition is that John's baptism as well as Christian conferred forgiveness of sins, but Josephus expressly denies this (see the excursus to Mark i. 4 in Lietzmann's *Handbuch*; H. Windisch, *Taufe und Sünde*, and Vol. I. pp. 101 ff.).

Holy Spirit] If the words were used in the Jewish sense this would mean 'become prophets.' The rival traditions among the Jews were: (i.) Originally there were prophets among the Gentiles; of these Balaam was the last. Among Israelites all the righteous were led by the Holy Spirit. After the worship of the Golden Calf this ceased, and (according at least to one tradition) an angel was then sent to lead them (cf. Exod. xxiii. 20). Only a few chosen persons were granted the immediate gift of the Holy Spirit, i.e. the Prophets in the narrower sense, the High Priests, and such men as David and Solomon. This in turn ceased and the 'Voice from Heaven' (Bath-Qol) took its place. (ii.) The gift of the Holy Spirit, which was the Spirit of prophecy, belonged after the prophetic age to the Rabbis, and was imparted by the 'laying on of hands' at their ordination. See further Strack, ii. pp. 126 ff. and 647 ff., and see Addit. Note 9.

39. distant] *μακρὰν* is used of distance, whether of space or time; see the long list of passages given by Wettstein *ad loc.* Here either meaning is possible: 'The promise is to you, your children, and to those who live afar off,' or 'The promise is to you, your children,

40 And with many other words he testified and exhorted them,
 41 saying, "Save yourself from this crooked generation." So then,
 those who received his word were baptized, and there were added
 42 in that day about three thousand souls. And they were regular
 in attendance on the teaching of the apostles and their fellowship,

and your distant descendants.' The latter meaning might seem slightly more natural, but the former is supported by a probable allusion to Is. lvii. 19 *εἰρήνην ἐπ' εἰρήνην τοῖς μακρὰν καὶ τοῖς ἐγγύς ὄσιν*: cf. xxii. 21 *εἰς ἔθνη μακρὰν ἐξαποστελῶ σε*. D reads *ἡμῖν* for *ὑμῖν*, but as the other authorities for the Western text do not support it, this is probably accidental, though it may be connected with the changes in ii. 17 (see note *ad loc.*). Cf. Psalm. Sol. viii. 39 *ἡμῖν καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις ἡμῶν ἡ εὐδοκία εἰς αἰῶνα*.

the Lord our God may call] The Deuteronomic *κύριος ὁ θεός* (often with a genitive) is used in Acts elsewhere in O.T. quotations only; in Luke also in the biblical canticles i. 16, 32, 68. Possibly here the language is reminiscent of the passage in Joel ii. 32 just following the words quoted in vss. 17-21. The LXX continues: *ὅτι ἐν τῷ ὄρει Σιών καὶ ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ* (cf. vs. 14) *ἔσται ἀνασωζόμενος* (cf. τοὺς σωζόμενους vs. 47), *καθότι εἶπε κύριος, καὶ εὐαγγελιζόμενοι* (cf. *ἐπαγγελία*) *οὗς κύριος προσκέκληται*.

40. many] *πλεοῖσι* might be rendered 'more.' But probably the sense of comparison is not present. Cf. xiii. 31.

testified] *διεμαρτύρατο*. Cf. Acts viii. 25, x. 42, xviii. 5, etc. If it means more than 'testifying' it may be to 'testify by argument,' cf. *διαλέγεσθαι*. In modern Greek it means to protest, and *οἱ διαμαρτυρόμενοι* is 'the Protestants.'

crooked generation] The phrase is due to Deut. xxxii. 5 *γενεὰ σκολιὰ καὶ διεστραμμένη*, or to Ps. lxxviii. 8 *γενεὰ σκολιὰ καὶ παραπικραίνουσα*, but easily became a familiar phrase.

41. So then] *μὲν οὖν* (see note on i. 6) shows that this is the beginning of a new paragraph, which looks forward as well as back. The break in the composition is here, not between vss. 42 and 43. It is a summary of what has preceded, bringing to an end the

first main section of the book and leading up to the second. If the theory of two Jerusalem sources, J^a and J^b, advocated by Harnack (see Vol. II. pp. 139 ff.), be accepted, vs. 41 is the end of the first selection made by Luke from J^b. For the relation of this summary to others see Addit. Notes 12 and 31.

who received his word] The Western text changes this to 'who believed his word,' probably to keep the usual connexion between faith and baptism. Cf. Mark xvi. 16. An alternative rendering (cf. i. 6) would be 'So then, they, having received his word, were baptized,' etc.

were added] *προσετέθησαν* like the rendering given really needs an indirect object, 'to the church' or some such phrase. Cf. vs. 47.

souls] The use of *ψυχή* in the meaning 'individual' is not found in Greek before the Christian period except in the LXX where it represents *נַפְשׁ*, which was used in Hebrew in that sense. It is found in Acts ii. 41, 43, iii. 23 (quotation of Deut. xviii. 19), vii. 14, xxvii. 37, and in Rom. xiii. 1 (cf. Rom. ii. 9). The last passages are important as showing that the usage in the earlier chapters need not be ascribed to direct translation from an Aramaic source, but can be explained by the influence of the LXX on Christian Greek.

42. fellowship] Either (i.) fellowship with the apostles, cf. Gal. ii. 9, etc., or (ii.) the communism described in vs. 44, or (iii.) in apposition to, and thus equivalent to, *τῇ κλᾶσει τοῦ ἄρτου*, or (iv.) almost equivalent to almsgiving, cf. Rom. xv. 26 *ἠδόκησαν . . . κοινωρίαν τινὰ ποιήσασθαι εἰς τοὺς πτωχοὺς τῶν ἀγίων κτλ.* The second and third of these possibilities seem less likely than the first and fourth, but the third has left its influence on the textual history of the verse; see Vol. III. p. 22, and cf. Blass's emendation

the breaking of bread, and the prayers. And there was fear on 43 every soul, and many wonders and signs were done through the apostles. And all those who believed together had all things 44

to τῇ κοινωνίᾳ τῆς κλάσεως τοῦ ἄρτου. The first or fourth is supported by the arrangement of the words which seem to fall into two groups, τῇ διδαχῇ καὶ τῇ κοινωνίᾳ, τῇ κλάσει καὶ ταῖς προσευχαῖς.

breaking of bread] The exact phrase κλάσις τοῦ ἄρτου is found only here and in Luke xxiv. 35, but the verbal phrase κλᾶν ἄρτον is found in Luke xxiv. 30 (the supper at Emmaus), Acts ii. 46, xx. 7 and 11, and xxvii. 35. It is also found in Mark viii. 6 (= Matt. xv. 36) and viii. 19, and in Matt. xiv. 19, in connexion with the feeding of the multitude; also in Mark xiv. 22 (= Matt. xxvi. 26), in Luke xxii. 19, and in 1 Cor. x. 16 and xi. 24 of the Eucharist. It is not a classical expression, nor is it customary in the LXX as a synonym for 'eating,' but in Hebrew and Aramaic עָרַס and עָרַס 'break' is used of the opening of a meal, sometimes without any word for bread, and is often connected with the Hebrew בָּרַךְ (εὐλογεῖν or εὐχαριστία). According to Jewish custom the meal began with a prayer ("Blessed be thou, O Lord our God, that thou didst make bread to be on the earth") followed by the ceremonial breaking and distribution of bread. κλάσις is used in Jer. xvi. 7 (cf. Ezek. xxiv. 17, Hos. ix. 4) of the custom of 'breaking bread' at a funeral service in memory of the dead. Conceivably this use of the phrase, as a memorial funeral feast, slight though it be, throws an interesting sidelight on Paul's interpretation of the Eucharist in 1 Cor. xi. 23 ff. Hastings' *Bible Dictionary* refers to Ugolini, *Thesaurus*, vol. xxxiii., Garmannus, *de Pane Lugentium*, but this treatise contains nothing of importance for this purpose. (See also E. Schermann, 'Das "Brotbrechen" im Urchristentum,' in the *Biblische Zeitschrift*, vii. (1910) pp. 33 ff., 162 ff.)

There are thus two possible interpretations of this and the related passages. (i.) Breaking of bread merely means an ordinary meal. This gives a reasonable sense in all the passages in Acts. (ii.) It refers to the

Eucharist or to the Agape if this be regarded as a religious meal, distinct from the Eucharist. This is possible in all the passages in Acts, but presents considerable difficulty in xxvii. 35 (see note *ad loc.*). Possibly too the supper of Emmaus was regarded by Luke as a Eucharist, and John vi. is evidence that the miraculous feeding of the multitude was held to be at least an anticipation of the Eucharist (see also A. Schweitzer, *Das Abendmahl*). Here, as so often, it is difficult to distinguish between the original meaning and that given to the phrase by the writers or editors of the N.T.

43. fear] This seems inappropriate here, but it is entirely in place in the parallel passages in v. 5, v. 11. (See Addit. Note 12.) Reference to fear in connexion with the display of miraculous power is characteristic of Luke and Acts (cf. Friedrich, *Das Lukasevangelium*, p. 77).

wonders and signs] τέρατα καὶ σημεῖα is a common O.T. phrase meaning miracle. It is peculiarly characteristic of the first part of Acts, where it is found nine times (ii. 19, 22, 43; iv. 30; v. 12; vi. 8; vii. 36; xiv. 3; xv. 12), but is not in the second part of Acts, the Gospels, Apocalypse or Catholic Epistles; it is three times in Paul (Rom. xv. 19; 2 Cor. xii. 12; 2 Thess. ii. 9), and in Heb. ii. 4; it is also found in pagan writers.

apostles] The text of SAC and a few other authorities adds 'in Jerusalem,' and continues 'and there was great fear upon all.' Ropes thinks that this is original, see Vol. III. p. 24. The alternative is to suppose that some early scribe was troubled by the inappropriateness of 'fear' in vs. 43a, and proposed to put it into vs. 43b. The text suggests conflation, but the evidence does not clearly show what has happened.

44. together] The text is confused, but the variants do not seriously affect the sense. The reading of D seems to be conflate and corrupt, and the absence of any African evidence is regrettable. ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ comes twice

45 in common, and they used to sell their goods and possessions
46 and to divide them among all according as any had need. And
daily they were with one accord regular in attendance in the
Temple, and breaking bread at home partook of food in gladness
47 and simplicity of heart, praising God and having favour with all

in this paragraph in the B-text and three times in the Western, and in none of them is it really a natural phrase (see Vol. III. pp. 24 f. and note on ii. 47).

45. used to sell] The usual translation 'sold' rather implies one great sale, but the meaning of the Greek rather is that they sold things as they had need of more money. They followed a policy of selling possessions.

goods and possessions] Commentators generally say κτήματα means real and ὑπάρξεις personal property. But it is very doubtful if the distinction can be pressed.

divide them among all] This may mean divided the profits of the sale just mentioned, and the verse is usually so interpreted in the light of iv. 34 ff., but it may equally well be parallel to 'sold' and mean that they divided up their possessions among the community in accordance with general requirements. If the distinction between κτήματα and ὑπάρξεις be observed, it probably means that they sold their κτήματα and divided up their ὑπάρξεις. Does the writer imply distribution to the poor in general (cf. 'Sell all that thou hast and give to the poor' in Mark x. 21) or merely to needy Christians? Either is possible. The Western text says that they distributed 'daily' (cf. Strack, ii. pp. 644 f. for evidence that in Rabbinical times the Jewish custom was a daily collection from house to house, and distribution to the needy). The B-text attaches the 'daily' to the attendance in the temple.

46. at home] The simple phrase κατ' οἶκον raises questions which are of interest to us because of their bearing on the breaking of bread in Acts, but which we cannot answer with certainty. (i.) As Kypke (*Observationes sacrae*) showed by his illustrations from Hellenistic Greek, it may mean simply 'at home' (*domi*), and is applicable in the singular to many

persons in many homes. With this meaning, both here and in v. 42, it would be used merely in contrast with ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ much as in xx. 20 is the phrase δημοσίᾳ καὶ κατ' οἶκους. (ii.) It may refer to one regular place of meeting as is assumed in i. 13, ii. 1 f., iv. 23, vi. 2 (see Wendt), but it is improbable, for this meaning would seem to call for κατὰ τὸν οἶκον. (iii.) Luke's fondness for the distributive use of κατὰ together with his variation κατ' οἶκους (see also viii. 3) leads to the presumption that his idea here is rather 'in separate houses' (*domatim*). Then the contrast would be with δημοθυμᾶδόν, which in spite of its etymology is only appropriate to a collected group. In the papyri (P Ryl ii. 76. 10) κατ' οἶκον and κατ' οἰκίαν (P Tebt, index to vol. ii.) are used of transactions in which the household is the unit, and is usually translated 'by households' and (with a noun) 'house to house.' (iv.) A distributive use could mean 'at every house,' or (v.), in a slightly different way, 'at each house in turn.' The rendering 'from house to house' would suit the last of these, but it is improbable, even in xx. 20, where the R.V. retains it, probably on account of the plural. What difference if any exists for this writer between κατ' οἶκους and κατ' οἶκον remains obscure.

simplicity] ἀφελότητι, a derivative from ἀφελής, less common than ἀφελεία, can no longer be called 'Biblical and ecclesiastical' since it occurs in Vettius Valens, p. 240. 15 Kroll (cf. p. 153. 30). What nuance the word bears here is not clear; perhaps in spite of καρδίας it refers to the frugality of their fare, as its cognates often do. Cf. xiv. 17 ἐμπικλῶν τροφῆς (the word used in the present passage) καὶ εὐφροσύνης τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν. It might also mean unworldly innocence, or again generosity. The latter is near one meaning of the commoner

the people. And the Lord added daily together those who were saved.

expression ἀπλότης καρδίας found in 1 Chron. xxix. 17, Wisd. i. 1, Col. iii. 22, Ephes. vi. 5, and several times in the *Testaments of the XII Patriarchs*. Possibly ἀφελότης καρδίας is written by Luke as a more sonorous form of this common phrase. He seems elsewhere to prefer for short words like-sounding (if not always synonymous) longer terms.

47. having favour] Or possibly, 'giving him thanks before all the people.'

together] This is the usual meaning of ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό in Acts and elsewhere (cf. Luke xvii. 35; Acts i. 15, ii. 1, ii. 44, iv. 26; 1 Cor. vii. 5, xi. 20, xiv. 23; and Josephus, *Antiq.* xvi. 8. 6). But the phrase seems singularly awkward here. Torrey thinks that it represents an Aramaic ܐܬܪܐ which means either 'together' or 'greatly,' but has the latter meaning only in Judæan Aramaic, and when so used is always at the end of the clause. He thinks that the translator forgot or did not know this meaning. (See Torrey, pp. 10 ff., and Vol. II. pp. 143 f.) Vazakas in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, xxxvii. (1918) pp. 105 ff., suggests that ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό has a religious connotation. If so, it may have been inserted by the editor as a suitably impressive phrase with which to end his summary. In any case the Greek as it stands is very harsh, and the clumsiness of the English adequately represents the original. The Western text tried to remedy the sentence by adding ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ after ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό, and the Antiochian improved this by omitting ἐν so as to read 'added to the church,' and transferring ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό to the beginning of the next sentence instead of adopting the Western addition at that point 'and in those days.' There can be little doubt that the B-text is the original, but the variants are interesting proof that many of the earliest Greek readers found ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό intolerable. So far as it goes this is an argument against the view of Vazakas. See further H. J. Cadbury, *AJTh.* xxiv. (1920), p. 454, and note that in the papyri ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό is used in financial statements as

being 'in total.' Is this another place where the text lacks the last revision, and should a number follow ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό? Cf. i. 15.

saved] A stricter translation would be 'who were being saved.' But in English this would imply that they were gradually being saved by, for instance, increasing sanctification, which is very unlikely to be the meaning. The phrase here is a clear reference to Joel ii. 32, which has already been quoted in Peter's speech, 'whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord shall be saved.' οἱ σωζόμενοι is the Remnant of Israel which is destined to survive the End. They were gradually being selected during the 'Interim' before the End, but they were not being gradually saved (cf. xiii. 48 and Addit. Note 30).

A quite different suggestion is that τοὺς σωζομένους means those who had been miraculously cured (cf. iv. 9 and 12). The author having mentioned accessions to the church following the miracle and speech of Peter (vs. 41) proceeds to his characteristic summary before he takes up the next incident, the 'saying' of a lame man. The summary anticipates and generalizes this incident, just as the specific case of Barnabas in iv. 36 is generalized in the preceding summary in iv. 34. It should be remembered that owing to the double meaning of σώζειν this interpretation is not so different from the other as it necessarily appears to be in English. In any case it is the double meaning of σώζειν which serves the editor as a connecting link between the 'eschatological salvation' of chap. ii. and the 'exorcised salvation' of chapters iii. and iv. Behind the phrase is the ambiguity introduced by eschatological hope. From the beginning there were the two ideas: (i.) we are saved now, (ii.) we shall be safe at the end. The intimate connexion between these ideas often prevented a sharp distinction between them, and even if the existence of an Aramaic source be doubted it is hazardous to press points of Greek which could not be represented in Aramaic; for in whatever language the

31 Now Peter and John were going up to the Temple at the hour
2 of prayer, the ninth hour. And a man, lame from his mother's
womb, was being carried, whom they used to set daily at the

records may have been written, the thoughts of the disciples must have been in Aramaic.

iii. 1-iv. 31. THE HEALING OF THE BEGGAR AT THE BEAUTIFUL GATE AND ITS CONSEQUENCES. This is the beginning of the section ascribed to the Jerusalem source A (J^a).

The general background of this section is the power of the apostles to use the name of Jesus for exorcism or healing. That it could be so used effectively was not denied by the Jews (cf. the stories of Eleazer ben Dama and of Joshua ben Levi, who used the name of Jesus for healing; see quotations from Tosefta Hullin, ii. 22 f. etc., by G. F. Moore in his essay on the Jewish Canon in *Essays in Modern Theology*, dedicated to C. A. Briggs (1911), p. 110), but it was held by the Rabbis to be illegitimate. The parallel passage in the story of Paul is Acts xix. 11 ff. Cf. too Luke x. 17 ff. and xi. 14 ff. In contrast with this J^b (Acts ii. and its conclusion in v. 17-42) deals with the teaching of the disciples and their claim to be inspired. (See also Addit. Note 12 and Vol. II. pp. 139-147.)

1. Peter and John] This is the first of the passages (iii. 1 ff. and viii. 14 ff.) where Peter and John are linked together. John, however, never plays any active part. It is generally assumed that he was John the son of Zebedee, but this is not stated, and he might be John Mark who figures in the later chapters and is traditionally the interpreter of Peter. Cf. Eusebius, *H.E.* iii. 39. Loisy (p. 223) points out that in using Mark xiv. 13 Luke (xxii. 8) identifies as Peter and John the two disciples sent to prepare the Passover for Jesus. He concludes that here too the mention of Peter and John may be redactional. According to Harnack, Acts iii. is the beginning of the Jerusalem A source to which he ascribes greater historical value than the B source which is the basis of Acts ii., etc. (see Vol. II. pp. 127 ff.). And Loisy agrees that the basis of

the chapter is probably the original document.

There is much confusion in the text of this verse owing to the obscurity of ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό. Zahn thinks that the Antiochian text is right and reads ii. 47 b-iii. 1 ὁ δὲ κύριος προσετίθει τοὺς σωζομένους καθ' ἡμέραν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ. ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ δὲ Πέτρος κτλ. He gives to ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό the usual meaning of 'together' (cf. Luke xvii. 35) and would translate 'Peter and John went together.' But the textual evidence is clear that this is a late not an early text. The original Western text is irrecoverable; possibly it read ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ as a paraphrase of ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό and D represents a conflation of this with the B-text. D seems to have suffered much at this point. See Vol. III. pp. 24 f.

the hour of prayer, the ninth hour] Cf. Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 4. 3 (δὲς τῆς ἡμέρας, πρῶτ' τε καὶ περὶ τὴν ἐνάτην ὥραν), "but twice in the day they offer sacrifice, in the morning and at the ninth hour." This was the *minhah* of prayer; cf. Schürer, *Geschichte des jüd. Volkes*, ii. pp. 352 ff. The hours of prayer, or rather of the morning and evening sacrifice, are described in Exod. xxix. 39, 40, Lev. vi. 20, etc., as πρῶτ' and τὸ δευτερόν, the phrase which is added here also by D, but not by any other Western authority (see Vol. III. *ad loc.*). But the African Latin is missing, and it is not impossible that here too D is conflate.

2. And a man, lame, etc.] For the similarity of this story to Paul's miracle of healing the lame man at Lystra see note on xiv. 8-10.

from his mother's womb] κοιλία is used in classical and medical Greek chiefly of the digestive organs. This is also its use in Mark vii. 19; Matt. xii. 40, xv. 17; Rom. xvi. 18; 1 Cor. vi. 13; Philipp. iii. 19; Rev. x. 9 f. But Luke always uses it in the sense of 'womb' (except in the inferior text of Luke xv. 16) in accordance with LXX usage which thus renders μῆτρ. It is also used thus in the sense of womb in Matt. xix. 12, John iii. 4, and Gal. i. 15.

gate of the Temple called Beautiful to beg alms from those entering into the Temple, who seeing Peter and John just going into 3

called Beautiful] The position of the gate is unknown, and the facts relating to it are obscure. Jewish tradition knows nothing of any gate called 'Beautiful.' Interpreters of Acts have usually identified it either with the Shushan gate (the external door on the east side of the Temple area) or with the Nicanor gate (on the east side of the Temple proper), but there is no evidence directly in favour of either. The judgement of critics is based on nothing more substantial than mediaeval tradition, which anticipated them and called the Shushan gate 'Aurea' or Golden—treating a transliteration of *ᾠραια* as though it were a Latin word—and the fact that both it and the Nicanor gate appear to have been very magnificent. (See further Addit. Note 35.)

Since the topography is so uncertain it would probably be wiser to be guided by the implications of the story in Acts, if these were clear, but the textual tradition exactly reflects the obscurity of the facts.

The Neutral text describes three stages. (a) Peter and John came to the Beautiful gate and there healed the lame man. (b) They went into the Temple (*τὸ ἱερόν*) (iii. 8). (c) They became the centre of a crowd which ran together to them in Solomon's Porch. From this it is clear that (i.) Solomon's Porch was inside the *ἱερόν*, and therefore *ἱερόν* is used in the general sense of the Temple area, not of the Temple buildings in the narrower sense. (ii.) The Beautiful door must have been on the outside of Solomon's Porch. Only the Shushan door will fit this story, and modern critics who favour the door of Nicanor suppose that Luke forgot to mention that after the apostles entered the Temple they came out again, and only then became the centre of the crowd in Solomon's Porch.

The Western text is: "... he entered with them into the Temple and all the people saw him ... and when Peter and John went out he went with them, holding on to them, and (the people) stood in amazement in the Porch called Solomon's." This

makes it clear that *τὸ ἱερόν* means the Temple buildings, not the Temple area, and that the Beautiful door was farther in than the Porch of Solomon. It would support admirably the identification of the Beautiful door with the door of Nicanor, at least if that be the second door. Did the maker of the Western paraphrase have special knowledge of the topography of Jerusalem? Is the Neutral text or the Western really right? The last question is not answered by the generally paraphrastic nature of the Western text. The problem is which text has revised and which preserved the original, and both seem to be guided by a definite view as to the position of the Beautiful gate. It is a pity that our knowledge of the history of the text is not sufficient to add certainty to our topography, nor our topographical knowledge enough to decide between the texts.

There is a further question of wider interest. Assuming the Neutral text and the identification of the Beautiful gate with the Shushan gate, why should the apostles have entered by the Eastern gate? If they were living in the city this is an extremely improbable route. It would mean that they went outside by one gate of the city in order to go in again by another. No one who sees Jerusalem can think that this was probable. Only on one condition would the Eastern gate be probable—if they were still sleeping in the country of Bethany, and coming into the city daily. This is obviously not the meaning of i. 13 which thinks of the upper room in Jerusalem as their home, but if there be any truth in Harnack's analysis of sources, i. 13 probably belongs to J^b (or else is purely editorial), while the present passage belongs to J^a. Did J^a think of the disciples as living (*συναυλιζόμενοι*) in Bethany, though the editor placed them in Jerusalem? (See also Addit. Note 2.)

An alternative is to abandon the whole identification of the Beautiful gate with one on the East, and think

4 the Temple, asked to receive alms. But Peter gazing on him
 5 with John, said: "Look at us." And he attended to them,
 6 expecting to receive something from them. And Peter said:
 "Silver and gold is not mine, but what I have, this I give to you.
 7 In the name of Jesus Christ the Nazarene, walk!" And seizing
 him by the right hand he raised him, and immediately his feet

that it was the great Southern gate, which was, according to the Talmud, the normal entrance to the Temple. This possibility is bound up with the identification of Solomon's Porch (see Addit. Note 35).

4. gazing] ἀπειλίζειν is frequent in stories of miracles. See note on xiii. 9. Curiously, however, the Western reviser has rewritten the story so as to make the lame man ἀπειλίζειν, and changed ἀπειλίσας in this verse into ἐμβλέψας. If it were not for general considerations it would be tempting here to accept the Western text as original and regard the B-text as an accommodation to the typical vocabulary of a miraculous story.

5. attended] ἐπέιχε might be supplemented by an implied τὸν νοῦν (cf. 2 Macc. ix. 25; Ecclus. xxxiv. 2; Job xxx. 26; 1 Tim. iv. 16) or by τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς. The paraphrast of the Western text understood it in the latter way, and substituted ἀπειλίσας. For its use with a personal object cf. P Fay 112. 11 (A.D. 99) ἐπέχον τῷ δακτυλιστῇ.

6. In the name of] See Additional Note 11.

the Nazarene] See note on ii. 22.

7. his feet and ankles became strong] This passage has long been a favourite with those who find in the vocabulary of Luke and Acts signs of the author's medical knowledge, from Freind and Bengel in the eighteenth century to Harnack and Moffatt in the twentieth (see Cadbury, *Style and Literary Method of Luke*, pp. 52 f., 56 note 36; Moffatt, *Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament*, 3rd edition, 1918, p. 298: "a remarkable number of professional terms in . . . Acts iii. 1-8"). But the facts scarcely support their view.

βάσις applied to persons means the whole 'foot' and is a synonym for ποῦς, which is used in the similar

narrative Acts xiv. 8-10. Its associations in this sense are not professional, though the doctors of course use it (Hobart, *The Medical Language of St. Luke*, p. 35), but rather literary—perhaps originally poetical. It is thus employed by the Greek tragedians and by later authors. It is common in the poetical prose writers, Apollodorus and Philostratus, the author of the *Imagines* (associated with σφυρόν, p. 418. 2f. Kayser). Often one cannot tell whether the older verbal meaning 'tread,' 'step,' 'walking' is not still present, as it frequently is in the medical writings (e.g. Nicander, *Frag.* 74, line 49 τὰ δ' οὐ βάσιν ἐστήριξαν). This doubt affects many of the instances usually cited to illustrate the meaning 'foot' here, e.g. Plato, *Timaeus* 92 A; *Wisdom* xiii. 18. Thus we find πήρωσις βάσεως in Dionysius Hal. *Ant.* v. 25 (due, as 24 tells us, to a spear thrust through the buttocks above the thigh, which τὴν βάσιν ἐβλαπτεν) and in Josephus, *Antiq.* vii. 3. 1, and vii. 5. 5 πεπηρωμένος τὰς βάσεις. Here in Acts ἐστερεώθησαν suits well that meaning, and the second noun σφυδρά may be added in characteristic fashion by a kind of hendiadys or Zeugma.

σφυρόν is part of the foot, the ankle. When strictly defined it is the ankle-bone, the projecting knob at the lower end of either of the shin bones, e.g. Aristotle, *Anim. Hist.* i. 15. 3 τὸ δ' ἐσχάτον ἀντικνημιόν, Pollux ii. 192 τὸ δὲ ὑπὸ τῇ κνήμῃ μέρος καλεῖται σφυρόν καὶ πῆξα, Galen, *De ossibus ad tirones* 22 (Kühn ii. 774) τὰ δ' ἐκατέρωθεν αὐτῶν πέρατα, τὰ κατὰ κνήμης καὶ περόνης, σφυρά, *Medicus* 10 (Kühn xiv. 708) τὰ δὲ πέρατα τῶν τῆς κνήμης ὀστέων εἰς τε τὸ ἔνδον μέρος καὶ εἰς τὸ ἔξω ἐξέχοντα σφυρά προσαγορεύεται. But the word was by no means limited to professional writers nor restricted to its technical meaning. It appears to apply some-

and ankles became strong, and he jumped up and stood and 8 began to walk and entered with them into the Temple, walking and jumping and praising God. And all the people saw him 9 walking and praising God, and began to recognize him that this 10 was he who sat for alms at the Beautiful Gate of the Temple, and they were filled with wonder and astonishment at what had happened to him.

And as he held Peter and John all the people ran together 11 to them to the colonnade which is called Solomon's in wonder. And Peter, when he saw, answered the people: "Men of Israel, 12

times to the whole ankle area or to other parts of the foot, especially the heel (πτέρνα). Pollux *l.c.* says the whole leg is made up of thigh, knee, ankle (σφυρόν), and foot (πούς). The Vulgate renders it here, not *malleolus* nor even *talus*, but *planta* (sole); the Syriac version suggests *calx* (heel). The word was evidently common in ordinary Greek of all periods—for example, of long garments (Demosthenes xix. p. 442 (Reiske) ἀχρη τῶν σφυρῶν; cf. Theocritus xv. 134, Letter of Aristeas 87, Josephus, *Ant.* vii. 8. 1, Philostratus, *Imagines*, p. 430. 7 Kayser). Palmomantic books, which certainly were not confined to technical terms, distinguish the σφυρόν from various other parts of the limb as the ἀντικνήμιον, κνήμη, ἀστράγαλος, πτέρνα, πέλμα, τάρσος (Diels, 'Beiträge zur Zuckungslitteratur,' in the *Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Berlin, 1907, 1908). It would be useless to multiply examples of the natural use of so common a word—a word as common in Greek as 'ankle' in English.

The spelling σφυδρά found in S* AB* (C* according to Tischendorf wrote φυδρά) was recognized by Hesychius, who defines σφυδρά as he does σφυρά as ἡ περιφέρεια τῶν ποδῶν. It is, as Harnack says, a rare form, and there is no ms. authority for his introduction of the spelling into the passage in Galen which he quotes (*Luke the Physician*, 191). σφυδρόν is now further attested by two occurrences in a third-century palmomantic papyrus (P Flor 391. 53 and 56). The grammarians have no exact explanation or analogy to offer for the intrusive δ (Moulton,

Grammar of N.T. Greek, ii. p. 103), but cf. the spelling in some mss. of Ἰσραήλ etc. as Ἰσδραήλ or Ἰστραήλ (see K. Lake, *Codex Sinaiticus*, p. xiv).

8. jumped up] The Western text reads "he jumped up and stood, and began to walk rejoicing and exulting, and he went in with them into the temple praising God." Ropes thinks that this is merely paraphrase; yet it may be original, for the Neutral text with its 'walking and jumping' seems intended to magnify the miracle. The whole question of the text in this passage is unusually difficult; see note on the Beautiful Gate in vs. 2. The leaping is recorded to indicate not the patient's joy but, like the walking, the reality of the cure. So also in xiv. 8-10, which should be compared with this narrative (cf. Isaiah xxxv. 6). More often in the cure of the lame the striking demonstration is the carrying of some article, like their pallet (Mark ii. 11 f. and parallels; John v. 8; Lucian, *Philops.* 11) or a heavy stone (*I.G.* iv. 951. 105).

10. at what had happened to him] ἐπὶ τῷ συμβεβηκότι αὐτῷ is changed in D to ἐπὶ τῷ γεγεννημένῳ αὐτῷ. The B-text is so much the better Greek that it may be an Alexandrian improvement.

11. And as he held] For the Western text see note on vs. 2.

colonnade] στόα is traditionally rendered porch, but this gives an entirely wrong impression. It was not a porch, but a colonnade.

Solomon's] Cf. John x. 23 and Acts v. 12. See Addit. Note 35.

12 ff. PETER'S SPEECH] The con-

why do you wonder about this man, or why do you gaze at us as though by our own power or piety we had made him to walk?

- 13 The God of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, the God of our fathers, glorified his servant Jesus whom you betrayed and denied in the

Exod. iii. 6.
Is. lii. 18.

struction of almost every sentence in this speech is obscure, and some of it is scarcely translatable, but the general meaning is plain. The lame man has been healed by the power of the name of Jesus, and this proves that Jesus was 'holy' and 'righteous.' The Jews had sinned in putting Jesus to death, but it was a sin of ignorance. Repentance could wipe it out and bring the 'days of revival,' that is to say, 'the good time' which was expected to precede the End (see Vol. I. pp. 270 ff.), and the return of Jesus, the foreordained anointed one. But Jesus will wait in heaven until the time of the establishment of all things, foretold in prophecy. That this 'anointed' Jesus should suffer had been foretold, and his coming as a prophet had also been foretold by Moses himself and by all the other prophets. He was the 'Servant' whom God had sent to fulfil the promise of blessing to all the families of the earth, and first of all to the Jews, by converting them from their sins.

The connexion of thought between the first and second parts of the speech is poor, but it is due to the difficulty which always arises in early Christian documents from the combination of the three fundamental motives of early Christian teaching. (a) The 'anointed one' will come from heaven; which is essentially Jewish. (b) The 'anointed one' is Jesus who suffered, rose from the dead, and is in heaven in accordance with prophecy; which is specifically Christian, and really inconsistent with the apocalyptic eschatology with which it is combined. (c) Jesus, the anointed one, had the prophetic mission of calling men to repentance; which is probably the teaching of Jesus himself. The first of these three motives was based on the apocalyptic expectation of the 'Man' from heaven, who had been there from the beginning (cf. Enoch and 4 Ezra and see Vol. I. pp. 368 ff.), and was really inconsistent with the others. For if the 'Man' was in heaven, waiting to make

his appearance on earth at the Last Day, he could not really be Jesus, who had already appeared on earth. Thus the second was necessary, though it entailed much new and historically unsound interpretation of prophecy, for, though not fully consistent with either of the others, it was sufficiently so to serve as a connecting link between them, and the three together passed into the general fabric of Christian thought. It is especially important to note that this was rendered possible by the Messianic interpretation of Isaiah liii.

Whether this speech is to be attributed to the editor or to his source is part of the general problem of the speeches. It is written in much less polished Greek than is found in the paragraphs which most certainly belong to the editor; but it may reasonably be maintained that he deliberately wrote speeches in this 'Septuagint' Greek.

12. at us as though] ἡμῖν . . . ὡς . . . ποιηκόσιν. The Western text (. . . ἡμῖν τι ἀρενίζετε ὡς ἡμῶν . . . ποιηκότων, 'why do you gaze at us, as though it were we who,' etc.) is more vigorous but less conventional Greek. The B-text may well be an Alexandrian correction.

piety] εὐσεβεία is certainly the right reading, though there is some evidence for ἐξουσία, 'authority,' which is probably due to the influence of the frequent collocation of δύναμις-ἐξουσία in Luke-Acts. For the evidence see Vol. III. p. 28.

13. The God of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob] Cf. Acts vii. 32. The phrase is quoted in Matt. xxii. 32 = Mark xii. 26 = Luke xx. 37 from Exod. iii. 6. In each case the text repeats θεός before each name. It is also found in Acts vii. 32 where, as in the present passage, the B-text inserts θεός only before Abraham, but the Western text agrees with LXX and the Gospels in reading it three times.

glorified his servant] Cf. Isaiah

presence of Pilate though he had decided to dismiss him. But you 14 denied the holy and righteous one, and demanded that a man who was a murderer be granted to you, and the originator of life you 15 killed whom God raised from the dead, of which we are witnesses. And in the faith of his name this one, whom you see and know, did 16

lii. 13, but see Vol. I. p. 391 and the striking argument of Burkitt in *Christian Beginnings*, pp. 35 ff., in favour of the view that the identification of Jesus with the *παῖς* in Isaiah is based on the LXX and due to Hellenistic Christians. See further in note on iv. 24, and Addit. Note 29.

you betrayed] *ὑμεῖς μὲν* in the B-text has no proper *δέ* clause to balance it; but this is supplied, so far as the sense is concerned, by *κρίναντος ἐκείνου ἀπολύειν*. The Western text reads 'whom you (reading *ὑμεῖς* without *μὲν*) betrayed to judgement (*εἰς κρίσιν*), and denied him before the face of Pilate, when he wished (*θέλωντος*) to release him.' This seems to be a paraphrase based on the probably erroneous view that the meaning of 'betrayed' is 'betrayed to Pilate.' It really means 'betrayed to death.' As so often, the Western text is the earliest and in many ways the best commentary. D further inserts 'who gave judgement' (*τοῦ κρίναντος*) after Pilate; this may, however, be a somewhat distorted conflation with the B-text. Is there a possible reference to Is. liii. 8 ἡ κρίσις αὐτοῦ ἥρθη quoted in viii. 33?

to dismiss him] Cf. Luke xxiii. 16 and 22 *παιδεύσας οὖν ἀπολύσω αὐτόν*.

14. holy and righteous one] See note on vii. 52.

murderer] Cf. Luke xxiii. 19. The details of Jesus' trial are not so fully elaborated in the other speeches in Acts, but the reference to Pilate's intention to acquit agrees with the author's tendency (cf. Vol. II. p. 183), while the allusion to Barabbas gives an opportunity for the antithesis *φονέα . . . ἀρχηγόν τῆς ζωῆς*.

granted] See note on xxv. 11.

15. originator] The word means (i.) captain, (ii.) originator, author. Both senses are found in the LXX, but 'originator' seems preferable here. In v. 31, on the other hand, where *ἀρχηγόν* is used without qualification,

'captain' or 'leader' seems to be the meaning. It is noticeable that critical analysis tends to assign to different sources the two speeches in which the word is found. *Ἀρχηγός* is found elsewhere in the N.T. only in Heb. ii. 10 and xii. 2, each time probably in the sense of 'originator.' In spite of its use in the LXX the word probably still had for the writer and readers of Acts a flavour that was literary, colourful, and far from commonplace. It was applicable to the mythical or historical founders of institutions, to pioneers who had bestowed blessings on mankind. See Moffatt, in *International Critical Commentary*, on Heb. ii. 10. It is worth noting that in Heb. ii. 10 the phrase is *ἀρχηγὸν τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτῶν* which in Aramaic would be indistinguishable from *ἀρχηγὸν τῆς ζωῆς* (see F. C. Burkitt's note in *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, vol. ii. pp. 78, 81, and 287). See Addit. Note 29.

of which] See note on ii. 32.

16. And in the faith of his name, etc.] The B-text can be thus rendered, but it is too harsh for it to be acceptable as an originally Greek sentence. There are three possibilities. (i.) Torrey thinks that an original Aramaic was misread, so that the translator put *ἐστερέωσε τὸ ὄνομα* instead of *ὑγιῇ κατέστησεν αὐτόν*. According to this the real subject of *ἐστερέωσεν*, etc., is *θεός*. (ii.) Burkitt thinks that the passage can be punctuated so as to mean 'but ye killed the author of life, whom God raised from the dead, of whom we are witnesses and to the faith of his name; this man . . . did his name,' etc. (see Vol. II. p. 142). (iii.) There may be a corruption in the text. If so it is quite primitive, for the Western text gives no help, but possibly *τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ* may have been an early marginal note explaining *δι' αὐτοῦ*. In this case also the subject of the verb is *θεός*, and this undoubt-

his name strengthen, and the faith which was through him gave to
 17 him this soundness before you all. Now, brethren, I know that
 18 you acted in ignorance, as also your rulers did, but God thus
 fulfilled what he foretold by the mouth of all the prophets that his
 19 Messiah should suffer. Repent, then, and turn for the wiping
 out of your sins, that there may come times of revival from
 20 before the Lord, and he may send Jesus, the Messiah appointed

edly gives excellent sense. The whole point of this part of the speech is that the cure of the lame man is a divine miracle intended to reveal God's purpose and his glorification of Jesus, just as did the Resurrection. For the relation between God and the name of Jesus in effecting the cure cf. iv. 10-12.

faith] Does this mean the faith of the apostles or of the lame man? The latter view is more usual, but surely the meaning of the writer is that the apostles, because they believed, were able to use the name (cf. vs. 6) to exorcise the disease in the lame man.

through him] i.e. Jesus, or 'through it,' i.e. the name. The Greek is quite ambiguous.

17. ignorance] Cf. Luke xxiii. 34 and 1 Cor. ii. 8 (so Ephrem).

18. his Messiah] This is a more primitive usage than 'the Messiah' without qualification. See Vol. I. p. 348.

suffer] None of the prophets, rather than all of them, made this prophecy, if we confine ourselves to (a) Messianic prophecies, (b) the original meaning of these prophecies, or (c) Jewish interpretation of these prophecies. But Christian interpretation applied to Jesus all passages in the Psalms and Isaiah which refer to suffering. See Vol. I. pp. 390 ff. The assumption in this verse, that the Christian interpretation was recognized and accepted by Jews in Jerusalem, is difficult to reconcile with the view that the speech is authentic. It seems to belong to a period after the development of a Christian doctrine which was doubtless held by the writer of Acts (cf. Luke xxiv. 46), but could not have been put forward by Peter without more explanation, and with only slightly less difficulty can be

supposed to have been put into an Aramaic document in Jerusalem.

19. Repent and turn] The customary word in the O.T. and in Rabbinical literature is שׁוּב which means literally 'to turn,' and is most often rendered in the LXX by ἐπιστρέφειν. There is, however, another word, נָחַם, which is often translated by 'repent' in the English O.T., and by μετανοεῖν in the LXX. But except in two passages (Jer. viii. 6 and Job xlii. 6) נָחַם is not used of repentance for sin, but of a change of purpose, especially on the part of God (cf. Jonah iii. 9, 'who can tell if God will turn and repent?'). On the general nature of the Jewish doctrine of repentance see Vol. I. p. 53.

times of revival] This phrase does not appear to be used in Rabbinical or other literature as a synonym for the Messianic period. ἀνάψυξις is found only once in the LXX (Exod. viii. 15), but the verb ἀναψύχειν is found seven times, and the general meaning is clearly to 'revive,' as contrasted with ἀποψύχειν 'to faint.' The context seems to show that the writer uses it as a description of the coming of the Anointed One from heaven.

Another interpretation is, however, quite possible. In Hellenistic Greek ἀνάψυξις means rest or respite when not used literally of cooling (see examples from medical writings in Hobart; Galen, *San. tuend.* iii. 7 (Kühn vi. p. 200) clearly distinguishes it from ἀνάπαυσις). If so, the ἀνάψυξις ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ κυρίου is not identical with the final restoration and the sending of Jesus, but is a temporary relief attainable through faith. Cf. E. Meyer, *Ursprung und Anfänge*, iii. p. 143 note.

20. appointed] Cf. xxii. 14, xxvi. 16.

beforehand for you, whom heaven must receive until times of 21
establishment of all things which God spake by the mouth of his
holy prophets from the beginning of the world. Moses said : 22

Deut. xviii. 15. 'A prophet will the Lord God raise up to you from your brethren
as he did me. Ye shall hear him in all things whatsoever he 23

Lev. xxiii. 29. speaks to you, and it shall be that every soul which does not
hear that prophet shall be destroyed from the people.' And all 24
the prophets, too, from Samuel and those following as many

προχειρίζω is from the adjective *πρόχειρος*, and the *προ-* is at least by etymology not temporal. But the author very likely used the word because to him *προ-* carried the idea not merely of ordination but of foreordination, like *προορίζειν* iv. 28, *προκαταγγέλλειν* iii. 18, *προχειροτονεῖν* x. 41. See note on 'foresaw' ii. 25.

21. establishment] *ἀποκατάστασις* ought strictly to mean 'restoration,' and it is sometimes used astrologically of the completion of a world cycle (cf. Sextus Empiricus, *Adv. Astrol.* 105, quoted by Wettstein, and the note of J. Lepsius in *The Expositor*, series viii. vol. iii. pp. 158 ff.). But that *ἀποκατάστασις* and *ἀποκαθίστημι* do not always have this meaning is suggested by the early glossaries and by the LXX, in passages where either the Hebrew or the context renders 'restoration' improbable (cf. Ps. xvi. 5; Job viii. 6; 2 Macc. xii. 39, xv. 20). This view has epigraphical and papyrological support. *ἀποκαθίστημι* is found in inscriptions meaning 'establishment in the proper place' (cf. *OGIS*. 90¹⁸ Rosetta Stone) and in papyri of the payment of money due. The *ἀπό* as in other compounds such as *ἀπέχω* and *ἀποδίδωμι* came to imply 'the establishment of what was due,' and the original sense of 'restoring' was obscured. Thus in relation to prophecy it may mean the establishment of what was predicted rather than the restoration of an earlier condition (cf. the use of *ἀποκαθίστημι* in Mark ix. 12 = Matt. xvii. 11).

from the beginning of the world] The omission of *ἀπ' αἰῶνος* in the Western text may be right. There seem to have been two theories about prophets: (i.) they began with Moses;

(ii.) they began from the beginning of the world.

22. Moses said] The quotation which follows is a combination of Deut. xviii. 15 f. and Levit. xxiii. 29. This and similar combinations recurring in writers who are scarcely dependent on each other have suggested the hypothesis that Jews and Christians used 'Books of Testimonies' in which proof texts were arranged under suitable headings (cf. Acts xxvi. 23). Harris thinks that such books were used by the writers of the New Testament and that such phrases as *εἰ παθητὸς ὁ Χριστὸς* (Acts xxvi. 23) were the titles of separate chapters in a Book of Testimonies, such as the *Ἐκλογαὶ* of Melito (Eus. *H.E.* iv. 26. 12) and the *Testimonia* of Cyprian. The theory is attractive, and the *ἐξηγήσεις τῶν κυριακῶν λογίων* of Papias (cf. Eus. *H.E.* iii. 39. 1) may have been a collection of this kind, but from the nature of the case demonstrative proof can scarcely be given. The weak spot in the argument is the difficulty of proving that the common source of the material is not the N.T.; its strong point is that this combination goes further than the texts so treated in the N.T. (See J. Rendel Harris, *Testimonies*, and cf. the note on vii. 49.)

24. And all the prophets] The Greek is impossible. On a cursory reading *ἐλάλησαν* and *κατήγγειλαν* seem coupled by *καί*, and both would therefore belong to the dependent clause introduced by *ὅσοι*, but this leaves *πάντες οἱ προφῆται* with no verb. The alternatives are: (i.) To assume that the predicate of *οἱ προφῆται* is implied in the previous sentences: "... God spake by the mouth of his holy prophets, for Moses said . . . and so

25 as spoke and announced these days. You are the sons of the prophets and of the covenant which God covenanted to your fathers, saying to Abraham: 'And in thy seed shall be blessed Gen. xii. 3. 26 all the families of the earth.' To you first God raised up his servant and sent him, blessing you in the turning of each from your wickedness."

4 I Now while they were speaking to the people, there approached

did all the prophets, who," etc. This is poor grammar, but fair sense, and is the impression gained by reading the passage rapidly without stopping to analyse the construction. It was adopted by the redactor of the African Latin who—like almost all commentators—ignored the difficulty of rendering *καὶ πάντες δὲ κτλ.* and, passing over the *δέ* and the *καὶ* before *κατήγγ.*, translated "and all the prophets . . . as many as spoke, announced those days." (ii.) To dissociate *κατήγγειλαν* from *ἐλάλησαν*, making *οἱ προφῆται* the subject of *κατήγγειλαν* and translating *καὶ* by 'also.' This is better grammar, but it is doubtful if anyone would ever read the passage in this way at first sight. It was, however, so read by the translators of Irenaeus.

25. the sons of the prophets] The turn of thought, though obvious, is rather harsh. Perhaps this led to the Western reading in iii. 22 *Μωυσῆς μὲν εἶπεν πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας ἡμῶν*, but even so one would have expected *τῶν πατέρων* instead of *τῶν προφητῶν*.

in thy seed] Cf. Gen. xii. 3, xxii. 18. Loisy sees here a difference from Gal. iii. 16 *τῷ δὲ Ἀβραὰμ ἐρρήθησαν αἱ ἐπαγγελίαι, καὶ τῷ σπέρματι αὐτοῦ οὐ λέγει, καὶ τοῖς σπέρμασιν, ὡς ἐπὶ πολλῶν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐφ' ἑνός, καὶ τῷ σπέρματί σου, ὅς ἐστι Χριστός.* But the meaning is surely almost exactly the same. The blessing promised to all the families is the work of Jesus. Paul merely makes the additional point that the singular (*ἐν τῷ σπέρματι*) indicates a single person, against the Jewish view (historically correct) that the 'seed' means the nation of Israel. It is worth remembering that the meaning of the original text of Genesis

probably is that men will take Abraham's seed as representing the highest standard of blessedness.

families] The LXX says *φυλαὶ* in Gen. xii. 3, but *ἐθνη* in xxii. 18.

26. first] *πρῶτον* may be interpreted in three ways: (i.) it qualifies *ὑμῖν* in contrast to (a) other generations (cf. xiii. 36) or (b) the Gentiles (cf. the previous verse and xiii. 33); (ii.) if *ἀναστήσας* means 'raised from the dead' *πρῶτον* may be an adjective referring to *παῖδα* (cf. xxvi. 23 and Col. i. 18); (iii.) it may mark the distinction between the coming of Jesus and the final consummation (cf. Luke xvii. 25, xxi. 9).

raised up] *ἀναστήσας* in connexion with Jesus usually refers to the Resurrection, but here it may refer to his ministry and to *ἀναστήσει* in vs. 22. Nevertheless, with the whole passage, vs. 18-26, should be compared xxvi. 22 f. *οὐδὲν ἐκ τῶν λέγων ὧν τε οἱ προφῆται ἐλάλησαν μελλόντων γίνεσθαι καὶ Μωϋσῆς, εἰ παθητὸς ὁ Χριστός, εἰ πρῶτος ἐξ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν φῶς μέλλει καταγγέλλειν τῷ τε λαῷ καὶ τοῖς ἔθνεσιν*, which includes many of the same ideas in briefer compass and much of the same looseness of order or construction. (See further in the note on xiii. 33.)

in the turning of each] This is as ambiguous as the Greek; grammatically 'each' could be subject as well as object. But *ἀποστρέφειν* (unlike *ἐπιστρέφειν*, vs. 19) is rarely intransitive, even in the LXX where it occurs hundreds of times. In the other N.T. occurrences it is transitive.

1 ff. It is very noticeable how the style changes to perfectly intelligible easy Greek in contrast to the obscurities of the speech of Peter in chap. iii.

them the priests and the controller of the Temple and the Sadducees, being annoyed because they were teaching the people, and announcing in Jesus the resurrection from the dead. And they laid hands on them and put them in custody till the next day, for it was already evening. And many of those who had heard the word believed, and the number of the men had grown to about five thousand.

1. the priests and the controller of the Temple and the Sadducees] The priests mentioned in this verse may be part of the Temple guard, and in any case their presence calls for no explanation, but the Sadducees seem a little out of place, for even though most of the priests were of that party, Sadducees as such had no special function in the Temple (see Vol. I. pp. 114 ff.). The reading of BC, etc., ἀρχιερεῖς, seems less likely than ἱερεῖς, but it may be right. For 'high priest' see note on vs. 6. The στρατηγὸς τοῦ ἱεροῦ is also mentioned in Luke xxii. 52; Acts v. 24 and 26. Rabbinical writings refer to two officials, either of whom may be intended here. (i.) The 'Sagan' or 'captain of the priesthood' (סגן הכהנים or simply סגן), who held the highest rank next to the high priest. 'Sagan' is usually rendered in the LXX by στρατηγός (Jer. li. 23 ff.; Ezekiel xxiii. 6 ff.; Neh. ii. 16, iv. 14, xii. 40, etc.), more rarely by ἀρχων (Ezra ix. 2; Neh. iv. 19, v. 7, vii. 5). Josephus also uses στρατηγός or ὁ στρατηγών. He says that in A.D. 66 at the beginning of the war Eleazar the son of Ananias, high priest in 62, and grandson of the Annas of the Gospels and Acts, was στρατηγός. He also says that when Ananias son of Nebedæus was high priest (the Ananias of Acts xxiii. 2) Ananos (Annas) was στρατηγός. (Josephus, B.J. ii. 17. 2, Antig. xx. 9. 3, and xx. 6. 2.) The office of Sagan may have been held by the Benjamite named Simon referred to in 2 Macc. iii. 4 as προστάτης τοῦ ἱεροῦ, but if so the rules must have been changed afterwards, for in Rabbinical writings the Sagan appears as a Levite. (ii.) Lesser officials subordinate to the Sagan were in charge of the outer court of the Temple,

and of the Temple itself. The one in charge of the Temple seems to be called στρατηγός by Josephus, B.J. vi. 5. 3, and it appears intrinsically probable that Acts refers to him in this verse rather than to the Sagan himself. The phrase in Luke xxii. 4 and 52 ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ στρατηγοὶ doubtless means the members of the high-priestly class and the Sagan with his subordinates, described in Acts v. 26 as ὁ στρατηγὸς σὺν τοῖς ὑπηρέταις (cf. the combination of הַכֹּהֵן and סגן in Jer. li. 23 ff. and Ezek. xxiii. 6 ff.). For a full account of all the Rabbinical evidence see Strack, ii. pp. 628 ff., and cf. Schürer, GJV. ii.⁴ pp. 320 ff.

2. annoyed, etc.] The meaning is that the priests, being for the most part Sadducees, objected to any teaching which implied a resurrection, but it may well be suspected that this explanation is editorial. It appears from iv. 13 that the Sanhedrin really did not know who the apostles were. (Cf. Paul's trial in Acts xxiii., and especially the explanation about the doctrine of the Sadducees in xxiii. 8 ff., and see Vol. I. pp. 114 ff.) The general meaning of ἐν τῷ Ἰησοῦ τὴν ἀνάστασιν is plain, but the exact construction is less clear. It is tempting to expound it as meaning that the resurrection of Jesus was a proof of the disputed doctrine (cf. 1 Cor. xv.), or ἐν τῷ Ἰησοῦ may go closely with καταγγέλλειν (cf. μαρτυρεῖσθαι ἐν κυρίῳ Eph. iv. 17). Probably some desire to emphasize this may be behind the reading of cod. Bezae (see Vol. III. p. 35). For the use of διαπονεῖσθαι see P Oxy 743. 22 (2 B.C.) ἐγὼ δὲως διαπονοῦμαι εἰ ἔλεος χάλκου ἀπώλεσεν, and cf. Acts xvi. 18 and Preisigke, *Sam-melbuch* 5678. 12 διαπονοῦμενοι (where the reading is, however, uncertain).

4. had grown] This is too strong,

5 And it came to pass on the morrow that their rulers and the
6 elders and the scribes were assembled in Jerusalem (and Annas,
the high priest, and Caiaphas and John and Alexander, and as

but ἐγενήθη means more than simply 'was.'

5. And it came to pass] The grammar of the sentence has suffered such shipwreck in the B-text that if genuine it must be a slip on the part of the writer. After ἐγένετο συναχθῆναι there must follow accusatives, and the writer begins correctly enough with τοὺς ἀρχοντας κτλ., but he then changes to the nominative, καὶ Ἄννας ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς κτλ. For the attempts in the Western and Antiochian texts to rewrite this grammatically see Vol. III. p. 34. Transcriptional probability supports the B-text.

their rulers] In view of the occasional rendering of 'sagan' by ἀρχοντες in the LXX (see note on iv. 1) this may be the meaning here; in modern language they were the 'administration' of the Temple. But it is generally thought that ἀρχοντες here is merely a synonym for the ἱερεῖς or ἀρχιερεῖς of iv. 1, since the usual association of πρεσβύτεροι (and γραμματεῖς) is with ἀρχιερεῖς (Luke ix. 22; xx. 1, etc.). The 'elders' (זקנים) and the 'scribes' (סופרים) were with the priests the constituent elements of the Sanhedrin (see Vol. I. p. 33, and Strack, i. 79). Josephus also uses ἀρχοντες as a synonym for ἀρχιερεῖς.

in Jerusalem] For the situation of the council chamber see Addit. Note 35.

6. Annas] His name was doubtless נחנן Neh. viii. 2 (Hanan), and is regularly rendered Ἀνάνας by Josephus. His family is mentioned in the Talmud, and was obviously unpopular in Rabbinic circles (Pesahim 57a). He was the son of Sethi, and was made high priest by Quirinius after the deposition of Archelaus in A.D. 6, but was deposed by Valerius Gratus in A.D. 14. He was famous because five of his sons (Eleazar, A.D. 16-17; Jonathan, A.D. 36-37; Theophilus, A.D. 37-41; Matthias, A.D. 43; Ananus II., A.D. 62) were high priests.

high priest] ἀρχιερεὺς was used (a) of the official high priest; (b) of those

who had once held that position; (c) of those who belonged to the families from which the high priests were chosen. Josephus is careful to give the sequence of high priests, and leaves no doubt that 'Joseph, who is also called Caiaphas,' was the last of the four appointed by Valerius Gratus, and that he remained high priest throughout the procuratorship of Pilate. It follows that Annas was not at this time official high priest, but it is hard to interpret this passage except as meaning that he was. The facts in the gospels about the name of the high priest are that Matthew names Caiaphas as high priest at the trial of Jesus; neither Mark nor Luke give the name of the high priest at the time of Jesus' death, but Luke iii. 2 names both Annas and Caiaphas at the time of the appearance of John. John appears to know something of Annas as a person of importance, but says that Caiaphas was high priest 'that year.' (See E. Meyer, *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums*, i. pp. 49 f., 197 ff.)

The suggestion of Luke iii. 2 (ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως Ἄννα καὶ Καϊάφα) that Annas and Caiaphas were both high priests may indicate a conflation of two theories, since it is certain that at no time were there two high priests. It is difficult to believe that Luke even thought so. But that would seem the natural meaning of his language, for Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* i. 10. 2) can hardly be right in thinking that ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως Ἄννα καὶ Καϊάφα is intended to mean the period covered by the end of the high-priesthood of Annas and the beginning of that of Caiaphas. I incline to suspect that καὶ Καϊάφα is an interpolation. The Greek ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως in the singular strongly suggests that it was originally followed only by a single name. If so, the Lucan view both in Luke iii. 2 and in Acts iv. 6 was that Annas was the high priest in the time of Jesus. But it must be an error.

There is no evidence that the Jews

many as were of high-priestly family), and they stood them in 7 the midst and began to inquire: "By what power or by what

did not recognize Caiaphas or secretly held Annas to be high priest. The periodic appointment of a high priest by the ruler of the country had become general, for the succession of high priests by primogeniture in the direct line of Aaron had ceased in the time of Ptolemy IV. (182-146 B.C.), when the last legitimate priest went to Leontopolis (see Vol. I. p. 30). After this the appointment of the priests was in the hands of the Seleucid kings, and later on of the Hasmoneans, Herods, and Romans. None of these high priests were really legitimate, judged by strictly Biblical standards, but there is no trace of any objection to them on this ground, or of the view that one man was priest *de jure* and another *de facto*. This view has been invented to account for Luke's mistake, if it be one, and has no evidence in its favour.

Caiaphas] His name is spelt Καϊφας in the mss. of Josephus and in the B-text of the New Testament. The Bezan text prefers Καϊφας, which may be an attempt to render more accurately the name כהן, but the only time he is mentioned in Rabbinical literature it is spelt קיפ (Para 3. 5), and the Syriac gospels give Kayāphā. There is another interesting but probably impossible suggestion which connects the word with the Arabic word Kaif, which means 'seer' or 'prophet,' and it is thought that this explains John xi. 49 ff. ἀρχιερεὺς ὡν τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐκείνου ἐπροφήτευσεν κτλ. According to Josephus his name was Joseph, and John xviii. 13 says that he was son-in-law to Annas, but there is no other evidence for this statement. In Para 3. 5 he is said to be the father of the high priest Elionaios, but as Josephus (*Antiq.* xix. 8. 1) says that Elionaios was the son of Kantheras, Strack thinks that Caiaphas was really his grandfather. (See Strack, i. p. 985; Nestle, *ZWTh.* xl. (1897), p. 149, and *Expository Times*, x. (1898), p. 185, and Dalman, *Grammatik*, p. 127.)

John] Codex Bezae reads Jonathan,

and this may be the Western text, though the African Latin has Iohannes. If Jonathan be right, he may be identical with the Jonathan, son of Annas, who was appointed high priest in A.D. 36 in succession to Caiaphas (Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 4. 3). He was almost immediately deposed in favour of his brother Theophilus (*Antiq.* xviii. 5. 3). He was afterwards either reappointed for a short time, or at least offered the position by Agrippa, but ultimately his brother Matthias was appointed. Finally he was again appointed by Agrippa II. in the time of Felix, and was murdered by Sicarii instigated by Felix (see Josephus, *Antiq.* xix. 6. 4, xx. 8. 5).

Alexander] Nothing is known of him.

high-priestly family] The treatise Menahot xiii. 21 (533) and the parallel passage in Pesahim 57a mention the families of Boethus, Kantheras, Ananus, Elisha, and Ishmael ben Phabi. Of these the family of Boethus (originally Alexandrian, see Vol. I. p. 117) and that of Ananus were the most important. Between 24 B.C. and the fall of Jerusalem there were six high priests of the family of Boethus and eight of the family of Ananus (see Strack, ii. p. 570).

The adjective ἀρχιερατικός so far from being exclusively biblical can be attested from Josephus (*Antiq.* iv. 4. 7; vi. 6. 3) and from inscriptions (Dittenberger, *OGIS.* 470. 21). Indeed both these sources show its use with γένος as here (Josephus, *Antiq.* xv. 3. 1; *CIG.* 4363; cf. *Jahreshefte des österreichischen archäologischen Instituts in Wien*, xv. (1912) p. 51).

7. By what power or by what name] Thus, whatever may have been the underlying motive, the ostensible purpose of the trial was an inquiry into a case of exorcism, for there was no essential difference in the opinion of the ancient world between driving out demons and healing disease; they were related to each other as cause and effect.

- 8 name did you do this ? ” Then Peter, filled with the Holy Spirit,
 9 said to them : “ Rulers of the people and elders, if we to-day
 are asked concerning benefit done to a sick man, by what he
 10 has been healed, let it be known to you all and to all the people
 of Israel that by the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth whom you
 crucified, whom God raised from the dead, by this is this man
 11 standing here in health before you all. This is the stone which was Ps. cxviii.
 12 rejected by you, the builders ; it became the corner-stone. And 22.
 salvation is not in any other, for there is no name else under
 heaven given among men by which we must be saved.”
 13 But seeing the boldness of Peter and John, and having per-

did you do this] This fails to bring out the scornful emphasis which the Greek puts on the ‘you.’

8. filled with the Holy Spirit] The natural implication is that Peter’s words were the result of sudden inspiration (cf. the promise of inspiration in Mark xiii. 11 = Luke xxi. 15, cf. Luke xii. 11 f.). The gift of the Spirit is looked on as intermittent. It is in this respect different from the Pauline and Johannine view (see Addit. Note 9, and cf. especially H. Gunkel’s *Die Wirkungen des heiligen Geistes*).

9. if we are asked] ἀνακρινόμεθα in Attic Greek refers to a preliminary hearing, but in later Greek to any legal inquiry. Cf. Acts xii. 19, xxiv. 8, xxv. 26, xxviii. 18.

healed] σέσωσται is literally ‘saved,’ but whereas σέσωσται in Greek might be used equally well in a physical as well as a religious sense, this is hardly true of ‘saved’ in English. Therefore the play on the word σώζειν here and in vs. 12 cannot be reproduced in translation.

10. by the name] Or ‘in the name.’ There is no real difference, and in view of the context ‘by’ is here preferable. Note ἐν ποίᾳ . . . ἐν τίνι . . . ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι . . . ἐν τοῦτῳ . . . ἐν ἄλλῳ . . . ἐν ᾧ. For the use of the name cf. Enoch xlvi. 7 which says of the Son of Man ‘In his name they are saved.’

by this] ἐν τούτῳ is ambiguous; it might mean Jesus, but the emphasis

in the sentence seems to show that it refers to ὀνόματι. The African text adds ‘and by no other,’ and omits this phrase in vs. 12 so that it runs, “Let it be known to you . . . that by the name of Jesus Christ the Nazarene, whom you crucified, whom God raised from the dead, by this has this man been made whole before you, and by nothing else. For he is the stone which was rejected by you, the builders, and it became the corner-stone, and there is no other name,” etc. This is certainly a more vigorous and better version; if it be due to the maker of the Western text he deserves credit for it.

11. This is the stone] ‘This’ of course refers to Jesus. The verse seems a parenthesis, but it is very awkward. The quotation from Ps. cxviii. 22 is not from the LXX and may be an original translation of the Hebrew, as ὁ ἐξουθενώθεις, which takes the place of the LXX οὐ ἀπεδοκίμασαν, renders the Hebrew דָּנָה as it does in the LXX in 1 Sam. viii. 7 etc. and in Ps. lxxxix. 38. The passage is also quoted in Mark xii. 10 = Luke xx. 17 = Matt. xxi. 42, but from the LXX (see also Vol. II. p. 97).

12. else] There is here no importance in the question of the difference between ἄλλος and ἕτερος in the N.T. For a discussion of the point see especially Lightfoot on Gal. i. 6, and Radermacher, *N.T. Grammatik*², p. 77.

13. boldness] See note on vs. 31.

ceived that they were uneducated and common men, they began to wonder, and to recognize them that they had been with Jesus, and seeing the man who had been healed standing with them ¹⁴ they had nothing to say against it. But having commanded ¹⁵ them to go out from the Sanhedrin, they consulted with each other, saying: "What shall we do to these men, for that a notable ¹⁶

uneducated and common] The meaning doubtless is that the Sanhedrin regarded the apostles as belonging to the 'ame ha-ares. (See Vol. I. pp. 439 ff.) Suidas regards these words as synonymous (s.v. *ιδιώτης*). But Chrysostom *ad loc.* takes pains to assert that it is possible to be one without being the other. The word *ἀγράμματος* is very common in papyri after the Ptolemaic period and elsewhere of persons who cannot write. See Majer-Leonhard, *Ἀγράμματοι* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1913). *ιδιώτης* is generally (for a technical use see P. M. Meyer, *Griechische Texte aus Ägypten*, 1916, p. 59 and note 34) the opposite of the professional or the expert in any field. Compared with the scribes whose profession was that of scholars, the apostles, like Jesus (Mark i. 22), and unlike Paul (Acts xxvi. 24), seemed to be at once illiterate in the strict sense and unprofessional. Does *ιδιωται* specially connote 'not eloquent'? In Justin, *Apol.* 39. 2 the same word is applied to the twelve apostles and seems to be explained as *λαλεῖν μὴ δυνάμενοι*. This verse agrees better with the motif of J^b (see the introductory note to this section at the beginning of chap. iii.) than with its own context.

began to wonder] It is obvious that the Sanhedrin did not know anything about the accused, and had not associated the apostles with Jesus until they heard them speak. The Western text emphasized this and rewrote the story thus: "But when they all heard the firmness of Peter and John, convinced that they were uneducated and common men, they were amazed, but seeing the lame man standing with them, cured, they could make no opposition in deed or word. But some of them recognized that they had been with Jesus. Then they commanded

them to go out," etc. The reviser correctly perceived that the Sanhedrin was at a loss to understand the case, and only at the end of it did some of its members recognize the previous history of the apostles. There is obviously almost insuperable difficulty in reconciling this with vs. 2, which says that the priests were annoyed because the disciples were preaching Jesus. The easiest hypothesis is that vs. 2 is editorial, and this carries with it the important corollary that the rest of the narrative is probably derived from a written source. Preuschen and others, however, reverse this argument and regard the clause 'recognized that they had been with Jesus' as an interpolated phrase. To me this seems improbable.

15. to go out] The Western text reads 'to be taken out.'

Sanhedrin] τὸ συνέδριον. The word here obviously means the council chamber, but it also raises a rather subtle point of translation. *συνέδριον* was taken over by the Jews into rabbinic language and the Council was called the Sanhedrin. It is the custom for modern scholars to follow this transliteration: but should we do so in translating the Greek? In most places the point is really unimportant, but in xxiii. 28 it is clearly wrong to say 'Sanhedrin.' To Claudius Lysias *συνέδριον* was not the special title of the Jewish assembly but the ordinary Greek word for a Council. With some hesitation I have usually rendered *συνέδριον* by Sanhedrin. The Syriac translates it 'Council.'

16. notable]. This is the usual rendering of *γνωστόν*. Blass, however, compares i. 19 *γνωστὸν ἐγένετο πᾶσι τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν Ἱερουσαλὴμ* and would punctuate so as to give the rendering 'and that a sign by them has become known to the dwellers in

sign has been given through them is clear to all the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and we cannot deny it. But in order that it spread no further to the people let us enjoin them to give up speaking in this name to any men." And having called them, they enjoined them to make no utterance at all nor to teach in the name of Jesus. But Peter and John answered and said to them: "Whether it is righteous before God to hear you rather than God, judge yourselves. For we cannot give up speaking what we saw and heard." So they dismissed them with an injunction, finding no way to punish them because of the people, since all were glorifying God at what had happened. For the man on whom this sign of healing had been wrought was more than forty years old.

Now when they had been dismissed they came to their friends and reported what the high priests and elders had said to them.

Jerusalem is clear.' This is possible, but the order of the words seems to be against it.

17. it spread] The subject of *διανεμηθῇ* is grammatically *σημείον*, but the writer obviously means the story about it. There is no real obscurity in the sentence, but the Western text (though not D) added *τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα* to make the grammar a little more conventional.

18. And having called them] The Western text is "when they had agreed to this motion, they [called them and] warned them," etc.: 'called them and' is omitted in the African Latin.

make no utterance] See note on ii. 4. It means more than 'speak.' The importance of the command in the mind of the editor is that it gives the legal excuse for the further prosecution mentioned in the next chapter (see v. 28).

19. to hear you rather than God] It is usual to compare with this Plato, *Apol.* 29 D (*πείσομαι δὲ τῷ θεῷ μᾶλλον ἢ ὑμῖν*). The idea is common, though not commonplace, and many parallels could be found (cf. Wettstein *ad loc.*, and see also note on v. 29), but chap. xvii. renders it quite probable that Luke knew the story of Socrates.

22. forty years] Knowing and

others claim the mention of the age or of the duration of the disease of the man cured as characteristic of Luke, and quote the daughter of Jairus (Luke viii. 42), Aeneas (ix. 33), and the cripple at Lystra (xiv. 8) to illustrate this characteristic. But in fact the age is not given in any of these cases except that of the daughter of Jairus, which is not Lucan but taken from Mark v. 42. So that if the argument has any worth, it rather suggests that the giving of the age was found by Luke in his source. To indicate the congenital, chronic, or persistent character of any disease is characteristic of all tellers of miraculous cures, e.g. Mark v. 25 f., ix. 21; John v. 5; ix. 1; Luke xiii. 11; Philostratus, *Vita Apollon.* iii. 38.

23. friends] Lit. 'their own.' Cf. xxiv. 23. It has been argued that this means merely the other apostles, because these 'own' are the subject of the following story, and are contrasted with the *πλῆθος* of iv. 32. But it is very hard to see the contrast. Another story begins in iv. 32 in which the Christian community is referred to as the *πλῆθος τῶν πιστευουσάντων*, and the *δέ* in that verse is merely connective. The *πλῆθος* and the *ἰδιοὶ* may well mean the same persons.

And they, when they heard, all lifted up their voices together to 24
 God and said: "Master, thou who didst make the sky and the
 earth and the sea and all things that in them are, who by the mouth 25
 Ps. ii. 1 f. of our father David, thy servant, in the Holy Spirit, said, 'Why did
 the heathen rage and the people devise vain things? The kings 26
 of the earth stood by and the rulers were gathered together

24. Master] The word *δεσπότης* is used of God by Luke only here and in Luke ii. 29, and in both passages it is antithetical to *δοῦλος* (Luke ii. 29 and Acts iv. 29). H. Böhlig in his 'Zum Begriff Kyrios bei Paulus' (*ZNTW.* xiv. pp. 32 ff.) shows that this antithesis is regarded as correct by Dio Chrysostom. But an interesting point is raised by F. C. Burkitt, *Christian Beginnings*, pp. 35 ff., who argues that the use of *παῖς* in this prayer with reference to Jesus comes from the LXX. It clearly identifies him with the servant of the Lord in Isaiah, and Ebed Jahveh really means 'slave of Jahveh.' This, he thinks, cannot have been originally applied to Jesus, though *παῖς* with its milder and ambiguous meaning is possible. The suggestion is interesting, but perhaps not wholly convincing. Though in modern English there is a sharp distinction between 'slave' and 'servant,' there is much less in Greek between *παῖς* and *δοῦλος*, and if this speech were in Aramaic, the same word was probably used in vs. 25, 27, 29, 30 to describe David, Jesus, and the disciples. The change of phrase in Greek from *παῖς* to *δοῦλος* represents the growth of Hellenistic Christian sentiment, not any difference of Aramaic vocabulary. Originally the antithesis was clear between *δεσπότης* and *παῖς-δοῦλος*. The accident that *παῖς* also means 'child' was used effectively when the clearness of the antithesis broke down and Jesus was ranked with the *δεσπότης* rather than with the *δοῦλοι*. Moreover, the question is complicated by the possibility that this tendency to interpret *παῖς* (=ebed) as meaning 'child' may be pre-Christian. (See note on vs. 27 and Addit. Note 29.)

25. by the mouth of David] This probably represents the meaning of the writer, but it is not an accurate

rendering of the Greek, which as it stands is absolutely ungrammatical. For the textual evidence see Vol. III. pp. 40 ff. There is no doubt that the oldest text is *ὁ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου στόματος Δαυὶδ παιδὸς σου*, and all the variants are attempts to straighten out this confusion. Torrey (pp. 17 f.) thinks that it is due to an Aramaic original *הוא די אבונא לפום רוחא די קורשא דייך עבדא אמר* which ought to have been translated 'that which our father, thy servant David, said by command of the Holy Spirit.' Torrey continues: "It is obvious that the neuter pronoun, 'that which,' is required by the whole passage: the connexion of the address *Δέσποτα . . . αὐτοῖς* becomes evident for the first time, and the *γάρ* in vs. 27 now comes to its own. Instead of the more common *לפנים כפום*, *כפי הוה*, 'by the command of Yahwê,' 1 Chron. xii. 23. In the order of words in this restored Aramaic there is nothing unusual; such delayed apposition is of frequent occurrence, and in this case we can see a rhetorical reason for separating 'our father' from 'thy servant David.' There is now no ellipsis in the passage, but everything is expressed as clearly and naturally as possible. But as soon as the *הוא* was lengthened into *י* (perhaps the most common of all accidents in Hebrew-Aramaic manuscripts, and here made especially easy by the preceding context) the whole passage was ruined. *הוא די אבונא* was of necessity *ὁ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν*, and every other part of our Greek text followed inevitably; there is no other way in which a faithful translator would have been likely to render it." This is one of Torrey's strongest examples. The objection to it is that mistranslation often produces bad sense and inferior grammar, but that it is hard to believe that a writer

27 against the Lord and against his Messiah.' For gathered together they were in truth in this city against thy holy servant Jesus, whom thou didst make Messiah, both Herod and Pontius Pilate
 28 with the heathen and the people of Israel, to do whatsoever thy
 29 hand and counsel foreordained to happen. Now, O Lord, look on their threats and give thy slaves to speak thy word with all
 30 boldness, in the stretching out thy hand for healing and to do signs and wonders through the name of thy holy servant
 31 Jesus." And when they had prayed, the place in which they were gathered together was shaken, and they were all filled with Holy Spirit and began to speak the word of God with boldness.
 32 And of the congregation of those who had believed there

of Luke's general ability would have produced what Torrey rightly calls "an incoherent jumble of words," and that אמר היא (for 'said it') is regarded as harsh by some authorities on Aramaic idiom. This raises the suspicion whether the trouble is not a primitive and irretrievable corruption of the Greek text rather than mis-translation of a source.

27. servant] It is the custom to refer this verse to Is. lii. 13, but the direct allusion is to vs. 25. David and Jesus are both παῖδες of God, and whether 'servant' or 'child' is the right translation depends on the further question whether the dominant concept is that of the 'ebed' or 'slave' of the Lord, found so frequently in the O.T., or that of the 'child of the Lord' in Wisdom ii. 12 (see also Vol. I. p. 391 and Addit. Note 29).

whom thou didst make Messiah] ἔχριστας refers to the meaning of χριστός, and it must be translated 'make Messiah' if χριστός be rendered 'Messiah.' When was Jesus made Messiah? Unfortunately Acts gives no clear clue to the author's opinion. (See note on x. 38.)

Herod] The reference is to Luke xxiii. 6 ff., the so-called trial of Jesus before Herod, an episode not found in Mark (see A. W. Verrall, 'Christ before Herod' in *JTS.*, 1909, pp. 321 ff., and M. Dibelius, *ZNTW.* xvi., 1915, pp. 113 ff.). Herod here doubtless represents the 'kings' of

Ps. ii. 2 and Pilate the 'rulers,' and ἔθνη and λαοί are interpreted in the usual way as Gentiles and the (Chosen) People.

31. was shaken] Not a natural earthquake but a supernatural mark of assent in answer to prayer. Like thunder such shakings were regarded as a method of divine communication by heathen writers (examples in Wettstein) as well as by Jews (Isaiah vi. 4; Ex. xix. 18; 4 Ezra vi. 15, 29 true text). (See ii. 2 f.)

began to speak] Speaking μετὰ παρησίας is here as in vs. 8 (cf. vs. 13) the result of the Holy Spirit. I doubt whether 'with boldness' is quite the right rendering. Can it mean something approaching to ecstasy? Cf. Mark viii. 32, where 'with boldness' or 'openly' (the more general rendering) seems inadequate to render παρησία. But it must be remembered that boldness in danger and escape from arrest were looked on as miraculous. See on xviii. 31.

32 ff. At this point the narrative (from Ja?) is broken off to make room for the stories of Barnabas and Ananias, introduced by a 'summary.' The main narrative seems to be resumed in v. 12 ff. (See Additional Note 12 for a discussion of the summary, and of the possible relation of it and the following stories to Ja and Jb.)

32. congregation] πλῆθος has two meanings both in classical and later

was one heart and soul, and not even one used to say that any thing of his property was his own but they had all things in common. And with great power did the apostles go on giving 33 the testimony of the resurrection of the Lord Jesus, and great grace was on them all. For there was not even any in want 34 among them, for as many as were owners of lands or houses used to sell them and bring the price of what was sold and lay 35 it at the apostles' feet, and distribution was made to each according as any had need.

Greek: (i.) a large number of persons, a crowd, and even with the connotation of a mob (cf. Plato, *Republic* 494 A; Xenophon, *Ath.* 2. 18). This usage is found in the New Testament in Mark iii. 7 f.; Luke vi. 17; Acts xiv. 1, xvii. 4, and perhaps in the Western text of xxi. 22. But it should be noted that in the New Testament in every case except the Western text of xxi. 22 the meaning is made plain by the addition of *πολύ* to *πλήθος*. (ii.) A body of persons regarded in their corporate capacity, almost equivalent to *demos* or to the American use of the word 'people.' This is found in Plato, *Politicus* 291 D; Thucydides i. 125, and in 2 Macc. xi. 16, where in an address to the Jews as a nation it is said *Λυσίας τῷ πλήθει τῶν Ἰουδαίων χαιρεῖν*. *τῷ πλήθει* is here obviously equivalent to *τῷ δήμῳ* which is found in 2 Macc. xi. 34. In this sense *πλήθος* is used to designate religious associations in Rhodes (see *Inscriptiones Graecae insularum Maris Aegaei*, i. 155. 6 and 156. 5, quoted by A. Deissmann in *Bible Studies*, p. 232). An inscription of the second century from Memphis (see Dittenberger, *OGIS*. No. 737) speaks of *Δωρίων ὁ συγγενὴς καὶ στρατηγὸς καὶ ἱερεὺς τοῦ πλήθους τῶν μαχαιροφόρων* where *στρατηγός*, etc., obviously means 'the commander and priest of the association of the sword-bearers.' In Exodus xii. 6 and 2 Chron. xxxi. 18 the Hebrew is *לֵהָקָדְשׁ*, which is more often translated by *ἐκκλησία*, and similarly in 1 Esdras ix. 6f. the tribes of Benjamin and Judah are described as a *πλήθος*.

In Acts vi. 2, 5, xv. 12, xv. 30,

and perhaps in the Western text of xxi. 22, the word *πλήθος* probably means the whole body of Christians, practically synonymous with *ἐκκλησία*, and is perhaps best rendered by 'congregation.' In xix. 9 and xxv. 24 and in Luke i. 10 it means the congregation of Jews, and in Luke xix. 37 it means the whole body of the disciples. But in each case this meaning is derived from the context, rather than from the word itself, just as it is equally clear from the context that in xxviii. 3 it means a bundle of sticks. In ii. 6 it seems most probably to mean the 'whole body of the pious foreigners in Jerusalem,' referred to in the previous verse, though it might be taken to mean 'the populace,' which may be the meaning in the Western text of xxi. 22. See also Addit. Note 30.

one heart and soul] There is an interesting treatment of the expression of the need of unity in Hellenistic and Christian sources in M. Dibelius, 'Die Christianisierung einer hellenistischen Formel,' in *Neue Jahrbücher f. d. klass. Altertumswissenschaft*, xxxv., 1915, pp. 224 ff.

33. great power] Or possibly 'by great miracles.'

34. in want] A reference to Deut. xv. 4 *ὅτι οὐκ ἔσται ἐν σοι ἐνδεής*.

This verse seems to ignore the preceding one and to refer directly to vs. 32.

owners] The absence of *κτήτωρ* from other writers sacred or profane is an accident, as it is found frequently in the papyri (see Preisigke) for 'owners of real estate.'

35. lay it at the apostles' feet]

- 36 And Joseph, who was surnamed Barnabas by the apostles,
which is translated 'son of exhortation,' a Levite, a Cypriote by
37 family, having an estate sold it and brought the money and laid
it at the apostles' feet.
- 51 And a certain man, Ananias by name, with Sapphira, his wife,

Preuschen thinks that this refers to an old legal custom, by which in a transfer of property the giver places it at or under the feet of the receiver. The same custom obtained in the consecration of sacrifices; cf. Lucian, *Philops.* 20.

iv. 36-v. BARNABAS AND ANANIAS. For the relation of this short section to J^a and J^b and the problem of the early Christian communism see Addit. Note 12.

36. Barnabas] The name is quite obscure. It may represent בְּרִי נְבוֹ. This means 'son of Nebo, the patron of eloquence, and it is difficult to think that the apostles or other Christians surnamed anyone with such a name. Or it may represent בְּרִי נְבִי, meaning 'son of a prophet.' In neither case does the word bear any relation to the translation given of it—'son of exhortation.' But it is a curious fact that though *υἱὸς παρακλήσεως* bears no relation to this word, it is a possible translation of Manaen (Menahem), who appears with Barnabas among the leaders of the Church of Antioch in Acts xiii. 1. It is possible that the explanation originally stood in that list, was by some confusion transferred in Luke's thought to Barnabas, and inserted by him the first time that he spoke of Barnabas. A similar difficulty arises with the name Elymas or Bar-jesus in Acts xiii. 8, where no commentator has yet found light. The question arises whether these impossible explanations of Semitic names could have been given by Luke if he had known Aramaic, or was translating it (See Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, pp. 307 ff., and *ZNTW.* vii. pp. 91 f.; E. Schwartz, *Nachrichten der Ges. der Wiss. zu Göttingen*, 1907, p. 282, and A. Klostermann, *Probleme*, pp. 8 ff.)

by the apostles] ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων, the reading of the Neutral text, might

possibly go with Barnabas, so that it should be translated 'Joseph who was surnamed "Barnabas of the Apostles"' (so Preuschen), but the translation given is perhaps preferable, for in later Greek ἀπό is often used as ὑπό, and the reading of the Western and Antiochian texts (ὑπό), though doubtless a correction, shows that it was so interpreted in antiquity.

exhortation] παρακαλεῖν means to 'exhort,' to 'ask for,' or to 'console,' but the last is a secondary and induced meaning. The scale seems clearly turned in favour of 'exhortation' by the apparent play on the word in xi. 23. See note *ad loc.*

family] τῷ γένει: cf. xviii. 2 and 24. γένος can hardly mean 'nation' or 'race' when applied to Jews, and 'family' seems nearest to the real meaning.

1. And] Or possibly 'But.' I question, however, whether the δέ is adversative. The author seems to have strung together a series of statements, διεδίδετο δέ . . . Ἰωσήφ δέ . . . ἀνὴρ δέ, etc. In each case the δέ is connective, and it is doubtful whether we can pick out one of them and treat it as adversative merely because of the obvious contrast between Barnabas and Ananias.

Ananias] The name חֲנִיָּה is not uncommon; cf. Tobit v. 13, Judith viii. 1, 4 Macc. xvi. 21, Acts ix. 10 and xxiii. 2. It means 'Jehovah is gracious.'

Sapphira] D writes Σαφφύρα, which Radermacher (p. 40. 1) regards as the preferable spelling (cf. Dalman, *Grammatik d. jüd.-paläst. Aram.* p. 130. n. 1). It doubtless represents שַׁפְּרָא, beautiful.

property] κτῆμα translates שְׂרָה in Prov. xxiii. 10, and the use of the word in Josephus, *B.J.* iv. 9. 11, and in P Tebt 5. 52, 120. 9, shows that κτῆμα was used of property in land. Verse 3 shows that it is so used here.

sold a property, and embezzled part of the price, his wife also² being cognizant, and brought some part and laid it at the apostles' feet. And Peter said, "Ananias, why did Satan fill your heart³ to lie to the Holy Spirit and to embezzle from the price of

2. embezzled] A rather obscure word, *νοσφίσασθαι*, used in Joshua vii. 1 of Achan, who *ἐνοσφίσατο ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀναθέματος*, that is, 'kept part of the spoil which was consecrated.' It is possible that the choice of *ἐνοσφίσατο* was influenced by a recollection of the incident of Achan, for in each story there was the idea of property 'consecrated.' Achan took the spoil of Jericho dedicated to Jehovah, Ananias retained private property dedicated to the Christian community. The word would therefore seem to imply that Ananias stole money which did not belong to him, or, in other words, that he had no right to keep any part of his property. No other explanation is possible in view of the evidence as to its use. It occurs not infrequently in Hellenistic prose (once in Xenophon, see below), and always implies (a) that the theft is secret; (b) that part of a larger quantity is purloined, hence it is followed by *ἐκ* (Athen. vi. p. 234 a), *ἐν* (P Ryl ii. 116. 10), or *ἀπὸ* (here, LXX Joshua vii. 1, and PSI. iv. 442. 4), as well as by other partitive constructions; (c) it is to be noted further that the verb is less commonly used of theft from one individual by another than of taking to oneself (the lexica use for it *ἰδιοποιεῖσθαι*) what is handled as a trust. Thus it is used of the appropriation of the property of minors by their guardians (Plutarch, *Demos.* iv. p. 847 D, P Ryl ii. 116. 10), of royal funds by their ministers or agents, and of public funds by state officials (P Petr iii. 56 *ter*; Philo, *De Josepho* 43 § 258, p. 77 M; Arrian, *Epictet.* ii. 20. 35; Plutarch, *Praec. ger. reip.* 13, p. 809 A, *Aristid.* 4, p. 320 D *et alibi*), of sacred vessels by the high priest (2 Macc. iv. 32), of public trust funds by trustees (Dittenberger, *Sylloge*³, 993. 21), and particularly of the spoils of war (Xenophon, *Cyropaed.* iv. 2. 42; Polybius x. 16. 6; LXX Joshua vii. 1; Philo, *De vita Mosi*, i. 45 § 253, p.

121 M; Plutarch, *Pomp.* 4, p. 620 D, cf. 664 C). Of course in such cases the property was dedicated to a god (cf. τοῦ ἀναθέματος in Joshua vii. 1, and the fund of Lysander in Sparta ἀνατιθεμένον θεῷ Athen. vi. p. 234 a). It is possible that the author of Acts regards the field of Ananias as thus vowed or dedicated before it was converted into money. A custom of dedication in advance was familiar to the Jews, as is shown by their use of 'corban' in vows. There is a very interesting use of the word without religious associations in the account of the 'delightful system' (χαριέστατον σύστημα) of some agricultural communists in Spain named the Vaccaei. According to Diodorus Siculus v. 34. 3 "they divide the land each year and cultivate it, and, regarding the produce as common property (τοὺς καρποὺς κοινοποιούμενοι), they distribute to each one a share, and for cultivators who keep back anything (τοῖς νοσφισαμένοις τι γεωργοῖς) they have fixed death as the penalty." Compare the use of the verb by Philo for the diversion to consumption of grain supplied by Joseph to the serfs in Egypt for seed, *De Josepho*, 43 § 260, p. 78 M. In Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 9. 3 § 164, the verb is used of a form of misrepresentation. The gift which Hyrcanus sent to the Romans Antipater appropriated (*ἐνοσφίσατο*) in the sense that he sent it as his own, not as though Hyrcanus had given it.

Thus, even without any conscious dependence on the passage in the LXX, any writer in command of the Greek language would have used just this verb in such circumstances. Acts certainly describes the offence as not against men but God.

3. fill] The attractive variant 'tempted' is widely attested, but seems to be due to the accidental omission of λ, producing ἐπήρωσεν (as in Ν), which was wrongly emended to ἐμελῶσεν.

4 the land? While it remained, did it not remain yours? And when it was sold, it was in your power. Why is it that you put this business in your heart? You did not lie to
 5 men but to God." And as Ananias heard these words, he fell down and expired. And there was great fear on all who heard.
 6 And the younger men arose, gathered him up, and took him out

4. power] Possibly this also is a question, 'was it not in your own power?' The Greek is ambiguous; οὐχί may cover only ἔμενεν or both ἔμενεν and ὑπῆρχεν. Unfortunately, punctuation and translation prevent the reproduction of this ambiguity.

business] πρᾶγμα can scarcely be rendered 'act,' which would be πρᾶξις; it is very near it, as also in the LXX (cf. esp. Josh. ix. 30 (24)).

God] Because the apostles, being filled with the Holy Spirit, were not merely the representatives—in a modern sense—of God, but were actually God.

5. expired] ἐξέψυξε is rare in this sense, but it is used in modern Greek (ἐξέψυχω) and the rendering is confirmed by Acts xii. 23. In classical Greek ἀποψυχεῖν is customary, but in later Greek ἐκψυχεῖν is found. It is also sometimes used with the meaning 'to faint.' Cf. Ezek. xxi. 7, and see Caddbury, *Style*, p. 56, note 29.

Can Peter be said to have killed Ananias and Sapphira? The case of Ananias is not so clear as that of Sapphira, but in both cases the author probably means it to be understood that power went forth from Peter as an apostle inspired by the Holy Spirit and slew the offenders, just as the same power blinded Elymas and threatened damnation to Simon Magus. It is possible that the exercise of this power to punish, and even to kill, may be referred to in the obscure phrase in 1 Cor. v. 5, 'to deliver such a one to Satan for the destruction of the flesh.' Such a power to destroy is the necessary analogue to the power to heal and make alive.

6. younger men] νεώτεροι here and νεανίσκοι in vs. 10. There is surely no suggestion here of any professional 'buriers,' but it is possible, though scarcely probable, that νεώτεροι is

used, in distinction to πρεσβύτεροι, of subordinate officials similar to the Chazzan of the synagogue. (See O. Zöckler, *Biblische Studien*, ii. pp. 8 ff.)

gathered him up] The meaning of συνέσπειλαν in this passage is not so obvious as translations and commentaries often suggest. The uncertainty (which was evidently felt by the Latin translators) is not removed by the fact that modern commentators tend to agree on the rendering 'wrapped.' The examples cited for this meaning are few and unsatisfactory. The common meaning of the word is 'reduce,' 'contract,' and this is its force in the medical 'parallels' produced by Hobart and in Stephanus's citation of Iamblichus, *Adhort.* 34, for *decenter operio*. In Lucian, *Imag.* 7, the verb is used not of the body but of the draperies which are wrapped tight; in the scholia on Euripides, *Orestes* 1435, the verb is only a variant of some mss. for συστολίζω. The best example is Euripides, *Troades* 378 οὐ δάμαρτος ἐν χεροῖν πέπλοις συνεστάλησαν, where again corpses of the dead are the subject. But even this passage permits the rendering 'gather together,' 'gather up.' This would be equally suitable for the prostrate form of Ananias in our passage. In Acts, however, there is no dative corresponding to πέπλοις in Euripides. The fact, often mentioned, that περιστέλλω is used of the decking out of the dead for burial has no real bearing on συστέλλω. Furthermore, the context does not suggest that this or even the shrouding of the corpse was done before Sapphira appeared. If any preparations for burial are to be found in the passage they must be in the more nearly technical term for it, ἐξενέγκαντες. It is tempting to

and buried him. And there was an interval of about three hours, 7 and his wife came in, not knowing what had happened. And 8 Peter answered her: "Tell me if you were paid so much for the land?" And she said, "Yes, so much." And Peter said to her, 9 "Why was it agreed upon by you to tempt the spirit of the Lord? Behold, the feet of those who buried your husband are at the door and will carry you out." And immediately she fell down at his 10 feet and expired. And the youths came in and found her dead, and took her out and buried her by her husband. And there 11

return to some simple meaning as 'removed' (cf. Vulg. *amoverunt*, Lucif. *sustulerunt*), even though no better parallels can be adduced than Plutarch, *Aratus* 22, p. 1037 A. This would not make ἐξενέγκαντες superfluous, for that, as has been said, applies to the carrying out (of the city) to place of burial, while it is natural that the narrator should indicate by συνέστειλαν that the corpse of Ananias was out of sight when his wife entered the room. The verb is used twice referring to Michael's burial of Moses in A. Vassiliev's *Anecdota Graeco-Byzantina*, vol. i., 1893, § 13, *Palaea historica* (p. 258), Μιχαήλ δὲ ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος προστάζει θεοῦ ἦλθεν λαβεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ συνστειλαί . . . ὁ δὲ ἀρχάγγελος Μιχαήλ συνέστειλεν τὸ σκύνωμα (i.e. σκήνωμα) Μωσῇ ὅπου προσετάχθη παρὰ θεοῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἡμῶν. Unfortunately the date is probably not before the ninth century, and even if the thought is derived from the *Assumption of Moses* (see R. H. Charles's edition, 1897, p. 1) the verb may not go back to its Greek text.

7. an interval] Or 'it came to pass—there being an interval of about three hours—that his wife' (ἐγένετο δὲ ὡς ὥρων τριῶν διδότημα—καὶ ἡ γυνή). A kind of absolute or parenthetical nominative. See Viteau, *Le Grec du N.T.* p. 83; Blass-Debrunner, § 144; J. H. Moulton, *Grammar*, i. pp. 69 f. This is not uncommon with expressions of time, e.g. Matt. xv. 32. Here and in Luke ix. 28 it is perhaps complicated by confusion with Luke's ἐγένετο δὲ . . . καὶ, and with the paratactic expression of time such as we find in Mark xv. 25, John iv. 35, xi. 55, and in other vernacular writings.

8. answered] ἀποκρίνεσθαι can hardly be rendered otherwise, but in the LXX and in the N.T. it often means merely 'addressed,' 'spoke to.' Cf. iii. 12. (See Dalman, *Words of Jesus*, p. 24.)

9. tempt] The concept of 'tempting the Lord' (cf. Exodus xvii. 2) seems to be the primitive one of 'seeing how far you can go'—essentially anthropomorphic and easily intelligible.

the feet] A Hebraistic expression—in fact the whole clause is Hebraistic. See the striking expression in 1 Kings xviii. 41 (LXX, not M.T.) φωνή τῶν ποδῶν τοῦ ἱεροῦ.

11-16. This passage seems to be one of the editor's 'connecting summaries.' Possibly the opening phrase 'many signs and wonders,' etc., was originally the termination of the J^a narrative from which the editor broke off in iv. 31. He now returns to it down to vs. 16, when he goes back to J^b, so that v. 17-42 may perhaps be regarded as the end of the narrative which was broken off at ii. 42. Undoubtedly, however, following his usual custom, he freely edited his sources at the point of juncture, and it is not easy to distinguish the editorial matter from the rest. Vs. 11 ('and there was great fear on all the church,' etc.) may be the real end of the story of Ananias, but it merely repeats vs. 5 and recurs in another editorial summary in ii. 43. It may be in its original position only in vs. 5, or only in vs. 11. Vs. 12 seems to strike a different note and to be the legitimate end of the J^a narrative, so that it should be taken with iv. 31.

The following verses, 12b, 13, and

was great fear on all the church, and on all who heard these things.

14, are extremely difficult. Who are the 'all' and the 'rest'? Every possible variation has found advocates, identifying the 'all' either with the apostles or with the Christian community, and the 'rest' either with the other Christians or with the unconverted Jews. No decision can be made on grammatical grounds, but the general run of the sentence suggests that the 'all' are contrasted with the apostles rather than identified with them, and that the 'rest' were non-Christians who were afraid to join the Church. But this conclusion is at once negated by the next sentence, which shows that many of the non-Christians actually did join the Church. Far the best sense would be obtained by translating *κολλᾶσθαι* by 'meddle,' which has the additional advantage of giving a natural meaning to *μᾶλλον*. This is Blass's suggestion, but it is open to the fatal objection that there seems to be no clear evidence for *κολλᾶσθαι* in this sense. Certainly in the LXX and N.T. it always means 'to join' (cf. esp. Acts viii. 29, ix. 26, x. 28, xvii. 34). Thus in spite of their superficial simplicity vss. 12-14 remain a complete puzzle.

Furthermore, it is clear that the *ὥστε* is connected with vs. 12a, "and by the hands of the apostles were done signs and many wonders among the people, so that . . ." Therefore, without accepting Spitta's view that two sources have been combined, I incline to think that vss. 12b-14 are editorial. This is confirmed by the fact that almost every phrase in them can be paralleled from other 'summary' passages. v. 12b=ii. 46a=i. 14a; v. 13b=ii. 47a=iv. 33b; v. 14=ii. 47b (see also Addit. Note 12). The question might indeed be raised whether the whole passage is not editorial. This is possible, but I think that the confusion of ideas is best explained as due to the expansion of a source. Were it all the work of the editor he would probably have been clearer.

F. C. Burkitt suggests that *κολλᾶσθαι* implies that no one dared join the

Christians on his own authority; each one had to be accepted and baptized. But this scarcely seems to fit well with the following verse.

11. fear] Cf. v. 5 and ii. 43.

church] This is the first time that *ἐκκλησία* is used. Its exact meaning and implication are a more complicated problem than might appear at first. *ἐκκλησία* is used in all early Christian literature as the technical Greek term for the Christian community. The evidence of the Pauline Epistles shows that this use belongs to the earliest period of Greek-speaking Christianity. It was used to distinguish the *ἐκκλησία* of the Christians from the Synagogue of the Jews. Probably this use soon took with it the implication that the Church was the true people of God, because *ἐκκλησία* is often used in the LXX to translate Qahal (קהל) the 'Congregation of Israel.' But at the time described in Acts i.-v. there was clearly no suggestion on the part of Peter that the Christians formed a separate religious organization which was a rival to that of the Jews. They were a community within Judaism, not external to it. They had a 'way of salvation,' and a method of living which distinguished them from other Jews. To make a parallel (which must not be pressed too far) with Catholic history, they were in the position of Modernists, not of Protestants. Thus though the writer of Acts may have used the word here, by an easily understood anachronism, the word cannot be given the significance which it afterwards had, any more than its use in 1 Cor. xv. 9 can be used to prove that even before Paul's conversion the Christians claimed to be the 'Ecclesia of God' to the exclusion of the Jews. Paul here merely used the word which custom dictated, or possibly was influenced by his own recognition that in fact the Christians, not the Jews, were the Ecclesia of God.

It is, however, improbable that this word *ἐκκλησία* would have been so quickly and universally used had

And by the hands of the apostles were done signs and many wonders among the people. And they were all together in the colonnade of Solomon, and of the rest no one dared join them. But the people magnified them, and more than ever believers were added to the Lord, multitudes both of men and women, so that they actually brought out the sick in the streets,

there been nothing in Christian usage to suggest it in the period before the rupture with Judaism. Nor is it difficult to trace the probable course of events. Undoubtedly the Christians in Jerusalem formed a 'synagogue' of their own, for any ten Jews could do this. Their name at that time may have been 'Nazarenes,' and if so their synagogue would have been in Aramaic 'the Kenishta (Heb. Keneseth) of the Nazarenes.' The natural Greek for Keneseth would be συναγωγή, προσευχή, or ἐκκλησία. Neither in Greek nor in Aramaic would this name imply a rupture with the 'Congregation of Israel,' any more than this was implied by the 'Keneseth of the Libertini' or the Keneseth of any other body of Jews who had organized a synagogue with a distinctive name. But as soon as the rupture with Judaism was really accomplished, the fact that ἐκκλησία was used in the LXX to translate *Qahal* would fit well with the claim of the Christians that they, rather than the Jews, were the true 'People of God.' The use of the word and the theory of the Church would lend strength to one another. It is possible that the use of ἡ οὐσα ἐκκλησία in Acts xiii. 1 may be the author's recognition of the fact that the ἐκκλησία in Antioch, neither heathen nor Jewish, but specifically Christian, was really a new fact, and that the word ἐκκλησία did not mean quite the same as it did in the earlier passages. But the fact that ἐκκλησία was originally a rendering of *Keneseth* made natural the double use of the word, both in Acts and elsewhere, to describe both a local community (so that it was possible to speak of 'the Churches') and also the universal society 'the People of God,' 'the Church.' I doubt whether the use of the word in heathen Greek to describe the assembly of a city has

any importance, but see Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, pp. 124 ff.

The evolution of ἐκκλησία and the idea it conveys is both like and unlike that of κύριος. It is like, for in each case the connotation of the word played a considerable part in the development of Christianity; but it is also unlike, for the important connotation of κύριος was that which it had in Greek and Greco-Oriental religious usage, and the important connotation of ἐκκλησία was that derived from the LXX and the concept of a chosen people of God. κύριος tended to Hellenize Christianity, ἐκκλησία to preserve the essential thought of Judaism. (See F. J. A. Hort, *The Christian Ecclesia*; A. Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*, pp. 112 ff.; Addit. Note 30, and Vol. I. pp. 327 ff.)

12. together] ὁμοθυμαδὸν occurs ten times in Acts, and once in the Pauline Epistles, but not elsewhere in the N.T. Etymologically it means 'with the same desire' or 'with one accord,' but in Hellenistic Greek it probably had come to mean simply 'together.' In the *Monumentum Ancyranum* it renders *apud omnia pulvinaria*. Cf. E. Hatch, *Essays in Biblical Greek*, p. 63; H. J. Cadbury, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, xliv. (1925), pp. 216 ff.

Solomon] See note on iii. 11 and Addit. Note 35.

14. were added] or possibly 'joined,' for in spite of the active form in ii. 47, προσετέθη here, προσετέθησαν in ii. 41, and προσετέθη in xi. 24 may be deponent forms.

to the Lord] τῷ κυρίῳ probably goes with προσετέθη (cf. xi. 24). πιστεύω in Acts more often takes ἐπί, but on the other hand cf. xviii. 8.

15-16. There is a close parallel to these verses in Mark vi. 56 καὶ ὅπου ἂν εἰσπορεύετο εἰς κώμας ἢ εἰς πόλεις ἢ

and put them on couches and beds in order that even the shadow
 16 of Peter as he came might overshadow one of them. And there
 was assembled also the populace of the cities near Jerusalem,
 bringing the sick and distressed by unclean spirits, who were
 healed, all of them.

ἐς ἀγοράς, ἐν ταῖς ἀγοραῖς ἐτίθεσαν τοὺς ἀσθενούντας, καὶ παρεκάλουν αὐτόν, ἵνα κἀν τοῦ κρασπέδου τοῦ ἱματίου αὐτοῦ ἄψωνται· καὶ ὅσοι ἂν ᾗψαντο αὐτοῦ, ἐρώζοντο, which may be the source of this verse. The matter is somewhat complicated by the fact that Mark vi. 56 is part of the section of Mark which Luke omitted in the composition of his Gospel. But it is almost certain that Luke knew this section, though he did not use it, so that this verse may be an editorial expansion based, as so often, on material in one of his sources, which he did not use at the place in his own narrative where it would naturally have come. It should be noted that this comment applies only to the source of the description. The fact that the healing powers of the early Christians roused great popular enthusiasm is undoubted. The only question is the source of the language used in Acts to describe it. (See Addit. Note 31.)

15. so that they actually] *ὥστε καὶ* occurs in the similar sentence xix. 11 and not again in Luke's writings. It is characteristic of him to use the same construction in similar though often widely separated narratives, e.g. *καθότι ἂν* with the indicative in ii. 45 and iv. 35, or *πρὸ τούτων τῶν ἡμερῶν* in v. 36 and xxi. 38, or *ἐλ καὶ . . . διὰ γε* in Luke xi. 8 and xviii. 4. Probably in both cases *καὶ* might well be left untranslated in English, as indeed frequently when it follows relative pronouns and conjunctions.

in the streets] Or possibly it may be 'they brought out into the streets,' but in Greek of this kind *ἐς* has so far lost its original meaning that it is impossible to say whether it is or is not a synonym for *ἐν*. The reading of D (*κατὰ* for *καὶ ἐς τὰς*) is not confirmed by the Latin, and is possibly a corruption. If it be original the omission of the article is significant ('on street'), but it is a harsh phrase,

and the Antiochian text added the article. The word *πλατεῖαι* is of course really an adjective with ellipse of *ὁδοί*, the 'broad streets' as distinguished from the narrow side alleys, but it was so often used thus that it was practically a substantive.

couches and beds] *κλινῶν καὶ κραβάττων*. It is quite unknown what is the exact difference of meaning, if any, between *κλίνη*, *κλινίδιον*, *κλινάριον* and *κράβαττος*, but *κλινάριον* is a less common diminutive than *κλινίδιον*, which Luke substitutes for *κράβαττος* of Mark in Luke v. 19 and 24. Both diminutives are used also by Marcus Aurelius, Artemidorus and Pollux, and *κλινάριον* by Aristophanes and by Arrian in his discourses of Epictetus. That the later mss. substitute *κλίνη* for it here is in accordance with their purist tendencies. The lexica do not mention the occurrence in Marcus Aurelius xi. 18 nor the Ptolemaic papyrus PSI. vi. 616. 14. Luke seems here to have followed his custom of emending *κράβαττον*, but instead of substituting *κλινάριον* for *κράβαττον* he uses both words, as he often does.

shadow] This belief in the healing magic of Peter's shadow has its parallel in the value attached to Paul's handkerchief (xix. 12). It survives in the belief in the efficacy of relics. For a full discussion of this and similar beliefs in the ancient world see O. Weinreich, 'Antike Heilungswunder' (*Religionsgeschichtl. Versuche und Vorarbeiten*, viii. p. 1).

Peter] Or should it be rendered 'in order that, as Peter came, even his shadow,' etc.? In other words, is *ἐρχομένου Πέτρου* a genitive absolute or is it dependent on *σκιὰ*? In classical Greek the genitive would doubtless be dependent, but I strongly suspect that here it is absolute.

one of them] The Western text adds 'for they were healed from all sickness, such as each of them had.'

And there stood up the high priest and all who were with 17 him, the local school of the Sadducees, and were filled with anger

17. stood up] ἀναστὰς. A common Lucan phrase, apparently based on the LXX (= Hebrew *qam*, cf. too Torrey, p. 32), and little more than a copula. The textual evidence given in Vol. III. p. 48 strongly suggests that the African Latin translated a Greek text reading Ἀννας δὲ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς instead of ἀναστὰς δὲ ὁ ἀρχ. It is possible that this was the original Western text, and that D has been accommodated to the B-text. In favour of the originality of the reading are the facts that Luke seems to have thought that Annas was high priest at this time (see iv. 6), and that the grammar of the B-text is harsh. The correct reading would be ἀναστάντες δὲ . . . ἐπλήσθησαν, but an exact parallel to ἀναστὰς is found in vs. 21 (παραγενόμενος δὲ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ συνεκάλεσαν κτλ.: see the note on that verse). Against it is transcriptional probability. No reviser or scribe is likely to have objected to the ascription of the high priesthood to Annas, but ἀναστὰς may easily have been read accidentally as Ἀννας, especially after the phrase in iv. 6 (see also Vol. II. p. 56).

the local school of the Sadducees] The translation 'who were the sect of the Sadducees' which makes this a description of the persons just named has perhaps sufficient grammatical justification, the assimilation of οὐσα to the predicate noun being quite common (Kühner-Gerth, § 369. 3), and the assimilation of ἡ οὐσα not impossible, though no parallels are given in the grammar. Historically too we need not doubt that the high priest and his more intimate associates (οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ, cf. iv. 6 καὶ ὅσοι ἦσαν ἐκ γένους ἀρχιερατικοῦ) were members of the Sadducean party, though not the whole party. But the articular use of the participle ὦν elsewhere in Acts suggests that some more idiomatic usage lies behind the participle here. The other passages are xiii. 1 ἦσαν δὲ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ κατὰ τὴν οὐσαν ἐκκλησίαν προφῆται κτλ.; xiv. 13 οἱ δὲ ἱερεῖς τοῦ θντος Διδος Προπόλεως (or πρὸ πόλεως) D, where NB, etc., read ὁ τε

ιερεὺς τοῦ Διδος τοῦ θντος πρὸ τῆς πόλεως); xxviii. 17 ἐγένετο δὲ μετὰ ἡμέρας τρεῖς συγκαλεῖσθαι αὐτὸν τοὺς θντας τῶν Ἰουδαίων πρώτους. Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 52, makes a suggestion, derived from J. Armitage Robinson, that "it introduces some technical phrase, or some term which it marks out as having an almost technical sense, and is almost equivalent to τοῦ ὀνομαζομένου." Now Luke is in the habit of apologizing for technical terms, particularly if they are foreign words, whether translated or left untranslated or omitted in the Greek text by the use of λεγόμενος, καλούμενος, ὀνόματι, etc. (Cadbury, *Style*, pp. 154 ff.), so that the suggested usage of ὦν would not be unique, but neither αἵρεσις Σαδδουκαίων nor ἐκκλησία nor Ζεὺς πρόπολις nor πρώτοι τῶν Ἰουδαίων represents a foreign term. He has frequently used αἵρεσις, Σαδδουκαῖοι, ἐκκλησία, πρώτοι with no such apology (see also Vol. II. p. 57).

A more probable suggestion is that the participle is a redundant qualification referring to what was existent at the place mentioned or the time mentioned, for which our English equivalents would be 'local' and 'current' respectively. The papyri give evidence of some such idiom when they speak of the current month as τοῦ θντος μηνός with the name of the month, or they avoid long formulas with unnecessary details by such phrases (quoted in Moulton and Milligan, *Vocabulary*, p. 185) as ἐφ' ἱερέων καὶ ἱερεῶν . . . τῶν θντων καὶ οὐσῶν 'in the term of the priests and priestesses then in office,' ἐπὶ ταῖς οὐσαις γειννίαις 'on the basis of the existing boundaries.' Cf. xiii. 1 'the local church'; xxviii. 17 'the local Jewish leaders' or 'the Jewish leaders of that time'; Rom. xiii. 1 'the powers that be' (αἱ δὲ οὐσαι, sc. ἐξουσίαι), and even Ephesians i. 1 NB αἱ 'to the local saints and believers in Jesus Christ' (τοῖς ἀγίοις τοῖς οὐσαι καὶ πιστοῖς ἐν χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ).

As further examples from the papyri Moulton gave in the last form of his *Prolegomena* (*Einleitung in die Sprache des N.T.* p. 360) P Tebt 309 (A.D. 2)

18 and laid hands on the apostles and publicly put them in custody.
 19 But an angel of the Lord in the night opened the doors of the
 20 prison and brought them out and said, "Go and stand in the
 21 Temple and speak to the people all the words of this life." And
 when they heard they went in at dawn into the Temple and began
 to teach. Now when there came the high priest and those who
 were with him they summoned the Sanhedrin and all the senate

ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄντος ἐν κόμῃ [τοῦ ἱεροῦ] θεοῦ
 μεγάλου Κρόνου; P Lille 29. 11 (3 B.C.)
 τοὺς νόμους τοὺς περὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν ὄντας
 'the laws that are in force about serv-
 ants,' to which we may add Wessely,
Stud. Pal. xx. 12. 21 πρὸς τὴν οὖσαν
 τῆς Ἀρτέμιτος κατοχῇ. The formula
 ἐφ' ἱερῶν καὶ ἱερείων καὶ κανηφόρου
 τῶν ὄντων also occurs in BGU. 997,
 998, 999, 1000, and P Grenf i. 27, all
 about the year 100 B.C., and elsewhere.
 It is doubtful whether this means,
 as Moulton thought, that the names
 of the eponymous priests were not
 known; rather it indicates that about
 this time the naming of the eponymous
 priests was discontinued though the
 older formula was not entirely omitted.
 See the lists in W. Otto, *Priester und
 Tempel*, 1905, i. pp. 172 ff.; Plaumann,
 in Pauly-Wissowa, viii. (1913) col.
 1439 ff., s.v. *Hierais*. In P Hamb 57
 (160 B.C.) we have ἐφ' ἱερέως τοῦ ὄντος
 ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ without the name of
 the incumbent, and four lines later
 after the names of three priestesses
 τῶν οὐσῶν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ. For a full
 collection and classification of ex-
 amples from the papyri (of the Ptole-
 maic period) see E. Mayser, *Grammatik
 der griech. Papyri*, ii. i. pp. 347 f. He
 calls this use of ὁ ὢν, ἡ οὖσα "eine
 für die hellenistische Kanzleisprache
 besonders charakteristische, wie es
 scheint volkstümliche (auch im N.T.
 nachgewiesene) Manier." His point
 is that the addition of ὢν or οὖσα made
 very little difference to the sense—it
 was merely a verbal flourish.

The view of Torrey (*Composition*,
 pp. 32 f., 37) that in v. 17 and xiii. 1
 the Greek is due to translation of an
 Aramaic idiom is answered in Vol. II.
 pp. 56 f. by de Zwaan, who thinks
 Luke's usage is derived from such
 uses of the participle with adverbial
 modifier as occur in xvi. 3, xxii. 5,

xxv. 23, xix. 35. For the rendering
 of αἵρεσις see note on xv. 5.

18. publicly] δημοσίᾳ is used else-
 where as an adverb (xvi. 37, xviii.
 28, xx. 20), so that this rendering is
 probably preferable, but it might be
 translated 'put them into a public
 prison' and it is found transliterated
 in Rabbinical writings with the mean-
 ing 'prison' (see Strack, ii. p. 635).

19. opened the doors] Cf. the
 miraculous release of Peter in xii. 7 ff.
 and of Paul in xvi. 25 ff.

20. this life] Whether this phrase
 translates an Aramaic original or not,
 it doubtless represents a word which
 could be rendered both by ζωή and
 σωτηρία, just as conversely مَيتَة 'life'

is used in Syriac to render σωτηρία.
 See F. C. Burkitt's notes in his *Evan-
 gelion da-Mepharreshe*, vol. ii. pp. 78,
 81, and 287. Nevertheless, the 'this'
 is curious.

21. came] παραγενόμενος is the read-
 ing of all mss. of both families except
 B, which reads παραγενόμενοι. Unless
 this is a mere slip perhaps partly due
 to the παραγενόμενοι of the next verse,
 it is interesting as showing that some
 scribes felt the objection to the use
 of a participle in the singular to qualify
 more than one substantive. This
 feeling may possibly have helped to
 produce the reading Ἄννας for ἀναστάς
 in vs. 17. But I am not sure that
 the παραγενόμενος of D really repre-
 sents the original Western text. The
 καὶ before ἀπέστειλαν suggests that
 the Western reading may have been
 παρεγένετο.

Sanhedrin and all the senate]
 These phrases mean the same. In
CIG. ii. 3417 the same body is named
 first γερονσία and later συνέδριον τῶν
 πρεσβυτέρων, and in Cagnat, *Inscrip-
 tiones Graecae*, iv. 836. 7, occurs the

of the children of Israel, and they sent to the jail for them to be brought. But when the officers came they did not find them in 22: the prison, and they returned and reported, saying, "The jail 23: we found fastened with all security and the guards standing at the doors, but on opening we found no one within." And when they 24: heard these words, both the controller of the Temple and the high priests, they were perplexed about them, what was this that had happened. And there came a man who reported to them, 25: "Behold, the men whom you put in the prison are standing in the Temple and teaching the people." Then the controller went off 26: with his officers and brought them, not with violence, for they feared the people lest they should be stoned. And they brought 27: them, and stood them in the Sanhedrin. And the high priest questioned them saying, "We emphatically enjoined you to give 28: up teaching in this name, and behold, you have filled Jerusalem

expression τῷ σεμνοτάτῳ συνεδρίῳ γερουσίας. Both inscriptions belong to Asia Minor and the imperial period. G. F. Moore (*Judaism*, i. pp. 260 ff.) says, "The older name γερουσία is replaced by συνεδριον, which in the language of the time had come to mean 'court' rather than 'council.'" The use of 'children of Israel' for the Jews shows that Luke is writing in archaic style. Elsewhere in his writings Israel occurs only in discourse, never in narrative. Similar phrases are found in LXX, e.g. Exod. xii. 21 πᾶσαν γερουσίαν υἱῶν Ἰσραήλ. It is, however, not impossible that Luke thought that the Jews had at their head a deliberative as well as a judicial body. (See also Lietzmann, *ZWTh*. lv. (1913) p. 125, who treats this and similar twofold expressions as influenced by archaizing formulae.)

all] When πᾶς is used by Luke with a noun after καί it represents a characteristic generalization.

26. off] See note on xvii. 10.

not with violence] The 'not' is omitted by D, probably by accident in assimilating the Western text to another standard. The original Western text was doubtless ἡγαγεν αὐτοὺς, ἀλλ' οὐ μετὰ βίας, φοβούμενος τὸν λαόν (see note, Vol. III. p. 50).

27. questioned] The Western reading is interesting. It seems to have been 'and the controller (στρατηγός, see note on iv. 1) began to say.' Was there any tradition that the 'Sagan' acted as prosecutor?

28. We enjoined] Referring to iv. 18. παραγγελία παρηγγείλαμεν. It is tempting to use the English word 'injunction' to render παραγγελία. But that is probably both too negative and too technical for παραγγελία. The papyri indicate that in Egypt παραγγελία was a legal *terminus technicus*, but it indicated a summons to court, a *litis denunciatio*, either the procedure or the document (ἐγγραπτος παραγγελία) that embodied it. The latter, at least prior to the fourth century A.D., was a complaint sent by the plaintiff to the strategus to be forwarded to the accused, setting forth the complaint and ordering the defendant to appear before the βῆμα. Examples of the word and the document occur in P Goodsp 5 (157 B.C.), P Tebt 434, P Oxy 484 (A.D. 2). See Mitteis, *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde*, II. i. pp. 36 ff., II. Nos. 50-56.

But the term is used also of other documents, e.g. written notifications

with your teaching and wish to bring on us the blood of this man.”

- 29 And Peter answered, and the apostles, and they said, “It is
30 necessary to obey God rather than men. The God of our fathers
raised up Jesus whom you did away with, hanging him on a tree.
31 Him did God by his right hand exalt as Captain and Saviour to
32 give repentance to Israel and the remission of sins. And we are
witnesses of these words, and so is the Holy Spirit which God gave

that owners must not count on their present tenants to continue their duties: P Giss 82. 20; P Lond 1231. 16; P Strass 74. 13 (all A.D. 2). In all these cases the word is not more prohibitory than in Acts xvi. 24 παραγγελίαν τοιαύτην λαβόν (cf. P Amh 68. 63 παραγγελίαν λαβόντας). παράγγελμα P Amh 50. 5, etc., is apparently a synonym for this untechnical usage, and apparently both words are used of the notification of the strategus in A.D. 260 (P Oxy 1411) to bankers and all others engaged in commercial enterprises that they must accept the new imperial coinage. The probable reading in this document (lines 7-9) ἀνάγκη γεγένηται παραγγέλματι παραγγέλλῃαι πᾶσι τοῖς τὰς τραπέζας κεκτημένοις should be a warning to those who find a Semitic idiom or translation in παραγγέλια παρηγγέλμεν. For similar cognate datives in this writer cf. Luke xxii. 15; Acts ii. 17 (LXX); iv. 17 [ἀπειλῇ] ἀπειλησώμεθα, to which the present passage refers; xxiii. 14.

the blood] Contrast Matt. xxvii. 25.

29. And Peter answered] The Western text is interesting: “And Peter answered and said to him, Whom is it right to obey, God or men? and he said, God.” This text has been contaminated in D but is preserved in the African Latin (see Vol. III. p. 53).

to obey God, etc.] Repeating iv. 19. The cross references to chap. iv. here and in the previous verse show that either the narrative was always continuous, or, if we adopt Harnack’s theory that this imprisonment of the apostles is identical with that in chap. iv., these allusions must be regarded as editorial. The arguments for Harnack seem to be the stronger if a general view be taken, for the opposite opinion if the details be pressed.

30-32. This account of Peter’s address has in common with iii. 13 ff. much not only of its thought but also of its wording, ἀρχηγόν vs. 15, οὗ ἡμεῖς μάρτυρές ἐσμεν *ibid.*, μετανοήσατε . . . ἁμαρτίας vs. 19, ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν ἐδόξασεν . . . Ἰησοῦν vs. 13. Cf. also ii. 32 f. οὗ πάντες ἡμεῖς ἐσμεν μάρτυρες. τῇ δεξιᾷ οὖν τοῦ θεοῦ ὑψωθείς . . . τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου.

30. whom you] The whole point of Peter’s short speech is that the guilt of the Crucifixion, really does rest on the priests.

did away with] διεχειρίσασθε (cf. xxvi. 21) is a not unusual word for procuring someone’s death (see Kypke *ad loc.*). The nearest parallel in form is perhaps the American slang ‘to put a man through,’ *Anglice* ‘do him in,’ meaning to kill.

hanging him on a tree] The reference to Deut. xxi. 22 is doubtless primary, but the Latin formula for crucifixion is similar, *infelici arbori reste suspendito*. See Livy i. 26 and Cicero, *Pro Rabirio*, iv. 13, in reference to the trial of the Horatii. According to Mommsen (*Strafrecht*, p. 918, n. 6) *suspendere* is the key-word in Roman crucifixion, which developed from the ancient custom of crucifying slaves. The name of the stake to which the criminal was attached was originally called *furca* and afterwards *cruz*. Though the use of ξύλον for a tree or for wooden stocks (cf. xvi. 24) is paralleled outside the Bible, its use for a cross or impaling stake in Christian Greek may be attributed to the LXX and the Hebrew, which uses the same word for a tree and for the pole (perhaps originally a tree) on which criminals were suspended after execution.

32. words] Or possibly ‘events.’ See note on x. 37.

to those who are obeying him.” And when they heard they were 33
 deeply wounded and wished to kill them. But there arose a man in 34
 the Sanhedrin, a Pharisee, by name Gamaliel, a scholar honoured
 by all the people, and commanded to put the men outside for a
 short time, and said to them, “Men of Israel, take heed to your- 35
 selves with regard to these men, what you are going to do. For 36
 some time before this arose Theudas saying that he was someone,
 a number of men, about four hundred, became his followers, and

34. Gamaliel] (גמליאל = the recompense of God.) The eldest of three rabbis. The Mishna, Shab. 15^a Bar., says “Hillel, Simeon, Gamaliel and Simeon held the Nasiat (presidency of the Council) for a hundred years, while the temple still stood.” It is known that Gamaliel was a descendant of Hillel, and the second Simeon was his son, but nothing is known of the first Simeon and his existence has been doubted. It is also believed that the baraita is wrong in saying that these four were presidents of the Sanhedrin, for until the fall of Jerusalem this office always belonged to the high priest. Gamaliel I. is mentioned in the Mishna as modifying the Sabbath law and the law of divorce, in each case in the interest of convenience and justice. He allowed the usual freedom of movement on the Sabbath (2000 cubits) to those watching for the new moon to establish the beginning of the month, and forbade the annulling of divorce proceedings to be carried out in such a way as to be unknown to the wife. The statement in Lightfoot, *Opera* ii. 181, that Gamaliel was connected with the school at Jamnia is a confusion with his grandson Gamaliel II. (A.D. 90). The same is true of the statement that there were 1000 scholars in his house, which Schürer in Riehm's *Handwörterbuch* applies to Gamaliel I. It really refers to Gamaliel II. According to Acts xxii. 3 Paul was a pupil of Gamaliel in Jerusalem. For the difficulties raised by this statement see the note on that verse. There is a full list of references in Jewish literature to Gamaliel I. in Strack, ii. pp. 636 ff. Cf. also Schürer, *GJV*. 4th ed., ii. p. 429.

36. For some time before this] Lit. ‘before these days,’ cf. i. 5; xxi. 38.

Theudas] The only Theudas who is known to have raised any insurrection is mentioned by Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 5. 1 f.: “Now while Fadus was procurator of Judaea a sorcerer named Theudas persuaded a great crowd to take their possessions and follow him to the river Jordan, for he said that he was a prophet and that he could divide the river by his command and give them an easy passage across it. By saying this he deceived many. Fadus, however, did not allow them to enjoy their madness but sent out a squadron of cavalry against them which made an unexpected attack. It killed many and took many alive, but when they captured Theudas himself, they cut off his head and took it to Jerusalem.” Since Fadus was Procurator after the death of Agrippa I. (A.D. 44) it is not possible that Gamaliel referred to Theudas some years before that date. The mention of Judas of Galilee as later than Theudas is also difficult, for Judas rebelled in A.D. 6. Two explanations are tenable: (i.) there was an otherwise unknown Theudas earlier than Judas; (ii.) Luke invented this speech and became confused in his chronology by a mistaken reading of either (a) Josephus, or (b) the source of Josephus, who happens in *Antiq.* xx. 5 to mention Judas after Theudas. There is no evidence at all in support of the first. The second depends on a general judgement on the speeches in Acts and on Luke's general practice (see also Vol. II. pp. 355 ff.). There is no reason to think that Theudas or Judas of Galilee really put themselves forward as

he was killed, and all, as many as obeyed him, were dispersed
37 and came to nothing. After him arose Judas the Galilean in the
days of the census, and stirred some of the people to revolt after

Messiahs rather than as rebels against Rome.

became followers] προσεκληθῆ, with a suggestion of condemnation.

killed] The argument of Gamaliel is that Jesus has been killed, just as were Theudas and Judas. If Jesus really had no more importance than Theudas or Judas his followers will disappear, as did theirs. Failure to see that this is the meaning led to changes in the text, especially to the reading of Eusebius, *H.E.* ii. 11. 1 (κατελύθη for ἀνῆρέθη), which enforces the argument by using the same word as in vss. 38 and 39.

37. Judas the Galilean] Cf. Josephus, *B.J.* ii. 8. 1. But in *Antiq.* xviii. 1. 6 it is said that he was a man of Gaulanitis and came from Gamala, near the eastern shore of the sea of Galilee. (Cf. *Antiq.* xx. 5. 2.) See Vol. I. pp. 12 f. and 421 ff.

the census] This was made by Quirinius in A.D. 6. The reference here must be to this census because of its connexion with Judas of Galilee (Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 13. 5, xviii. 1. 1). The difficult question is whether this allusion to 'the census' ought not to be taken as a reference to the census mentioned in Luke ii. 2. If there were no other difficulties involved this would probably never have been doubted. But from Josephus it is certain that the insurrection of Judas was in the census of A.D. 6, and this is incompatible with (a) the statement of Luke i. 5 that these events happened 'in the days of Herod, King of Judaea'; (b) the similar statement in Matthew ii. 1 which indicates that tradition placed the birth of Jesus in the reign of Herod the Great, who died in 4 B.C. Josephus gives no hint of any earlier census, and it is extremely unlikely that Herod would ever have 'numbered the people' in defiance of Jewish prejudice. It has, however, been attempted, notably by W. M. Ramsay, to argue that there was a census of the Roman Province of Syria in 9 B.C. or thereabouts, and that this

was extended to the neighbouring kingdom of Judaea. This attempt has scarcely succeeded, but it has added considerably to our knowledge of Roman history and administration. It seems therefore useful to summarize the results of this rather controversial investigation.

(i.) Mommsen (*Res Gestae Divi Augusti*, pp. 168 ff.), de Rohden and Dessau (*Prosopographia Imperii Romani*, iii. pp. 287 ff.), and W. M. Ramsay (*The Bearing of Recent Discovery*, etc., pp. 275 ff.) have shown that Quirinius was undoubtedly in the East as Legatus of the Emperor during a period covering the years 10-6 B.C., and he may have been governor of Syria at this time. In any case, however, he was busy with a war on the northern frontier, rather than engaged in a serious and unpopular fiscal measure in a district outside his jurisdiction.

(ii.) It has also been shown by Mitteis and Wilcken, *Papyruskunde*, i. 1, pp. 192 ff., Grenfell and Hunt, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, ii. nos. 254 f. and pp. 207 ff., Ramsay, *Was Christ Born at Bethlehem?* chap. vii., and *Bearing of Recent Discovery*, pp. 255 ff., that Augustus instituted a census of the Empire on the basis of a fourteen-year cycle. There are actual census papers of the years A.D. 62 and 34 (see Moulton and Milligan, *Vocabulary*, pp. 59 f.), and probable references to the years A.D. 48, 20, and 6 (P Oxy ii. nos. 254, 255, and 256), and it can be traced from A.D. 62 on down to 258. It is therefore possible that the census of A.D. 6 in Judaea under Quirinius may have been connected with this system.

(iii.) There seems to be as yet no proof that the system was introduced by Augustus before A.D. 6. It began in Egypt, and there is no clear evidence that it was regularly practised in other districts at least until much later. The census of A.D. 6 by Quirinius would be a natural procedure when a new district was taken into the provincial system of the

him. And he perished, and all who obeyed him were scattered. And in the present case I tell you,—keep away from these men and 38 let them alone, for if this plan or this work be of men, it will be destroyed; but if it be of God, you cannot destroy them, lest you 39 be found to be fighting even against God.” And they yielded to 40 him, and called the apostles and scourged them, and enjoined them to give up speaking in the name of Jesus, and dismissed them. So then they went rejoicing from the presence of the Sanhedrin, 41 because they had been found worthy for the sake of the name

Empire and be independent of any periodic census.

(iv.) There is no trace of any census in Judaea in A.D. 20, 34, 48, or 62, and it is safe to say that had there been such a census it would have roused at least as much trouble as in A.D. 6, and would probably have been mentioned by Josephus.

(v.) There is neither evidence nor probability for the view that the census, the first time it was introduced, was applied by Augustus to districts outside the provincial organization, and governed by kings, such as Herod, who were, at least in appearance, independent in the governing of their own countries.

A good summary of Ramsay's views is in 'The Homanadeis and the Homanadensian War' in the *Journal of Roman Studies*, vii. (1917), pp. 273 ff. See also the articles on Quirinius in *Klio* xvii. (1920) by Bleckmann (pp. 104 ff.) and Dessau (pp. 252 ff.). An excellent selection of recent articles on the Roman census is given in Preuschen-Bauer's *Griechisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch*, col. 139 f.

some of the people] λαόν, not τὸν λαόν.

scattered] If Josephus be right Gamaliel unduly minimizes the importance of Judas. The movement which he began did not come to an end, but was the 'fourth party' in Judaism, from which sprang the Zealots, and was directly responsible for the rebellion which destroyed the power of the priests and led to the fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70 (see Vol. I. pp. 289 ff. and 421 ff.).

38. And in the present case] Cf. iv.

29. The Western text has a vigorous and attractive paraphrase: "And at this crisis, brethren, I say unto you, leave these men alone, and let them go, without polluting your hands; for if this power (cf. iii. 12 and iv. 7) be of human will, its force will be destroyed, but if this power be of the will of God, you cannot destroy it, neither you, nor kings, nor tyrants. Therefore refrain from these men, lest you be found fighting against God." 'And at this crisis' is perhaps too strong a rendering for *νῦν* or *τὰ νῦν*. But the Greek is emphatic, and to render it merely 'And now' misses the whole point.

plan . . . work] βουλὴ . . . ἔργον, cf. Luke xxiii. 51 (βουλὴ . . . πᾶξίς) of men . . . of God] Cf. Luke xx. 4.

39. lest you be found] μή ποτε probably introduces not a dependent clause of purpose but a really independent sentence of warning. Whether we should regard it grammatically, as a rhetorical question, a cautious assertion (μή ποτε = 'perhaps') or a mild prohibition is uncertain, and consequently it is impossible to choose confidently any English rendering. See the grammars of J. H. Moulton, i. pp. 192 ff., Blass-Debrunner, § 370, Mayser II. i. p. 234, and Fr. Slotty, *Der Gebrauch des Konjunktivs und Optativs in den griechischen Dialekten*, §§ 84-86, 318, 331.

41. from the presence of] ἀπὸ προσώπου, a Hebraizing phrase נֶפֶשׁ (e.g. Num. xx. 6).

the name] Can this be Jewish Aramaic? The Rabbis say "Le-Shem

42 to suffer disgrace. And every day, in the Temple and at home, they did not cease teaching and telling the good news of the Messiah,—Jesus.

x And in these days, when the disciples were increasing,

Shamayim" = ὑπὲρ τοῦ θεοῦ (using 'heaven' as a periphrasis for 'God'). But they could scarcely say "Le Shem ha-Shem." The use of τὸ ὄνομα without qualification (cf. 3 John 7) seems to be Christian Greek rather than translated Aramaic. It is common in the Apostolic Fathers.

42. the Messiah] Or is this already a double name, Christ Jesus? If so, translate 'the Gospel of Christ Jesus,' for by the time that Christ had become a name, εὐαγγέλιον had probably come to mean 'the good news—or gospel—about Christ.'

vi. 1-xv. 35. PERSECUTION AND EXPANSION.

Chapter vi. begins the second great division of Acts, which contains the following eight sections dealing with the spread of the Church from Jerusalem to other cities.

1. vi. 1-viii. 3. The story of Stephen (Jerusalem).
2. viii. 4-40. The story of Peter and Philip (Samaria and Caesarea).
3. ix. 1-31. The conversion of Paul (Jerusalem and Damascus).
4. ix. 32-xi. 18. The story of Peter and Cornelius (Joppa, Caesarea and Jerusalem).
5. xi. 19-30. The beginning of Christianity in Antioch (Antioch).
6. xii. 1-24. Peter's imprisonment and escape, and Herod's death (Jerusalem).
7. xii. 25-xiv. 28. The Antiochian mission of Barnabas and Paul (Antioch).
8. xv. 1-35. The Council at Jerusalem (Antioch and Jerusalem).

Obviously we have here various local traditions put together as a continuous narrative by a skilful editor. The questions which arise are: (a) Can we speak with confidence of 'sources' in the sense of documents, as well as of 'traditions'? (b) Has the editor ever converted two local traditions of one event into a single narrative of two events? For the discussion of these

points see Vol. II. pp. 147-157 and Addit. Notes 16 and 18.

THE SEVEN, AND THE DEATH OF STEPHEN. This section contains two distinct episodes, and one very long speech. The first episode (vi. 1-6) narrates the appointment of the Seven, and is clearly intended by the writer to explain why the communistic experiment broke down. There was dissension among the recipients of help, and the officers appointed to administer the dole were either killed or driven out of Jerusalem. The second episode is the prosecution and martyrdom of Stephen, into which is inserted the long speech in chapter vii.

It has often been suggested that the section is composite. There is some plausibility in this so far as the narrative about Stephen is concerned, but less in regard to his speech. (See Vol. II. pp. 148 ff. and the note on vii. 2-53.) However this may be, the whole section in its present form is a connecting link between the Twelve and Jerusalem on the one hand, and the Seven and the mission outside the city on the other. It prepares the way for the taking of the gospel from Jerusalem, the centre of Jewish life, to Caesarea, and this is, in the main, the work of Philip, one of the Seven, and of Peter, the leader of the Twelve. (See further the notes on viii. 4-40, and on ix. 32-xi. 18.)

The appointment of the 'Seven' gives rise to questions which cannot be answered. According to Acts they were subordinate to the Twelve. But there is little sign of this subordination in the actual narratives either of Stephen or of Philip, and the suggestion has been made in various forms that the Seven were really the leaders of the Hellenistic Christians in Jerusalem, while the Twelve were the leaders of the 'Hebrews.' This theory is discussed in Addit. Note 12.

1. disciples] The first occurrence in Acts of this name for Christians.

there was grumbling of the Hellenists against the Hebrews because their widows were overlooked in the daily ministrations. And the Twelve called the congregation of the disciples and² said, "It is not satisfactory for us to leave the word of God

It is not found in the earlier chapters or in the Epistles. See Addit. Note 30.

Hellenists] The traditional interpretation of Ἑλληνιστῆς is 'Greek-speaking Jews,' and it is thus contrasted with Ἑλληνας which means Greeks by race and religion. This interpretation is possible, but it is derived from the context, not from the known meaning of the word, which is extremely rare. The primary facts are (i.) that Ἑλληνιστῆς is derived from Ἑλληνίζω which means to 'Graecize,' whether in speech or custom. In earlier writers it is most commonly used of speech. In later writers it means 'to be heathen.' (ii.) It is contrasted here with Ἑβραῖοι, which does not elsewhere appear to refer primarily to speech but to nationality, for both Paul and Philo speak of themselves as Hebrews, and certainly both were 'Greek-speaking' Jews. Therefore though 'Greek-speaking' may be the right meaning, it is possible that the reference is to 'Graecizing' Jews who are contrasted with the conservative party of the Ἑβραῖοι. But this is one of the places where the context must determine the meaning rather than the meaning illuminate the context, and the context is not clear enough to serve. See Addit. Note 7.

widows] The care of widows was naturally one of the chief functions of philanthropy in the ancient world, and there is no real reason here for going outside the ordinary meaning of the word. But it is obvious that this passage regards the widows as receiving regular support, and this implies some organization of their members. The further development of this organization can be traced in the Pastoral Epistles (especially 1 Tim. v. 9 ff.) and in most of the early writers. In general 'widows' came to have a double meaning: (i.) all women who had lost their husbands; (ii.) a selected number of the first class who were appointed to a definite position in the organization of the Church as part of the 'Clerus.'

The evidence for this is best summarized in Hatch's article in the *DCA*. Since Hatch the chief additions to knowledge are due to the study of the *Didascalia*, the third-century source of the *Apostolic Constitutions*, and the cognate literature (see especially H. Achelis and J. Flemming, 'Die Syrische Didascalia,' *TU*. xxv. p. 2; Funk's *Apostolische Konstitutionen*; and cf. J. Viteau, 'L'Institution des Diacones et des Veuves' in the *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, xxii., 1926).

ministration] The picture suggested is that of a daily dispensation of alms or of food to the widows. This seems identical with the Jewish tamhui (see Addit. Note 12). For the possible relation of this dispensation to the 'Agape' see Lietzmann's excursus to 1 Cor. xi. 21, and P. Batiffol's essay in *Études d'histoire et de théologie positive*, i. pp. 283 ff.

2. the Twelve] The process of ordination is very carefully distributed between the congregation which elects, and the Twelve who ordain by the laying on of hands (see vs. 6). The title 'the Twelve' is only found here in Acts, but is implied in i. 26 and ii. 14 by the phrase 'the Eleven.' It is common in Mark and Luke, and is used once in the Pauline Epistles (1 Cor. xv. 5).

the congregation] πλήθος, see note on iv. 32.

satisfactory] ἀρεστόν, cf. xii. 3.

tables] τραπέζα, apart from its general use as 'table' without qualification, has two special meanings: (1) a money-changer's table, and so a bank; cf. τραπεζίτης, which became the usual word for a banker; (2) a dining-table. Cf. *Didacae* xi. 9 καὶ πᾶς προφήτης ὁρίζων τράπεζαν ἐν πνεύματι οὐ φάγεται ἀπ' αὐτῆς, ἐλὲ δὲ μήγε ψευδοπροφήτης ἐστὶ. It is usually taken here in the second sense. But it is not impossible that it was intended in the first sense to cover the general financial administration of the community.

3 and serve tables, but let us choose, brethren, seven men from among you, of good character, full of spirit and wisdom, 4 whom we will put over this duty, but we ourselves will attend 5 to prayer and the service of the Lord." And the proposal was accepted by all the congregation, and they chose Stephen, a man full of faith and the Holy Spirit, and Philip and Prochorus and Nicanor and Timon and Parmenas and Nicolas, a proselyte

3. let us choose] This is the text of B. If it is right and is pressed it means that the choice of the Seven was made by the apostles, while the text of SAC and the Western authorities means that the choice was left to the congregation. Even, however, with the text of B it is possible that the 'we' means the whole Church rather than the apostles only.

The Western text is interesting. "What is it then, brethren? Appoint for yourselves," etc. Note also the variants in vs. 6, "These stood before the apostles, who prayed, and laid hands on them," which seems intended to clear up the rather slovenly expression of the B-text. But there is some doubt about the Western text at this point (see Vol. III. p. 59). For the interest of the early texts in the details of appointment compare the variants in i. 23 f.

full of spirit] Note the omission of *ἀγίου* with *πνεύματος*. Is it possible that the account of the choice of Joshua in Numbers xxvii. 16-18 is echoed in this passage? We have there *ἐπισκεψάσθω* (= "seek out")... *ἄνθρωπον ὃς ἔχει πνεῦμα ἐν ἑαυτῷ, καὶ ἐπιθήσεις τὰς χεῖράς σου ἐπ' αὐτόν*. Apparently the first phrase is otherwise unparalleled in either Testament, but Gen. xli. 33 has *νῦν οὖν σκέψαι ἄνθρωπον φρόνιμον*.

duty] *χρεία* in Hellenistic Greek is almost the equivalent of office, but the word everywhere else in the N.T. has the meaning 'need.' (See Wettstein *ad loc.*)

4. attend to] *προσκαρτεροῦντες*, cf. i. 14.

prayer] This is the most probable rendering, but there is once more the possibility that *προσευχή* means synagogue. See note on i. 14.

5. was accepted] the Greek *ἤρρεεν* ... *ἐνώπιον* is a conspicuously Semitic idiom.

Prochorus] According to tradition the author of the 'Prochoran' Acts of John. See Lipsius and Bonnet, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, and the articles on the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles in the *Dictionary of Christian Biography* and in Herzog's *Realencyklopädie*. According to a tradition widely found in Byzantine art he was the scribe to whom John dictated the Fourth Gospel.

Nicanor and Timon and Parmenas] See Schermann, *Propheten- und Apostellegenden*.

Nicolas] See Iren. i. 26. 3 and Clem. Strom. ii. 20. 118 for the tradition that he was the founder of the Nicolaitans mentioned in Rev. ii. 6 as an heretical sect which was found in Ephesus and Pergamum. That he was a proselyte and from Antioch are additions to this name that excite our curiosity. Antioch is here mentioned for the first time, but is so prominent later as to suggest that the author (or one of his sources) may have been specially connected with that city. Does the statement that Nicolas was a proselyte imply that the other six were not? If so, were they born Jews or Gentiles? Josephus, *B.J.* vii. 3. 3 § 45, explicitly refers to the multitudes of Greeks who at Antioch were attracted to the worship of the Jews and 'in some measure incorporated' with them. That they have Greek names does not prove that they were Gentiles or even Jews of the dispersion, for Palestinian Jews often had Greek names (see note on Justus i. 23). However, it is unlikely that a group of six or seven Palestinians would all

of Antioch, and they stood them before the apostles, and they 6 prayed and laid hands on them.

And the word of God was growing, and the number of 7 the disciples in Jerusalem increasing exceedingly, and a great multitude of the priests obeyed the faith. And Stephen, 8 full of grace and power, began to do portents and great signs among the people. And there rose up some of those of the 9 synagogue which is called that of the Libertini, both Cyrenians

without exception have Greek names. Among the Twelve there were only the other Philip and Andrew. On the use of pagan names by Jews in the diaspora see Harnack, *Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums*, 4th edit., 1924, p. 436 note 2, and the literature there cited, especially Nik. Müller, *Die jüdische Katakomba am Monte Verde zu Rom* (1912), pp. 100 ff. As Greek names Philip and Stephen are particularly common, Parmenas and Prochorus rather uncommon.

6. laid hands] See Addit. Note 11.

7. exceedingly] σφόδρα. Cf. ii. 47 ὁ δὲ κύριος προσετίθει τοὺς σωζομένους καθ' ἡμέραν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό. According to Torrey ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό and σφόδρα represent the same Aramaic word, correctly translated here and incorrectly in ii. 47. (See Torrey, pp. 10-14, and Vol. II. pp. 143 ff.)

the priests] This is a unique statement, and there is no other trace of any tendency of the priests to become Christians. Its strangeness is possibly the cause of the variants. **Σ**, the Peshitto, and some minuscules read 'Ιουδαίων for ἱερέων—probably an emendation. *Cod. Flor.* (h) reads *in templo*, i.e. ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ (see Vol. III. p. 58)—a far more intelligible reading, but transcriptionally less probable.

obeyed the faith] The phrase is curious, both in Greek and in English. It seems to imply a use of *πίστις* as almost synonymous with 'the Church'; the same usage is found in the Pastoral Epistles (e.g. 1 Tim. i. 19, iv. 6, vi. 10), and ὑπακοή πίστεως in Rom. i. 5, xvi. 26 may be a step in the same direction. See Addit. Note 30.

8. among the people] The Western text adds 'by the name of (the Lord) Jesus Christ.' The African reading is

Jesu Christi, but the Harclean has *domini*, and D has a conflation of the two.

9. the synagogue which is called, etc.] The Greek is ambiguous and the translation is doubtful. Three renderings have been suggested:

(i.) "Those of the synagogue called 'of the Libertini, and of the Cyrenians, and of the Alexandrians,'" implying either one or three synagogues. It is, however, very unlikely that the Greek can mean three synagogues. The arrangement of the articles is almost decisive on this point, and τῶν συναγωγῶν rather than τῆς συναγωγῆς would be called for. A single synagogue of Libertini, Cyrenians, and Alexandrians is linguistically quite possible, and is at first sight the most natural rendering, but the combination of two national names with a word descriptive of social status is very improbable.

(ii.) "Those of the synagogue called 'of the Libertini,' and of the Cyrenians and Alexandrians," implying one synagogue and two local groups. The objection to this is linguistic. The arrangement of the articles τῶν . . .

τῶν suggests that there were two groups, (a) Libertini, Cyrenians, and Alexandrians, (b) Cilicians and Asians. (iii.) The rendering given above, and recommended by Blass. It has the advantage of being linguistically correct and historically possible. The only objection to it is that at first reading Cyrenians and Alexandrians seem co-ordinate with Libertini. But this would scarcely have been felt by the original readers, who would have known that such a co-ordination was absurd, and have read the sentence with the meaning given. See Harnack, *Acts of the Apostles*, p. 71 n.

Libertini] The question of the Libertini has given rise to much controversy. It was thought that the general structure of the sentence called for a place-name, and attempts were made to emend Λιβερτίνων into Λιβυστίνων meaning Libyans (so the Armenian catena, followed by Blass, *Philology of the Gospels*, pp. 69 f. The history of this emendation, from Beza to Blass, is given by J. Rendel Harris, *Expositor*, Nov. 1902, pp. 378 ff.).

It has also been referred to Liber-tum, a town in Africa of which the bishop, Victor, was present at the Council of Carthage in 411 (Mansi, iv. p. 92). But though this obscure town may have had a bishop in the fifth century, it is very unlikely that it had a synagogue of its own in Jerusalem in the first.

With the rendering given emendation is not necessary. Τῆς λεγομένης in Lucan idiom seems to be used to indicate that the word thus qualified is either a foreign name or a translation (cf. iii. 2 τὴν λεγομένην ὥραν), and Λιβερτίνου is a perfectly natural transliteration of the Latin word *libertini* meaning 'freedmen.' We know from Tacitus that there were many freedmen among the Jews in the Roman Empire. Certainly some, and perhaps most of them, had been prisoners of war, especially those taken by Pompey (cf. Philo, *Leg. ad Gaium*, 155, M. ii. p. 568), but some were probably freedmen who had become proselytes, for Tacitus (*Ann.* ii. 85) says, "*Actum et de sacris Aegyptiis Judaicisque pellendis: factumque patrum consultum, ut quattuor milia libertini generis ea superstitione infecta, quis idonea aetas, in insulam Sardiniam veherentur, coercendis illic latrociniiis: et si ob gravitatem coeli interissent, vile damnum.*" From this passage the natural conclusion would probably be that these *Libertini* were not Jews by birth but those who had become 'infected' by that superstition; in other words, that they were proselytes. The statement of Tacitus, apart from the question of whether the prisoners were born Jews or proselytes, is confirmed by Josephus, who explains that in the time of Tiberius certain Jews were convicted of obtaining money under false pretences from a proselyte named Fulvia, and that in consequence of

complaints made to him the Emperor banished from Rome all the Jews, and the consuls took four thousand of them and sent them on military service to Sardinia (Jos. *Antiq.* xviii. 3. 5). Suetonius also tells the same story (*Tiberius*, xxxvi.).

It is not at all improbable that the Jews who were *Libertini* may have had synagogues of their own in the various parts of the Empire to which they were scattered, and that there were Cyrenians and Alexandrians among them. The matter, however, has been complicated by the unwarranted statement that there was a *Synagoga Libertinorum* in Pompeii. For this there is no foundation. The starting-point of the hypothesis was an inscription which runs:

CUSPIUM PANSAM AED. FABIVS EUPOR
PRINCEPS LIBERTINORVM

(CIL. iv. p. 13, no. 117). In the *Bullettino di archeologia cristiana*, 1864, pp. 70, 92, de Rossi tried to explain this as a reference to the head of the synagogue of the *Libertini* who wished Cuspius Pansa to be elected aedile. It is, however, pure assumption that *princeps Libertinorum* means 'chief of the synagogue of the Libertini,' for, as Mommsen has shown in the *Rheinisches Museum*, 1864, xix. pp. 455 f., *princeps* could well mean 'leading man.' There is no other evidence of any synagogue of the *Libertini* in Pompeii; the opposite statement sometimes made is a misunderstanding of an inaccurate reference in Lanciani's *Pagan and Christian Rome*.

Less definite though more important is an inscription found by Captain R. Weill in Jerusalem on the hill Ophel south of the city. This runs:

Θ[ε]όδοτος Ουεττήνου, ιερεὺς καὶ
ἀ[ρ]χιςυνάγωγος, υἱὸς ἀρχισυν[αγώ]-
γ[ου], υἱὸς ἀρχισυν[αγώγου], ᾧκο-
δόμησε τὴν συναγωγ[ή]ν υἱ εἰς ἀν[άγν]ω-
σ[ιν] νόμου καὶ εἰς [δ]ιδάχ[η]ν ἐντολῶν,
καὶ
τ[ὸ]ν ξενῶνα, καὶ τὰ δώματα καὶ τὰ χρη-
σ[τ]ήρια τῶν ὑδάτων, εἰς κατάλυμα τοῖς
[χ]ρήζουσιν ἀπὸ τῆς ξέ[ν]ης, ἣν ἐθεμε-
λ[ίω]σαν οἱ πατέρες [α]ἱ τοῦ καὶ οἱ πρε-
σ[β]ύτεροι καὶ Σιμων[ι]δης.

The translation would be "Theodotos, son of Vettenus, priest and head of the synagogue, son of a head of the

and Alexandrians, and of those from Cilicia and Asia, disputing with Stephen, and they could not withstand the wisdom and the spirit with which he spoke. Then they prompted some

synagogue, grandson of the head of a synagogue, built the synagogue for the reading of the law and for the teaching of the commandments, and the guest-house and the rooms and the supplies of water as an inn for those who have need when coming from abroad, which synagogue his fathers and the elders and Simonides founded." Expert opinion seems to date this inscription as before (but not long before) A.D. 70, and there is no reason for thinking that the stone on which it was cut has been brought from another place. Inasmuch as Οὐεττήνου is obviously a Latin name, it has been suggested that the Theodotos who built (i.e. restored) the synagogue founded by his ancestors was the son of a freedman, who took Vettenus (or Vettienus, cf. Γαλλήνος = Gallienus, the Emperor) as his Latin name. If so, this synagogue may have been the Synagogue of the Libertini. It is, however, obvious that this identification is somewhat conjectural.

The fullest statement of all the facts about the synagogue of Theodotos is in the admirable article by Père L.-H. Vincent in the *Revue Biblique*, 1921, pp. 247 ff., entitled 'Découverte de la "Synagogue des Affranchis" à Jérusalem.' See also the original announcement of its discovery by Captain Weill in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des Inscr. et Belles-Lettres*, May 29, 1914; *Revue des études juives*, lxx., Jan.-July, 1920; lxxi., July-Sept. 1920, pp. 30-34; 'Découverte à Jérusalem d'une synagogue de l'époque hérodienne,' by Clermont-Ganneau, in *Syria*, i., 1920, p. 191; 'L'Inscription de Théodotos' by Th. Reinach in *Revue des études juives*, lxxi., July-Sept. 1920, pp. 46-56 and Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*, Eng. Trans., 1927, pp. 439 ff. For the question of Jewish Libertini see especially Schürer, *GJV*. ii. p. 431.

Cyrenians] There is no evidence of a synagogue of Cyrenians in Jerusalem, but that there were many Jews in Cyrene is seen from 1 Macc. xv. 23,

2 Macc. ii. 23 (Jason of Cyrene), Acts xi. 20, and the mention of Simon the Cyrenian in Mark xv. 21. Cf. Schürer, *GJV*. iii. pp. 52 f., and Juster, *Les Juifs dans l'Empire romain*, i. p. 207.

Alexandrians] That there was a synagogue of the Alexandrians in Jerusalem is proved by the discussions in rabbinical literature as to the possibility of selling a synagogue. The classical example given to prove the point is that Rabbi Eleazar ben Zadok (± A.D. 100) purchased the synagogue of the Alexandrians (Tosefta, *Megillah*, iii. 6. 224). For a full account of the rabbinical controversy see Strack, ii. pp. 663 f. It is conceivable but improbable that this was the synagogue called 'of the Libertini,' or it may have been the synagogue restored by Theodotos, but all such combinations are merely guesses. The great numbers of Alexandrian Jews is well known. Philo, *In Flacc.* 43 (Mangey, ii. p. 523), says there were a million in Alexandria and Egypt. (See Schürer, *GJV*. iii. pp. 24 ff., and Juster, i. p. 204.)

Cilicia] This may mean Paul, who perhaps is the only person included in this group whom Luke has explicitly mentioned again. But though as a Tarsian he belonged to the Cilicians, he may also have been classed as a *libertinus*. The term would include both freedmen and their descendants. That Paul was by birth a Roman citizen (see xxii. 28) is not against his belonging to the Libertini but rather in its favour. Actual Roman slaves or their descendants were perhaps in a better position to rise to the citizenship than other Jews.

10. spoke] The Western text adds "Because they were refuted by him with all boldness. Therefore, not being able to face the truth, then they put forward men," etc.

11. prompted] Cf. Appian, *Bell. Civ.* i. 74 ὑπεβλήθησαν κατηγοροί, and *Mart. Polycarpi* xvii. 2 ὑπέβαλεν γοῦν Νικήτην. It applies to the secret instigation of persons who are supplied

men who said, "We have heard him speak blasphemous words
 12 against Moses and God." And they aroused the people and
 the elders and the scribes, and they fell upon him and seized
 13 him and brought him to the Sanhedrin, and they stood up
 false witnesses saying, "This man does not cease speaking
 14 words against this holy place and the Law. For we have
 heard him say that this Jesus, the Nazarene, will destroy this
 place and change the customs which Moses handed down to
 15 us." And gazing on him all who were seated in the Sanhedrin
 saw his face as if an angel's face.

1, 2 And the high priest said, "Is this so?" And he said, "Gentle-

with suggestions of what they are to say, much as in a modern 'frame up.' It implies that the words are false rather than merely unfair. In fact this verb is really a synonym of *ἐστησαν τε μάρτυρας ψευδεῖς* in vi. 13 (see note on vii. 57). Cf. *ὁποβλητός* in Josephus, *Antiq.* vii. 8. 4, § 186; *B.J.* v. 10. 4, § 439, and *ἐξ ὑποβολῆς* in *Vita* 54, § 282.

blasphemous words . . . false witnesses . . . destroy this place] Cf. Mark xiv. 56 ff., 64 "false witness . . . destroy this temple . . . blasphemy." These items in the Sanhedrin's examination of Jesus disappear in Luke's account only to reappear in this episode. See note on xii. 4. From Mk. xiv. 60 "the high priest stood up in the midst" comes the phrase in the Western text of verse 15.

blasphemous] *βλάσφημα* can hardly mean blasphemy in the technical sense, for according to Rabbinical law blasphemy must include the use of the name of God. But in Greek *βλάσφημα* is used of abusive language even where religious offence is not involved.

12. Sanhedrin] For the place of the council room see Addit. Note 35.

14. this Jesus] The *οὗτος* is surely intended scornfully.

15. as if an angel's face] The author doubtless intends to record a miraculous transfiguration. The *ὡσεὶ* as in ii. 3 does not restrict the reality of the miracle (cf. Luke iii. 22 (*ὡς*), xxii. 44). Just as when Moses was on Mt. Sinai and as in the gospel story of the transfiguration, the mira-

culous change of countenance implies the presence of an exalted companion, see vii. 55 f. For the expression cf. Esther xv. 13 (LXX) *εἰδὼν σε, κύριε, ὡς ἀγγελον θεοῦ, καὶ ἐταράχθη ἡ καρδία μου ἀπὸ φόβου τῆς δόξης σου*, and *Acta Pauli et Theclae* 3, *χάριτος πλήρη, ποτὲ μὲν γὰρ ἐφαίνετο ὡς ἄνθρωπος, ποτὲ δὲ ἀγγέλου πρόσωπον εἶχεν*.

an angel] The Western text adds 'standing in the midst of them.'

2-53. STEPHEN'S SPEECH. This is not a rebuttal of the charges brought against him. It is an impassioned attack on the conduct of the Jews, from the time of Joseph down to that of the speaker, and on the importance which they attached to the Temple.

In contrast to this practical justification of the accusation that he spoke evil of the Temple is a noticeable absence of any attack on the Law of Moses. On the contrary, the underlying contention of Stephen seems to be that the Law was the word of God, which ought to be observed, but was not. In this respect his attitude seems closer to that of Jesus than to that of Paul. But the point is hardly brought out emphatically, and the absence of any allusion to the Judaistic controversy seems to exclude any theory which would make the speech the composition of one who had lived through that controversy in the company of Paul, and was writing with a view to the situation of the Christian Church of the period.

Furthermore, the speech has no clear logical construction. It is easy to see

men, my brethren and fathers, hear. The God of glory appeared to our father Abraham while he was in Mesopotamia, before he dwelt

that it is a sketch of the history of Israel from Abraham to the prophets and to the time of the speaker, and it is easy to note the verses at which he passes from Abraham to Joseph, from Joseph to Moses, and so on. But it is valueless to do this and to call it an analysis. All that is really important is to observe how three notes are recurrently sounded. (i.) The absence of a temple or even of a fixed country in the days of the Patriarchs. (ii.) The general tendency of Israel to rebel against its divinely appointed leaders and guides. (iii.) The parallelism between the Jews' treatment of Jesus, and their ancestors' treatment of Joseph, Moses, and the prophets.

It will be seen that these notes are not always struck with equal clearness, and any attempt to say exactly where one ends and another begins leads to profitless hair-splitting. No one who reads the speech through rapidly will doubt that it is a unit; ideas pass into each other naturally and without a break. It is only when each verse is put grammatically and logically on its defence that the possibility of composite structure appears. But few speeches would survive this test, and the case for compositeness in the speech seems as weak as the case for compositeness in the introduction and conclusion is plausible. (See note on vii. 57 and Vol. II. pp. 148 ff.)

The general character of the speech seems to fit in very well with the theory that it represents either a good tradition as to what Stephen really did say, or at least what a very early Christian, not of the Pauline school, would have wished him to say. All observation shows that religious or political pioneers when brought into court never attempt to rebut the accusations brought against them, but use the opportunity for making a partisan address. See Addit. Note 32.

2-5. Abraham] The story of Abraham's early life is given in Genesis xi. 27-xii. 5. According to this the family of Terah, Abraham's father, lived originally in Ur of the Chaldees. Afterwards Terah and Abraham

migrated to Haran. Here, when Abraham was 75 years old, he was divinely called to go to Canaan. Acts differs from this account by saying that the divine call to Abraham came while he was in Ur of the Chaldees, but the writer could have justified his statement by referring to Gen. xv. 7, "I am the Lord that brought thee out of Ur of the Chaldees," or to Nehemiah ix. 7, "Thou art the Lord the God who didst choose Abram, and broughtest him forth out of Ur of the Chaldees." This combination is so natural that it is not surprising that Philo, *De Abrahamo* 71 f. (Mangey ii. p. 12), as well as Acts, puts the original call of Abraham in Ur of the Chaldees.

A further point of difference between Acts and the Old Testament is of an exactly opposite nature. Anyone reading Gen. xi. 27 ff. would be apt to assume, as Acts does, that Abraham left Haran after his father's death. But other passages prove that Abraham left Haran 60 years before his father's death, for Gen. xi. 26 says that Terah was 70 years old when Abraham was born, Gen. xi. 32 says that Terah lived to be 205 years old, and Gen. xii. 4 says that Abraham was 75 years old when he left Terah, who was therefore only 145 years old and still had 60 years of life before him. No one, however, would ever notice this unless he had an unusual instinct for mental arithmetic, while the fact that the continuous narrative relates first Terah's death, and then Abraham's migration, would certainly suggest that Terah was dead when Abraham left Haran. This interpretation is also found in Philo, *De migratione Abrahami*, 177 (Mangey, i. pp. 463 f.).

Thus both these discrepancies between Acts and the Old Testament are really nothing more than the natural interpretation of an ordinary reader. The theory, found in some commentaries, that there was a 'Schultradition' which affected Philo and the writer of Acts has no evidence in its favour and is quite unnecessary. Its origin appears to be Ewald,

- 3 in Harran, and he said to him, 'Go forth from your land and from your family, and go hence into the land which I will show you.' Gen. xii. 1.
- 4 Then he went out from the land of the Chaldees and dwelt in Harran, and thence after his father's death he made him to move his dwelling to this land in which you are now dwelling.
- 5 And he did not give him an inheritance in it, no, not so much as a pace's length, and he promised to give it to him for a possession

Geschichte des apostolischen Zeitalter, ed. iii., 1868, p. 211. Equally unnecessary are various attempts (see especially Blass, *Stud. und Krit.*, 1896, pp. 460 ff., and his ed. minor of Acts, pp. xiv f.) to emend the text. The quotation of Irenaeus (see Vol. III. pp. 61 and 63) is obviously a natural abbreviation.

2. the God of glory] The exact phrase is found only in Ps. xxix. 3, but there seems to be no special reference to it in this passage. *δόξης* is undoubtedly a descriptive genitive (cf. 1 Cor. ii. 8). It means the 'glorious God.' It is surely unnecessary to see any allusion to the Jewish doctrine of the Shekinah. (See I. Abrahams' *The Glory of God* for a refutation of the view that the Shekinah was necessarily material.)

Mesopotamia] According to the Hebrew Old Testament the name of the place was Ur of the Chaldees, which the LXX represents by *χώρα τῶν Χαλδαίων* (Gen. xi. 28, 31, xv. 7); cf. *γῆς Χαλδαίων* in vii. 4. Modern archaeology has identified Ur (Assyrian 'Uru') as the name of a city on the west bank of the Euphrates near its mouth. There seems no doubt that 'Uru' was the name of this place, now called Mugheir. It has recently been excavated, and the results show that it was extensively settled and the centre of a high civilization many centuries before any date which can reasonably be given to Abraham. It is, of course, possible that he belonged to the outlying districts in which nomadic life was flourishing, but it would be easier to think of Abraham as coming to Harran from the north than from the south, and it must be remembered that the district of Van was known to the

Assyrians as Urartu and that they described the inhabitants of that district as Chaldees. (Urartu is, beyond doubt, the biblical Ararat.) Jewish tradition placed Abraham's 'Ur' near Harran, and thus—as Acts says—in Mesopotamia (cf. Josephus, *Antiq.* i. 7. 1).

Harran] The Greek *Κάρραι*, not very far from Edessa. In modern Arabic it is Harrân, which exactly preserves the ancient name.

3. and go hence] The quotation is from Gen. xii. 1, but *καὶ δεῦρο* is only found in Lucianic manuscripts of the LXX. Did Lucian copy Acts or was he using a text which had this reading? The relation of the quotations in the New Testament to the recensions of the LXX has not yet been worked out, and would probably reward investigation.

4. land of the Chaldees] See note on Mesopotamia in vs. 2.

his father's death] See note on Abraham in vs. 2.

made him to move] The change of the unexpressed subject from Abraham to God is very harsh, and may have helped to produce some of the textual variants, but the *αὐτόν* makes it certain.

5. no, not so much, etc.] The phrase appears to be a reminiscence of Deut. ii. 5, where, however, it actually applies to the land of Moab. *βῆμα ποδός* (כֶּף רֵגֶל) is used in secular Greek as a measure of space in the sense of 'a pace' rather than a 'foot's breadth,' as it is rendered in the A.V.

give it to him] The Greek text seems to have an impossible order, *δοῦναι αὐτῷ εἰς κατάσχεσιν αὐτὴν καὶ κτλ.*, but all the variants appear to be merely emendations. For *κατάσχεσιν* see note on vs. 45.

and to his seed after him, though he had no child. But God⁶
 Gen. xv. 13 f. spake thus,—that his seed would be a sojourner in a foreign
 land, and they would enslave it and oppress it four hundred
 years, ‘and on the nation of which they shall be slaves will I⁷
 Exod. iii. 12. pass sentence,’ said God, ‘and after this they shall go forth, and
 Gen. xvii. 10. they shall worship me in this place.’ And he gave him a⁸
 Gen. xxi. 4. covenant of circumcision, and so he begat Isaac and circumcised
 him on the eighth day; and Isaac begat Jacob, and Jacob the
 Gen. xxxvii. 11. twelve patriarchs. And the patriarchs being jealous of Joseph⁹
 Gen. xxxix. 2. sold him away into Egypt, and God was with him, and rescued¹⁰
 Gen. xxxix. 21. him out of all his afflictions, and gave him favour and wisdom
 Gen. xlv. 8. before Pharaoh, king of Egypt, and made him governor over

no child] Gen. xv. 2.

6. thus] The point of the argument seems to be directed against the view that the promise of God entailed possession of the Holy Land. As Paul argues that the promise was anterior to the Law, and might therefore continue when the Law was abrogated, so Stephen argues about the possession of the Land.

four hundred] According to Exod. xii. 40, it was 430 years, but the reference is to Gen. xv. 13, “Know of a surety that thy seed shall be a stranger in a land that is not theirs, and shall serve them; and they shall afflict them four hundred years.” (See also note on xiii. 20.)

It should be noted that the promise to Abraham is represented here not so much as of inheriting the land of Canaan as of deliverance from Egypt and of the opportunity to worship God. Cf. Luke i. 73 ὅρκον ὃν ὤμοσεν πρὸς Ἀβραάμ τὸν πατέρα ἡμῶν, τοῦ δοῦναι ἡμῖν ἀφόβως ἐκ χειρὸς ἐχθρῶν βυσθέντας λατρεῖν αὐτῷ κτλ. It is for this reason that the author quotes Exod. iii. 12 and Deut. ii. 5 in connexion with Genesis xv. and emphasizes that Abraham received no land as a gift from God, but at most (vs. 16) a tomb that he had to pay for. See B. W. Bacon in *Biblical and Semitic Studies of Yale University*, 1901, pp. 238-247, “Correspondingly the stiffneckedness and perversity of Israel bears fruit, not so much in

temporary exclusion from Canaan as in the substitution of a λατρεία τῆς στρατίας τοῦ οὐρανοῦ (vs. 42) for the promised worship of God.” Cf. Paul’s reference to the true worship as the prerogative of the Jews (ὧν ἡ λατρεία Rom. ix. 5).

7. in this place] This is not in Gen. xv., but seems to be a reminiscence of Exod. iii. 12, which, however, refers to Mt. Horeb, not to Palestine.

8. circumcision] Gen. xvii. 10. and so] Possibly the ‘so’ is emphatic and means ‘thus, while there was still no holy place, all the essential conditions for the religion of Israel were fulfilled.’

patriarchs] The use of this word to describe the sons of Jacob is not early. Cf. the title of the ‘Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs’ (see the editions of R. Sinker and R. H. Charles) and 4 Macc. vii. 19, xvi. 25. The present passage may be the earliest instance of this use of the word.

9. sold] ἀποδίδομαι is used in this sense in the story of Joseph in Gen. xxxvii. 28, xlv. 4, and elsewhere in the LXX and in the papyri.

was with him] Gen. xxxix. 2.

10. favour and wisdom] Cf. Gen. xxxix. 21 and xli. 39.

made] It is often thought that there is a change of subject, but reference to Gen. xlv. 8 shows that this is not so: the subject of κατέστησε is God.

11 Egypt and all his house. And there came a famine over all
 Egypt and Canaan, and great affliction, and our fathers could not
 12 find provender; but Jacob hearing that there was food sent Gen. xlii. 2.
 13 our fathers out to Egypt the first time. And on their second Gen. xlv. 1.
 visit Joseph was made known to his brethren, and the family
 14 of Joseph was made clear to Pharaoh. And Joseph sent and
 summoned Jacob, his father, and all his kindred, to the number
 15 of seventy-five souls. And Jacob went down, and he himself

Gen. xli.
54 ff.

Gen. xlii. 2.

Gen. xlv. 1.

11. famine] Gen. xli. 54-xlii. 2.

could not find] The imperfect *εὑρίσκον* seems to have this sense. It is a good example of what some grammarians call 'a negative imperfect,' implying resistance or disappointment. (See Gildersleeve and Miller, *Syntax of Classical Greek*, p. 95.)

provender] *χορτάσματα* originally meant fodder for animals, but later usage extended it to men, and here it corresponds to the *μικρὰ βρώματα* of Gen. xlii. 2.

12. food] *σῖτια* is 'food' rather than 'corn,' which is *σίτος*, so that the traditional 'corn in Egypt' must be given up here, especially since 'corn' has come in American-English to mean 'maize.'

13. their second visit] It is natural to seek some reason for the apparently irrelevant distinction between first and second meetings of Joseph and his brethren. Since Joseph, like Moses, appears to be a type of the rejected but welcome deliverer Jesus, it is possible that the author is thinking of the first and second 'comings' of Jesus—a common contrast in early patristic literature (cf. Hebrews ix. 28). Notice too that Moses also wrought deliverance not on his first appearance, when he was rejected (vss. 23-29), but forty years later (30 ff.).

14. seventy-five] The Hebrew in Gen. xlv. 27, Exod. i. 5, and Deut. x. 22 gives 70 as the number of Jacob's family, but the LXX in Genesis and Exodus gives 75, and the codex Alexandrinus does so also in Deuteronomy.

The variation between 70 and 75 is due to a difference in the method of counting. The Hebrew in Gen. xlv.

26 gives Jacob a family of 66, to which it adds Jacob himself, Joseph, and Joseph's two sons. The LXX does not add Jacob or Joseph, but credits Joseph with nine children instead of two. Josephus (*Antiq.* ii. 7. 4, vi. 5. 6) follows the Hebrew tradition, and an explanation of it is given in Jubilees xlv., but Philo, *De migrat. Abrah.* 36, discusses both traditions. In none of these passages does the text give the number of those who came into Egypt with Jacob to join Joseph but the total of Jacob's family including Joseph and Joseph's children. Acts seems to have been influenced by the wording, though not by the numeration, of Deut. x. 22 (*ἐν ᾧ ψυχαῖς κατέβησαν οἱ πατέρες σου εἰς Αἴγυπτον*), but the variant in codex Alexandrinus raises the question of the type of LXX text used in the O.T., and also whether the Western text of Acts in this verse is due to the influence of Deuteronomy or is original. It probably should be punctuated *ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἡ ψυχὰς κατέβη Ἰακώβ*.

The phrase *ἐν ἑβδομήκοντα* κτλ. is doubtless due here to the LXX, which in turn literally translates the preposition *σ* of the Hebrew by *ἐν*. This *ἐν* could sometimes be regarded as meaning 'accompaniment,' but the secular Greek of the papyri discloses an abnormal use of *ἐν* = 'amounting to,' so that this is not exclusively a Semitism. Jacob and his family were not accompanied by seventy (five) others but came to Egypt 'seventy (five) strong.' (See Moulton, *Grammar of N.T. Greek*, i. p. 103; Moulton and Milligan, *Vocabulary*, p. 209 end.)

15. he himself] To whom does this

and our fathers died, and they were moved to Sychem and laid 16
 in the tomb which Abraham had bought for a price of silver
 from the sons of Emmor at Sychem. And as the time of the 17
 promise which God had granted to Abraham drew near, the
 Exod. i. 8. people increased and multiplied in Egypt until there arose 18
 Exod. i. 10. another king over Egypt who did not know Joseph. He 19
 Exod. i. 15 f. exploited our race, and oppressed the fathers into exposing
 their children so that they should not be saved alive. At 20

refer? Jacob or Joseph? With the Western text it must be Jacob (see preceding note), but with the Neutral text the *αὐτός* may refer to Joseph, the central figure in this section. The point is complicated by the fact that according to the O.T. (Gen. i. 13) Jacob was buried at Hebron, but Joseph (Joshua xxiv. 32) at Shechem. Moreover, not only Josephus (*Antiq.* ii. 8. 2) but also Jubilees (xlv. 9) relate the burial of Jacob's sons (except Joseph) at Hebron, not Shechem, and the same tradition appears to underlie the *Test. XII. Patr.* It is possible that the writer of Acts has 'telescoped' together two stories: (i.) the purchase of the cave of Machpelah at Hebron from Ephron the Hittite (Gen. xxiii. 3-16), where Abraham, Sarah, Isaac, Rebekah, Leah and Jacob were buried (Gen. xlix. 31), and (ii.) the purchase from the children of Hamor (Gen. xxxiii. 19) of Shechem, where Joseph was buried. Cf. the similar combination of two calls of Abraham in vii. 2 f.

16. Sychem] *Σύχεμ* or *Σίχημα* is the Greek equivalent in the LXX for שֶׁכֶם Shechem, the modern Nablus, in the pass between Mts. Ebal and Gerizim. Shechem in the O.T. is regularly the name of a place, not of a person, except in the story in Gen. xxxiii. and in the reference to it in Joshua xxiv. 32, where Shechem is the son of Hamor (חמור) the Hivite, who in the LXX becomes Ἐμώρ. The Western and Antiochian texts perpetuate this in a corrupt form by reading τοῦ Συχέμ for ἐν Συχέμ, which seems to be a perverted recollection that Shechem—in this story—is a person, but makes him the father instead of the son of Hamor.

17. granted] *ὡμολόγησε*. The Western text reads *ἐπηγγέλματο* and the Antiochian text has *ὥμοσεν*. The Antiochian reading may be due to the influence of Luke i. 73, which in turn is due to Gen. xxii. 16. But there is a curious parallel in Matt. xiv. 7=Mark vi. 23 where in connexion with Herod's promise to Herodias Mark reads *ὥμοσε* and Matthew emends this to *μεθ' ὅρκου ὡμολόγησεν*. Why the emendation? In the case of Herod it is obviously not due to LXX influence; was there any objection to *ὥμοσε* in the sense of promise? If so, has the Antiochian reading in this passage unusual claims to consideration?

drew near] Cf. Exod. i. 7 ff.

18. another king] *ἕτερος* = a 'second,' but this translation would exaggerate the duality implied. The point of *ἕτερος* is not that there were exactly two kings, which 'second' would imply, but that the contrast is between this king and the one previously mentioned, not between any larger number. Cf. Exod. i. 8.

did not know] The Western text has 'did not remember,' and the B-text may be an accommodation to the LXX.

19. exploited] *κατασφισιάμενος*, cf. Exod. i. 10, 'Let us deal wisely with them.' The word is not found elsewhere in the New Testament but is found in various Hellenistic authors. It implies crafty or deceitful ill-treatment.

saved alive] *ζωογονεῖν* is the curious rendering in the LXX of 'saved alive' in Exod. i. 17. Strictly it means to 'generate life,' but the force of the *γονεῖν* seems to have been weakened. Cf. also Luke xvii. 33.

which time Moses was born, and was beautiful before God. And he was brought up for three months in the house of his
 21 father; but when he was exposed Pharaoh's daughter adopted
 22 him, and brought him up as a son for herself. And Moses was
 educated in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, and he was
 23 powerful in his words and deeds. And when his fortieth year
 was being completed it entered into his heart to consider his

Exod. ii.
2-10.

20. before God] The same expression as is found in Gen. x. 9, "Nimrod was a mighty hunter before the Lord," i.e. in the Lord's opinion. Cf. also Jonah iii. 3. It is apparently a strong superlative. It is not, however, used in the Old Testament of Moses, though his divinely beautiful form is mentioned in Philo, *Vita Moysis*, i. 9 (ed. Mangey, ii. p. 82), and Joseph. *Antiq.* ii. 9. 7 (παῖδα μορφῇ τε θεῖον). The idiom is perhaps that 'even for God' (who has different standards) Nimrod and Nineveh were mighty, though it must be confessed that the exact force of the idiom is not certain in any of the three passages. Similar examples may be τὰς κέδρους τοῦ θεοῦ (= very high) in Ps. lxxix. 10 and ἀγαθὸς ὁράσει κυρίῳ (= very handsome) in 1 Sam. xvi. 12 (cf. also Luke i. 6 and 15). See also Pallis, *Notes*, who commenting on Luke i. 6 quotes Coraes, *Atakta* ii. 156, as saying that θεῶν and ἐνώπιον θεοῦ are equivalent to superlatives and that in modern Greek θεο- prefixed to adjectives gives them this force. For this author, who sees a parallel between Jesus and Moses, the τῷ θεῷ is more likely to be equivalent to his παρὰ θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώποις (Luke ii. 52), or ἐναντίον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ (Luke xxiv. 19). Cf. Acts xxiii. 1 πεπολιτευμαι τῷ θεῷ.

three months] Cf. Exod. ii. 3-10. There is a curious legend in the Targum of Jerusalem that this means that Moses was a six months' child, whom his mother kept three months at home when she saw that he would live—giving this meaning to the word טוב, i.e. good (A.V. a goodly child), for which the LXX here has ἀστέλιος. (See Strack, ii. p. 678.)

21. adopted] Literally 'lifted up,' as in Exod. ii. 5 of the 'ark' in which Moses was laid. But the word had

come in common Greek to mean 'officially to acknowledge one's own child' or 'to adopt a foundling.' See Plutarch, *Anton.* 36. 3 *et al.*; Epict. i. 23. 7. For the papyri see Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, s.v. and on the adjective ἀναίματος.

22. wisdom of the Egyptians] Possibly a proverbial expression. Cf. Lucian, *Philops.* 34 (see also Zahn's *Ignatius von Antiochien*, p. 592). That Moses was so educated is not stated in the Old Testament but is emphasized by Philo in the *Vita Moysis*, i. 5, and plays a considerable part in Jewish legends about Moses. A full list of these legends is given by Schürer, *GJV.* ii. pp. 343 ff.

powerful in his words] Commentators contrast the lack of eloquence which Moses felt (Exod. iv. 10). The expression here should be compared with Luke xxiv. 19 ἀνὴρ προφήτης δυνατὸς ἐν ἔργῳ καὶ λόγῳ. Can λόγοις here refer to the written words of Moses?

23. fortieth year] Exod. ii. 11 merely says that he was grown up (μέγας γενόμενος, LXX), but some rabbinical traditions divide the life of Moses (120 years, cf. Deut. xxxiv. 7) into three periods of forty years: the first up to his flight from Egypt, the second his sojourn in Midian, and the third the forty years in the wilderness; there was, however, another school of interpretation which argued that he was only twenty years old when he left Egypt (see Strack, ii. pp. 679 f.).

was being completed] Or perhaps 'was completed,' see note on ii. 1, and cf. J. H. Ropes, *Harvard Theological Review*, xvi. (1923) pp. 168 ff.

entered into his heart] A Semitism (cf. Is. lxxv. 17) which seems to have passed into current use. Cf. especially its frequent use in Hermas,

Exod. ii.
11 ff.

brethren, the children of Israel. And seeing someone being 24 wrongly treated he defended him, and avenged him who had been ill-treated by smiting the Egyptian. And he thought that his 25 brethren understood that God through his hand was giving them deliverance, but they did not understand. And on the next day 26 he appeared to them as they were fighting, and tried to reconcile them to peace by saying, 'Sirs, ye are brethren. Why do ye wrong to one another?' But he that was doing wrong to his 27 neighbour pushed him away, saying, 'Who made you a ruler and judge over us? Do you wish to kill me, as yesterday you killed 28 the Egyptian?' And Moses fled at this word, and became a 29 sojourner in the land of Midian, where he begat two sons. And 30 when forty years were fulfilled there appeared to him in the desert of Mount Sinai an angel in the flame of the fire of the

Exod. iii.
1 ff.

24. wrongly treated] See Exod. ii. 11 ff. The Western text adds ἐκ τοῦ γένους 'of his race,' from Exod. ii. 11.

the Egyptian] The Western text adds 'and hid him in the sand,' from Exod. ii. 12.

25. he thought] There is nothing in the Old Testament to justify this verse. The intention of the writer is perhaps to draw a comparison between Moses and Jesus. Both were rejected by those whom they wished to help. Perhaps for this reason in vs. 29 Moses' flight from Egypt is represented as due to his rejection by his own people rather than to fear of Pharaoh.

The motive that no prophet is without honour save in his own country is similarly illustrated in Luke iv. 24-27 by instances drawn from the O.T. and presented as parallel to the treatment of Jesus.

26. And on] The Western text reads 'Then, on the next day.' A certain preference for τότε seems a characteristic of this text. See note on x. 47.

Sirs, ye are brethren] The Western text weakens this to τί ποιεῖτε, ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί, 'What are you doing, men and brethren,' 'men and brethren' being merely a formal address (cf. i. 16).

27. pushed him away] An amplification of the story. See Exod. ii.

14 and note the repetition of the phrase in vs. 39.

29. Midian] The district round the gulf of Akaba, traditionally inhabited by the children of Abraham by his second wife, Keturah (cf. Gen. xxv. 1 ff.). Of these Midian was the most important. Abraham sent them away 'to the east country' before his death.

two sons] Gershom (Exod. ii. 22) and Eliezer (Exod. xviii. 4). Gershom, through Jonathan, the Levite, of Micah, whom the Danites carried off (Judges xvii. 1-xviii. 31), became the traditional head of the priesthood of Dan in the north of Israel, for 'Manasseh' in Judges xviii. 30 is almost certainly put for Moses. (See G. F. Moore's *Commentary on Judges in the International Critical Commentary*.)

The reference to these sons is irrelevant. Probably the author is reminded of them by his use of παροικος 'sojourner,' which is used in Exod. ii. 22 as the translation of Gershom.

30. forty] Not in the Old Testament, but see note on vii. 23.

Sinai] In Exod. iii. 1 the mountain is called Horeb. What the exact difference was between these mountains is a puzzle. See the articles in *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible*, and in Herzog's *Realencyklopädie*. Probably the exact situation of the mountain was forgotten, but later tradition

31 bush. And when Moses saw it he wondered at the sight, and as
 32 he came near to look at it there was a voice of the Lord, 'I am the
 God of your fathers, the God of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob.'
 33 And Moses became afraid and did not dare to look at it. And
 the Lord said to him, 'Loose your sandals from off your feet, for
 34 the place whereon you stand is holy ground. Surely I have
 seen the ill-treatment of my people which is in Egypt, and I
 have heard their groaning, and I am come down to rescue them.
 35 And now come hither, let me send you to Egypt.' This Moses
 whom they denied, saying, 'Who made you a ruler and judge?'
 this one had God sent as both ruler and redeemer by the hand
 36 of the angel which appeared to him in the bush. This one
 led them forth, doing wonders and signs in Egypt, and at the Red

identified Horeb and Sinai, and ultimately located it at the place given in modern maps.

an angel] Exod. iii. 2. The variations in the story are quite unimportant in themselves. The main difference is that in Exodus God first tells Moses to put off his sandals, and afterwards says that he is the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, while Acts reverses the order. It is also noticeable that both Acts, vss. 30, 31, 33, and Exodus *loc. cit.* use 'angel,' 'the Lord,' 'voice of the Lord' interchangeably.

31. voice] The Western text has 'the Lord said to him,' and, as in iii. 13, repeats the word 'God' before Isaac and Jacob.

33. holy ground] For a full treatment of the history of the belief that bare feet are desirable on 'holy ground' see especially J. Heckenbach, 'De nuditate sacra' in the *Religions-geschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten*, ix. 3, and cf. F. Pfister in *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, ix. (1906) p. 542. Apparently the original meaning was not so much reverence for the local God, as the belief that divine power passed from the ground through the feet of the worshipper, though later on it was held that shoes brought with them uncleanness.

35. this Moses] The point is that, just as in the case of Joseph, God chose him whom the Israelites re-

jected, and it is emphasized by the six-fold repetition of *οὗτος* in vss. 36, 37, 38 and 40.

judge] The Western text adds 'over us.' Cf. LXX text of Exod. ii. 14.

redeemer] The word *λυτρωτής* is not used of Moses in the LXX. It is not a common word; not used at all in profane writers, but found in the LXX and in Philo and Justin, probably in dependence on the LXX (see also Acts of Thomas, 60). Here again its use associates Moses with the description of Jesus in Luke xxiv. 21 (*ὁ μέλλων λυτροῦσθαι*). See note on vs. 22.

by the hand] *σὺν χειρὶ ἀγγέλου* has caused commentators much trouble, and they have tried to find some way of giving *σὺν* its proper sense, and of distinguishing *ἐν χειρὶ* (Antiochian text) from *σὺν χειρὶ*. But such attempts are futile, for the phrase is not Greek at all, and means as little in Greek as 'with the hand of an angel' would in English. It is a clear Semitism, if not an actual translation, and *ἐν χειρὶ*, *σὺν χειρὶ* and *διὰ χειρός* all represent the same phrase. The meaning is merely the obvious one that God's commission to Moses was given by the angel who appeared to him in the burning bush.

36. wonders and signs] Cf. especially Exod. vii. ff.

Red Sea] There is a striking like-

Sea, and in the desert for forty years. This is the Moses who said 37
 to the sons of Israel, 'A prophet will God raise up to you from
 among your brethren, as he did me.' This is he who was in the 38
 assembly in the wilderness with the angel who spoke to him on
 Mount Sinai and our fathers, who received living oracles to give
 to us, to whom our fathers did not wish to be obedient, but they 39
 pushed him away, and turned in their hearts to Egypt, saying to 40
 Aaron, 'Make for us gods who shall go before us, for this Moses
 who led us forth from the land of Egypt, we do not know what
 has become of him.' And they made a calf in those days, and 41

Deut. xviii.
15.

Exod. xxxii.
1.

ness in wording to the *Assumption of Moses*, iii. 11, "Moyses . . . qui multa passus est in Aegypto et in mari rubro et in heremo annis xl."

forty years] Cf. Numbers xiv. 33.

37. prophet] See iii. 22, Addit. Note 29, and Vol. I. pp. 403 ff.

38. assembly] The natural translation of ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ is 'in the church' (so A.V.), but the reference is to the LXX phrase ἡ ἡμέρα τῆς ἐκκλησίας meaning 'the day when the people assembled to receive the Law.' Cf. Deut. iv. 10, ix. 10, xviii. 16.

with] μετὰ τοῦ ἀγγέλου . . . καὶ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν. Perhaps this phrase covers the Hebrew idiom בֵּין . . . בֵּין = between. If so the meaning is that Moses was the mediator between the Angel and the Israelites.

angel] According to the Hebrew text Jehovah himself gave the Law, but Jewish tradition introduced an angel as a mediator. Cf. LXX of Deut. xxxiii. 2 κύριος ἐκ Σινᾶ ἦκει, καὶ ἐπέφανεν ἐκ Σηεὶρ ἡμῶν, καὶ κατέσπευσεν ἐξ ὄρους Φαράν, σὺν μυριάσι κἀδης ἐκ δεξιῶν αὐτοῦ, ἀγγελοι μετ' αὐτοῦ, where the Hebrew says, "Jahveh came from Sinai, and rose up from Seir unto them; he shined forth from Mount Paran, and he came with ten thousands of saints; from his right hand (went) a fiery law for them"; see also vii. 53; Gal. iii. 19; Hebr. ii. 2; Josephus, *Antiq.* xv. 5. 3; Philo, *De somniis* i. 22, p. 642 M; *Test. XII Patr.*, Dan. vi. 2; Jubilees i. 29, and the Rabbinic references in Strack ii. *ad loc.* and M. Dibelius, *Die Geisterwelt im Glauben des Paulus*, 1909, p. 27. It is interest-

ing to notice that the angel is mentioned here in order to glorify the Law, but in Galatians to belittle it.

received] 'Chose out' is the reading of B, but it can hardly be right (see textual evidence in Vol. III. pp. 68 f.).

oracles] λόγια means 'oracles' in almost every place where the context establishes the meaning. It also usually means the 'oracles of the Old Testament.' The most famous passage alleged to the contrary is the reference in Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 39, to Papias. But no one has any knowledge of the contents of the lost ἐξηγήσεις of Papias, and it is far from clear that they were not expositions of passages in the Old Testament referring to Christ.

The word is used like χρησμός of divine utterances in pagan writers as well as in Christian. In Sophocles, *Oed. Rex.* 481 f. ζῶντα is used of μαντεῖα in the sense of 'operative.' Deut. xxxii. 47 and perhaps 1 Peter i. 23. Cf. Hebr. iv. 12.

39. pushed him away] Cf. vs. 27. Perhaps there is here, as B. Weiss noted, dependence upon Ezek. xx. 8, 13, 16 οὐκ ἠθέλησαν εἰσακοῦσαι μὲν . . . τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα Αἰγύπτου . . . τὰ δικαίωματά μου ἀπόσαντο. Possibly the λόγια ζῶντα of the preceding verse is also due to Ezek. xx. with its recurring δικαίωματα ἃ ποιήσει αὐτὰ ἄνθρωπος καὶ ζήσεται ἐν αὐτοῖς. Apparently there are no nearer analogies in the LXX.

40. make, etc.] Exod. xxxii. 1.

41. made a calf] The Greek ἐμοσχοποίησεν appears to be found only here

offered sacrifice to the idol, and rejoiced in the works of their
 42 hands. But God turned and gave them over to worship the host
 of heaven, as it has been written in the Book of the Prophets,

and in later writers commenting on Amos v. 25, but the recurrence of *μοσχοποία* in Justin's *Dialogue with Trypho* (xix. 5, lxxiii. 6, cii. 6, cxxxii. 1), which is not directly dependent on Acts, indicates that it was not merely the creation of the author of Acts.

works of their hands] Cf. Is. xliv. 9 ff.

42. turned] *ἐστρεψε* may be transitive or intransitive, and readers have differed on the point since the second century. The old African version renders it *pervertit illos deus*, but d and the Latin Irenaeus have *convertit autem deus*. There is a similar divergence of opinion among modern commentators, but the point is one of taste rather than of grammar.

gave them over] The idea that God punishes sinners by delivering them over to worse sins is probably Jewish. It is emphatically expressed three times in Romans, i. 24, 26, 28, by the same verb that is used here (*παρέδωκεν*). There also the story of the golden calf (as related in Psalm cvi. 19-20) is before the writer's mind. The sequence suggested appears to be (a) images of the true God, (b) worship of false gods, (c) gross and unnatural immorality. Cf. Wisdom xiv. 22 ff. For other Jewish parallels see the commentaries on Romans i. 24.

the host of heaven] Cf. Jer. vii. 18, viii. 2, xix. 13; Zeph. i. 5; 2 Chron. xxxiii. 3, 5; Deut. iv. 19, xvii. 3; 2 Kings xxiii. 5.

has been written] The quotation is from the LXX of Amos v. 25 ff., with one curious change. The importance of the passage is that it is one in which the LXX differs considerably from the Hebrew. The original text is, "Did ye offer me sacrifices and offerings in the wilderness forty years, O house of Israel? But ye have carried Sikkuth your king (סבוח מלכם) and the star-images of Chiun (ציון) your god, which ye made for yourselves, therefore I will carry you into captivity beyond Damascus." The LXX read Sikkuth as meaning *σκηνή* = tabernacle, and 'your king'

as the god 'Moloch.' It also seems to have read Chiun as Raiphan; Chiun (Kaiwān) was an Assyrian god usually correlated with Saturn, and Raiphan, or whatever spelling be adopted, is either a pure mistake or the name of a similar god (see especially Baudissin's articles on 'Moloch' and 'Remphan' in Herzog's *Realencykl.* ed. 3). Acts follows the LXX in these changes in a way which is scarcely intelligible if the speech represents what Stephen really said, speaking in Aramaic to a tribunal in Jerusalem, but is quite explicable if the speech was written in Greek by the writer of Acts or one of its sources. The adherents to the theory of an Aramaic original suggest that the translator always corrected the Old Testament references by the LXX. But there is one other change in the text of the quotation which speaks against this theory. The LXX and the Hebrew both make Amos say that the captivity will be 'beyond Damascus.' Acts changes this to 'beyond Babylon.' If the translator always made the quotations conform to the LXX, why did he not correct this glaring error? In the time of Amos it was Assyria, not Babylon, which was the danger.

The general meaning of Stephen's argument is that the Israelites, who from the beginning had rejected Moses, finally worshipped the golden calf, and were idolaters all the time that they were in the desert. The meaning of Amos was quite different; he was arguing against the sacerdotal emphasis on sacrifice. The captivity beyond Damascus is not a punishment for failure to sacrifice in the wilderness, or for the worship of Chiun or Raiphan at that time, but for the idolatry of Amos' own time, and the absence of sacrifice in the wilderness is quoted as a proof of the unimportance of the traditional cultus.

Book of the Prophets] The reference is not to the second part of the Old Testament Canon as a whole, which was not contained in one book but in several of which 'the Twelve'

Amos v. 25 ff. 'Did you bring me sacrifices and offerings for forty years, O house of Israel? And you took the tabernacle of Moloch and the 43 star of the god Rompha, the images which you made to worship them, and I will make you move your dwelling to beyond Babylon.' The tabernacle of witness was with our fathers in 44 the wilderness, as he who spoke to Moses ordained to make it according to the image which he had seen. And when our 45 fathers in turn had received this, they brought it in, with Joshua, at the possession of the Gentiles, whom God drove out from before

—or minor prophets—constituted the one book here meant. For their treatment as a unit cf. Sirach xlix. 10. For the omission of the name of the specific 'minor prophet' see notes on ii. 16 and xiii. 40.

43. beyond Babylon] The 'beyond' is merely a remnant of the text of Amos 'beyond Damascus,' and it is intelligently corrected away in D, which reads 'to the regions of Babylon' (*ἐπὶ τὰ μέρη Βαβυλωνῶνος*). This remedies the sense; but the textual evidence in favour of 'beyond' is too strong to resist.

44. tabernacle of witness] The Old Testament used for the tabernacle sometimes אהל עדות. 'tent of testimony' (perhaps with reference to the two tables of the law, cf. 'ark of testimony') but more often אהל מועד 'tent of assembly.' The LXX renders both by *σκηνή μαρτυρίου*, perhaps supposing the latter to be a synonym of the former, since both words have two consonants in common, or possibly deriving מועד from העיד 'to testify.'

he who spoke] See note on vii. 53. image] Exod. xxv. 9. God gave exact instructions to Moses, and on Mt. Sinai showed him the model which he was to follow. The Tabernacle was a faithful copy of this, and it in time was copied by the builders of the Temple. Cf. the use made in Heb. viii. 1 ff., and the representation of Christ as High Priest in the 'true tabernacle, which the Lord pitched.'

In Exodus xxv. 9 the LXX uses τὸ παράδειγμα which has perhaps affected the form of Codex Bezae τὸ πα[ρά]-τυπον (see Vol. III. p. 71). The τύπος

here is taken from Exodus xxv. 40 also quoted in Heb. viii. 5. The verbal relation of the τὴν σκηνὴν τοῦ Μολόχ . . . τοὺς τύπους αὐτῶν οὓς ἐποίησατε of the quotation from Amos in vs. 42 to the ἡ σκηνὴ τοῦ μαρτυρίου . . . κατὰ τὸν τύπον ὃν ἐωράκει in this verse, which, in turn, also represents other Old Testament expressions, is the cause of the juxtaposition and the clue to the sequence of thought.

45. And when, etc.] The whole construction of the sentence is very clumsy and difficult. The context shows that the meaning of the writer is that from Joshua to David the Israelites used the Tabernacle, not a temple. The clue to its exact force is to be found in *διαδεξιμένοι*, which implies a succession, *διαδοχή* being the technical term for the list of philosophers who made up a 'school,' and later on (in Eusebius and other ecclesiastical writers) for the sequence of bishops, martyrs, and theologians who secured the continuity of the Church. ἕως τῶν ἡμερῶν Δαυιδ thus limits the period of the *διαδοχή* which began with Joshua. The more obvious connexion would be with *ἐξῴσεν*, but this adds nothing to the force of the sentence. It is true that the *κατάσχεσις τῶν ἔθνων* might be regarded as not complete until the time of David, but the aorist *ἐξῴσε* would in this case be rather harsh. The decisive point is the undoubted fact that the writer was thinking primarily about the use of the Tabernacle, not about the 'possessing of the Gentiles,' which he only mentions casually to date the period referred to.

possession] *κατάσχεσις* is origin-

46 the face of our fathers, until the days of David. And he Ps. cxxxii. 5.
found favour before God and sought leave to find a tabernacle
47 for the house of Jacob. But Solomon built him a house.
48 Yet it is not the Highest who dwells in houses made by hand, Is. lxi. 1 f.
49 even as the prophet says, 'Heaven is my throne and the earth is

ally an active verbal noun—taking possession—but in the LXX it is used in the sense of 'having in possession,' and this is doubtless the meaning here (see Field, *Notes*, p. 116). The Greek in Gen. xvii. 8 is *ἐἰς κατάσχεσιν αἰώνιον*.

46. sought leave] *ἤρῃσατο*, cf. Ps. cxxxii. 5 (2 Sam. vii. 1 ff., 1 Chr. xvii. 1).

house of Jacob] Commentators have found great difficulty in this phrase, which they think should be 'God of Jacob,' in agreement with Ps. cxxxii., and the text has been so emended both by scribes and critics. Transcriptional evidence is, however, wholly in favour of *οἴκω*, nor is the phrase at all impossible; David wished to build a habitation (of God) for the house of Jacob. After all, the Temple, like the Tabernacle, was a house or tent 'of meeting,' and it was to be used by the house of Jacob as well as by the Almighty. Moreover, seeing that the writer almost certainly had in mind Ps. cxxxii. 5 *ἔως οὗ εὗρω τόπον τῷ κυρίῳ, σκήνωμα τῷ θεῷ Ἰακώβ*, the *εὗρω* both explains the relation between the two parts of this verse (cf. the preceding *εὗρεν* in Acts) and also the curious phrase *εὕρεν σκήνωμα*, while the succeeding *οικοδόμησεν* . . . *οἶκον* has facilitated the substitution, whether by author or scribe, of *οἴκω Ἰακώβ* for the *θεῷ Ἰακώβ* of the Psalm. (For suggested emendations of the text see the note in Vol. III. p. 72.)

47. Solomon] Cf. 1 Kings v. ff.

48. it is not, etc.] This seems to be the right rendering of the B-text. The clumsiness of the Greek has been smoothed down by the Western text into *ὁ δὲ ὑψιστος οὐ κατοικεῖ κτλ.* The meaning of the B-text may be, as Zahn thinks, to imply that the gods of the heathen do dwell in temples. It is in any case clear that the position of the *οὐχ* is intended to negative *ὁ ὑψιστος*, though many grammarians regard it as misplaced and negating *κατοικεῖ*.

the Highest] *ὑψιστος* is used in the

LXX to render *רָם*, which is used in the Old Testament especially in connexion with non-Israelites who recognized the true God. It is translated in the A.V. by 'Most High.' Cf. Gen. xiv. 18 ff. (the story of Melchizedek), Numbers xxiv. 16, Dan. iii. 26 ff., Is. xiv. 14. In the New Testament it is used as a name of God seven times by Luke, but only twice elsewhere, in Mark v. 7 and in Heb. vii. 1, which is a quotation of Gen. xiv. 18. It was apparently adopted as the special title of God used by a curious society of heathen who were half Jews, or Jews who were half heathen, in the region of the Black Sea. (See Addit. Note 8 and F. Cumont, *Hypsisistos*, in Pauly-Wissowa, and for the history of the Hebrew word see Dalman, *Worte Jesu*, i. pp. 162 f.) Cf. below on xvi. 17.

made by hand] *χειροποιήτοις* is used most frequently of idolatrous temples, and has a clearly derogatory implication. Many commentators think that Stephen means that the building of the Temple was actually wrong (see especially Zeller *ad loc.*, and Hilgenfeld in the *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1895, pp. 401 f.). Possibly this is an exaggeration, but at least the meaning is that in attributing permanent sanctity to the Temple the Jews were verging on idolatry. It is tempting to think that this contention is also behind the strange phrase 'a tabernacle for the house of Jacob.' The Temple was regarded as the tabernacle of God, but it was really the tabernacle of the house of Jacob. But this is probably reading too much into the text. See also xvii. 24.

the prophet] Is. lxi. 1 f., quoted from the LXX. The same passage is quoted in Barnabas xvi. 2 with reference to the destruction of the temple in Jerusalem, and with the same slight variation from the text of the LXX—*ἡ τίς τόπος* for *καὶ ποῖος*

the footstool of my feet. What house will ye build for me, saith the Lord, or where is the place of my rest? Did not my 50 hands make all these things? O stiffnecked and uncircumcised 51 in heart and ears, ye do ever resist the Holy Spirit; as your fathers did, so also do ye. Which of the prophets did not your 52 fathers persecute? And they slew those who announced before-

τόπος of the LXX—an agreement which brings up the same problem of the use of variant LXX texts or of dependence on books of *Testimonia* which such agreements raise elsewhere. See note on iii. 22 f., where the passage in Deut. xviii. 15 f. (which occurs also in vs. 37 above) is quoted with a variation from the LXX which recurs verbatim in *Clem. Recogn.* i. 36, but, as it seems, independently of Acts. It is also noteworthy that Justin Martyr in *Dial.* xxii. 2-5, 11 brings together Amos v. 25 ff. and Is. lxvi. 1 f. just as Acts does; but there is no reason to imagine any dependence of Justin on Acts.

49. will ye build] B reads 'did ye build'; but this is surely a mistake.

51. stiffnecked] σκληροτράχηλοι is only found here in the N.T. and is taken from Exod. xxxiii. 3 and other passages in the LXX where it renders ἡγερ which is used to describe the rebellious tendency of Israel.

uncircumcised in heart and ears] The first part of the phrase used in Lev. xxvi. 41, Ezek. xlv. 7, etc., to describe a heathen disposition. For 'uncircumcised in ear' cf. Jer. vi. 10. But the combination in Acts resembles most nearly Deut. x. 16 περιτεμείσθε τὴν σκληροκαρδίαν ὑμῶν (so also Jer. iv. 4) καὶ τὸν τράχηλον ὑμῶν οὐ σκληρυνεῖτε.

the Holy Spirit] Used here, as in the Rabbinic writings, with the special meaning of spirit of prophecy. (See Additional Note 9.) Cod. Athous Laur. 184 has the interesting note ὑμεῖς τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι ἀντιπίπτετε. πῶς; ὅτι αὐτὸς ὁδηγεῖ, ὑμεῖς δὲ πλανᾶτε· αὐτὸς φωτίζει, ὑμεῖς δὲ σκοτίζετε· αὐτὸς σφραγίζει, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἀποσυλάτε. ταῦτα ἔν τισιν ἀρχαίοις ἀντιγράφοις εὑρομεν παρακείμενα (see E. v. d. Goltz, *TU. N.F.* ii. 4, p. 36). Obviously an old comment written in the margin. Had it gone one stage further and been incorporated in the text it would be an

example of the growth of the Western text.

52. Which of the prophets] Origen in Cramer's *Catena* (p. 127) probably means that Stephen's implication that all the prophets were persecuted can hardly be justified from the O.T., but the Greek printed is scarcely intelligible. In commenting on Matt. x. 18 he quotes Moses, Isaiah, and Zechariah as examples.

slew] There is no historical evidence that this is true, but to support it a mass of legends grew up, describing almost every prophet as a martyr. The basis of these legends was probably a Jewish book, which is not extant. It is preserved in six forms in Christian tradition. (1) Epiphanius, *De prophetarum vita et obitu*. The question has scarcely been settled whether this is a genuine work of Epiphanius. Fr. Delitzsch defended its authenticity, but both Bardenhewer (*Patrologie*, 2nd ed. p. 274) and N. Bonwetsch in Herzog's *Realencyklopädie*, s.v. Epiphanius, rejected it. (2) Dorotheus, *De prophetarum vita et obitu*. His identity is doubtful, but he may have been bishop of Tyre c. A.D. 290. (3) Another text also attributed to Epiphanius. (4) An anonymous treatise, possibly the archetype of the last, is found in the Codex Marchalianus of the LXX. This ms. is closely connected with the *Hexapla* of Origen, and it is not impossible that he was acquainted with this treatise, and even that he may have incorporated it in the *Hexapla*. (5) Hesychius, *De prophetarum vita et obitu*: a compilation from more than one writer. (6) The Greek Synaxarion.

The text of all these is now conveniently accessible in Th. Schermann, 'Prophetarum vitae fabulosae' in the *Bibliotheca Teubneriana*, 1907. Cf. his essay on the same subject in *Texte und Untersuchungen*, xxxi. 3.

hand about the coming of the Just One, of whom you have
 53 now become betrayers and murderers, you, who received the
 law by the commands of angels and did not keep it."

54 And when they heard this they were deeply wounded, and
 55 they gnashed their teeth at him. But being full of the Holy

announced beforehand] A stage in the development of the growth of the legends about the prophets is found in the Apologists, especially in Justin Martyr, which ascribes the death of the prophets to the machinations of demons, who did not wish the coming of the Messiah to be known. This view is also found in Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* vi. 15. 127).

the Just One] This is used as a title of Jesus in iii. 14, in this verse, and in xxii. 14. There is no evidence that it was a Jewish synonym for the Messiah except that in Enoch xxxviii. 2 the author of that section uses 'the Righteous' among other titles for the Messiah. But it seems to have been one of the earliest titles used by the Christians in Jerusalem to designate Jesus. It is possible that it is connected with the passages in Wisdom ii. ff. which speak of the Righteous One, and his ill-treatment by the wicked. It may be peculiarly Lucan, but it is found only in speeches in Acts, and it is at least quite possible that the speeches in Acts, as in the Gospel, come from sources. Thus it is not improbable that the use of the title is primitive, and may have been used of Jesus from the beginning. It apparently passed on to James, the Lord's brother, who was also called *ὁ δίκαιος*. There are possible though not necessary references to it in Matt. xxvii. 19, "Have thou nothing to do with τῷ δίκαιῳ ἐκείνῳ," in the story of Pilate's wife, and in Luke xxiii. 47 the words of the centurion, *ὅντως ὁ ἀνθρώπος οὗτος δίκαιος ἦν*. In this case the story gains point if *ὁ δίκαιος* was a familiar title of Jesus. In the latter instance *ὁ δίκαιος* seems to be less likely to be original than *θεοῦ υἱός* in the parallel in Mark xv. 39. In both passages there is a possible allusion to Wisdom. (See also note on ix. 17, Addit. Note 29 and Vol. I. pp. 387 f.)

53. by the commands] *εἰς διαταγὰς*

is an impossible phrase if any attempt be made to give *εἰς* its classical meaning, but *εἰς* and *ἐν* are almost interchangeable in 'Koine' Greek, with a strong tendency in favour of *εἰς*. In order to obviate the difficulty that the O.T. does not mention the angels at the giving of the Law, Chrysostom (*Hom.* xvii. p. 138) connects this with the intervention of the angel at the burning bush. But this is obviously not the meaning, and for the Jewish tradition which introduces the angels at the giving of the Law see note on vs. 38.

διαταγή well illustrates how words formerly described as Biblical have now been found widely represented in papyri, inscriptions, and even in writings of secular literature. See Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*⁴, Eng. Trans., 1927, pp. 89 ff. One of the few striking verbal agreements between Paul and Acts (see on ix. 21) is that in the passage (Gal. iii. 19) where Paul mentions the giving of the law by angels the corresponding verb is used—*διαταγείς δι' ἀγγέλων*. But the verb is perhaps natural in the circumstances, cf. ys. 44 καθὼς διέταξάτο ὁ λαλῶν τῷ Μωυσῇ. Is ὁ λαλῶν also an angel? Cf. Heb. ii. 2 ὁ δι' ἀγγέλων λαλήθεῖς.

54 ff. The account of Stephen's death has numerous but unexplained likenesses to the several accounts of the execution of James the brother of Jesus in Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 9. 1; Hegesippus (*apud* Eusebius, *H.E.* ii. 23); Clement of Alexandria (*ibid.* ii. 1); and the *Clementine Recognitions*, i. 64-70.

deeply wounded] *διεπρίοντο ταῖς καρδίαις αὐτῶν*, lit. 'were cut in their hearts.' Cf. v. 33.

gnashed] Cf. Job xvi. 9; Ps. xxxv. 16, etc.

55. full of the Holy Spirit] The Western text reads 'being in the Holy Spirit,' which may be the

Spirit he looked up to the sky and saw the glory of God, and Jesus standing on the right hand of God, and said, "Behold I see the skies open and the Son of man standing on the right hand of God." And they cried out with a loud voice, and shut

original. See note in Vol. III. p. 74.

glory of God] The vision of God is the usual consolation of the martyr (cf. Polyc. *Martyr.* v. 2, *Pass. Perpetuae*, iv. 7. 4 ff.).

Jesus standing] Waiting to welcome Stephen? Or to avenge him? It is probably pressing too much on a single passage to inquire closely what is the implied eschatology of this passage. But it may be noted that if 'standing' be taken as 'welcoming,' the implication is that Stephen would pass straight to the presence of God, without waiting for the judgement or resurrection. The same eschatology is implied by the story of Dives and Lazarus, and by the promise to the penitent thief (Luke xxiii. 43). It was perpetuated in the Church's doctrine of an 'intermediate state.' Can this be regarded as peculiarly Lucan? It should be compared with the Apocalyptic eschatology which looked forward to a double resurrection, first that of the martyrs who would share in the Millennium, afterwards that of the rest of mankind. Paul's eschatology is obscure on this point. 1 Thessalonians and 1 Corinthians, while varying in detail, have essentially that of the Apocalypse, but 2 Corinthians and Philippians have more nearly that of Acts vii. and of the parable of Lazarus. Though the Church combined in its teaching the Apocalyptic and the Lucan views, it retained a sense that the promise to the penitent thief was exceptional, and in Byzantine art the penitent thief is found, together with Enoch and Elijah, within the walls of Paradise, welcoming the redeemed as they come up after the judgement.

The Western text, "Jesus, the Lord, standing at the right hand of God," is an interesting variant.

56. Son of man] The only place in the N.T. outside the Gospels where this phrase is used of Jesus; it seems to imply a reference to the words of

Jesus before the Sanhedrin in Luke xxii. 69, "Hereafter shall the Son of man sit on the right hand of the power of God," which is a characteristically Lucan rewriting of the much more ambiguous and more eschatological Marcan phrase, "I am [the Messiah]; and ye shall see the Son of man sitting on the right hand of Power, and coming in the clouds of heaven" (see Vol. I. pp. 374 ff., and F. C. Burkitt, *Christian Beginnings*, pp. 29 ff.).

57. they cried out] The Western text (h, D being assimilated to the B-text) probably read "Then the people cried out." This is exegesis. The point which is left doubtful in the B-text is whether the writer intends the death of Stephen to be regarded as an execution by the Sanhedrin, or a 'lynching' by the mob. The Western text apparently decided that it was a 'lynching.' Possibly it is right in its opinion, but probability on the whole favours the ambiguous B-text. Certainty is impossible and guesses are hazardous, but I incline to give some weight to the guess that Luke knew two versions, probably written, of Stephen's death which either omitted his speech or substantially agreed in their accounts of it, but gave variant accounts of the beginning and the end of the proceedings. This would account for the curiously double character of the introduction in vi. 11-15, in which vi. 11 f. and vi. 13 f. seem to give two versions of the accusation against Stephen, and the similarly double character of the conclusion in vii. 57 ff. in which there seems to be a combination of two accounts, so that it is twice stated that they stoned Stephen. On the other hand the speech itself seems to me a unit, and all the attempts to divide it into sources are unsatisfactory. (See Vol. II. pp. 148 ff., and, of the mass of literature which endeavours to analyse this passage into several sources, cf. especially Feine, *Eine vorkanonische Überlieferung des*

58 their ears, and rushed together against him, and threw him out of the city and began to stone him. And the witnesses put down their garments at the feet of a young man called Saul.
59 And they stoned Stephen, calling and saying, "Lord Jesus, receive

Lukas, pp. 190 ff.; Spitta, pp. 101 ff.; J. Weiss, *Studien und Kritiken*, 1893, pp. 498 ff.; Hilgenfeld, *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theol.*, 1895, pp. 403 ff.)

58. threw him out] This verse certainly reads more like a 'lynching' than an execution, and is in strong contrast to the slow and orderly proceedings ordained in the treatise 'Sanhedrin' in the *Mishna* (see Vol. I. pp. 33 ff.).

the witnesses] This points to an execution, for in the *Mishna* the witnesses had the duty of execution (cf. Deut. xvii. 7). But there is nothing in the *Mishna* about their taking off their clothes for this purpose. The usual idea that they took off their coats in order to throw stones more effectively is singularly wide of the mark. The official 'stoning' of the *Mishna* consisted in throwing the criminal over a precipice, and rolling a heavy stone on to his chest. One witness threw him over head first, turned him over, and rolled a stone down. If this did not kill him the second witness rolled down another stone. Modern interpretation is based on Raphael's cartoon rather than on the *Mishna*. It is, however, curious that though the *Mishna* says nothing about the clothes of the witnesses, it does speak of the clothes of the criminal. These were taken off before he was thrown over the precipice. Is it possible that there has been an early confusion in the tradition, and that it was Stephen's clothes which were laid at the feet of Saul? I do not suggest that the text should be emended, especially since xxii. 20 guarantees that the clothes, in the opinion of the writer, were those of the witnesses; but to show how easily such a change might have arisen I would point out it would only require the alteration in vs. 58 of *αὐτῶν* to *αὐτοῦ*. (See R. Hirzel, 'Die Strafe der Steinigung' in the *Abhandlungen d. Leipziger Ges.* vol. xxvii. 7, 1909.)

Saul] Through however many

stages this may have passed, this surely must be a genuine Pauline reminiscence. It is, however, by no means clear that it means that Saul was guarding the clothes. It seems quite as probable that Saul was one of the onlookers, that the clothes, whether of the witnesses or of Stephen, were put down in front of him, and that this detail made that strangely deep impression which is so often made by apparently insignificant incidents. If we are present at some great event it is usually some curious trifle which is most vividly impressed on our visual or aural memory. The importance of this fact—that we have here a genuine piece of Pauline reminiscence—is that it probably turns the scale in favour of the view that Stephen was actually executed rather than lynched. The orderly taking off and placing together of clothes belongs to the story of an execution, not of a lynching. But I am far from equally certain that Luke thought of Stephen's death in this way. Indeed, I rather suspect that one of his subordinate purposes was to suggest that Stephen was put to death by the violence of a mob, not by the legal sentence of a court.

59. saying] Stephen's last words are clearly based on the Lucan version of the last words of Jesus. 'Lord Jesus, receive my spirit,' corresponds to Luke xxiii. 46, 'Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit,' and 'Lord, lay not this sin to their charge' may correspond to Luke xxiii. 34, 'Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do,' though in view of the doubt as to the authenticity of Luke xxiii. 34 it is possible that there has been a tendency to supplement the story of the Passion by details taken from the story of Stephen.

Lord Jesus] If it were certain that this is the exact phrase used by Stephen it would prove the contention of those who think that *κύριος* (or Maran) came to be used in Jerusalem

my spirit." And he knelt down and cried with a loud voice, 60 "Lord, lay not this sin to their charge." And when he had said this, he fell asleep. And Saul shared in the approval of his murder. 8¹ And on that day a great persecution came upon the church in

rather than in Antioch. But in view of the general evidence I still think that the use of 'Lord' here is due to Luke's literary preference for the title. (See Vol. I. pp. 408 ff., and cf. F. C. Burkitt, *Christian Beginnings*, pp. 44 ff., and Additional Note 29.) A further point which is sometimes made is less difficult to answer. Is this an example of prayer to Jesus, as to God? I think that it clearly is not. It belongs, as Luke himself indicates, to the 'Son of man' Christology. In the vision of Stephen the Son of man is at the right hand of God, where all the Apocalyptic tradition of the Jews would place him. However much there may be room for doubt whether Jesus thought that he was the Son of man, it is certain that the earliest Christians, at least of the type which survived, all thought so. If Stephen saw the Son of man, what was more natural than to ask him for help? But the Son of man was not God, and in this very narrative is distinguished from God. Even if the word 'Maran' were used by Stephen or by the other disciples, it must be clearly remembered that for the history of thought, rather than of words, the important point is that Maran does not imply divinity, though κύριος at least frequently does so.

60. lay not] The general meaning is of course clear, but there is some doubt as to the exact significance of στήσης. Two views are advocated. (1) στήσης = ὥρε, to weigh out and so to pay. Cf. 1 Kings xx. 39. The objection to this is that in this sense ιστάναι requires a direct object of the payment made, not of that for which it is paid. (2) στήσης = to establish. Cf. Rom. x. 3, Heb. x. 9. Its force is well illustrated in 1 Macc. xiii. 38, 39 and xv. 5 where it is used in contrast to ἀφίημι. μὴ στήσης is therefore the exact equivalent of ἀφες Luke xxiii. 34. Cf. Cramer's *Catena ad loc.*

fell asleep] See note on xiii. 36.

1-3. These verses reveal not very skilful 'splicing.' viii. 1a, viii. 3, ix. 1 ff. give a connected sequence with Saul as their centre; viii. 2 seems logically to belong to vii. 60; and viii. 1b is intended to introduce the story of the evangelization of Samaria and Judaea which is given in viii. 4 ff.

1. persecution] How far was persecution possible under Roman government? This question cannot be answered, for even if it be true that Roman law would have forbidden it, we do not know whether Roman administration would not have connived at it. It should be noted that the view that the persecution entailed death is an inference from the death of Stephen (which may have been a case of 'lynching'), and from ἀχρε θανάτου in xxii. 4, which may be merely due to the editor. The Jews certainly had power to inflict disciplinary punishment (cf. Juster, vol. ii. pp. 127 ff.). It is also just possible that the death of Stephen came after the dismissal of Pilate in A.D. 36, when anything may have happened, but the natural interpretation of the evidence suggests that the conversion of Paul, and therefore the death of Stephen, was at least as early as A.D. 34. According to Galatians ii. 1 Paul's conversion was, taking the interpretation which gives the shortest period, 12 to 14 years before the conference in Jerusalem; taking the other interpretation it was between 14 and 17 years. The conference was probably in the year of the famine, which cannot be later than 46, so that the date of Paul's conversion would be A.D. 29-32 on one system of reckoning, or 32-34 according to the other. The latter is obviously the more probable. The elements of doubt in this argument are whether the conference in Jerusalem was really in the year of the famine, and whether the statement in Gal. ii. 1 can be trusted when it says that 14 years elapsed between Paul's conversion and his second visit to

Jerusalem, and they were all scattered throughout the country-side of Judaea and Samaria, except the apostles. But pious men gathered up Stephen and made a great wailing over him.

Jerusalem. If either of these doubts be regarded as serious, a later date for the death of Stephen becomes possible. (See Additional Note 34.)

Jerusalem] That Paul persecuted the Christians is confirmed by Gal. i. 13, 22 f.; 1 Cor. xv. 9; Philipp. iii. 6; 1 Tim. i. 13. But in none of these passages is it stated that he was in Jerusalem, and the passage in Galatians would certainly be interpreted, if it were not for Acts, as meaning that he persecuted the Christians in Damascus, for there is nothing in it about Jerusalem, and when it says that Paul 'returned to Damascus,' it seems to imply that Damascus was his centre of operations. It goes on to say that he was "unknown by sight to the churches of Judaea which are in Christ" (Gal. i. 22). A persecutor may be hated, but is not likely to be unknown, especially if he had been carrying out a policy of house-to-house visitation.

countryside] χώρας is always a doubtful word. It often means 'country' as opposed to 'town.' But it may mean a political district, equivalent to the Latin *regio* (cf. xiii. 49 and xvi. 6). Here the genitives after χώρας turn the scale in favour of the former interpretation. (See note on vs. 5 and Addit. Note 18.)

apostles] The Western text adds 'who remained in Jerusalem,' which is doubtless a correct interpretation. But how was it that the apostles avoided the persecution? Possibly the statement is purely editorial, and intended to prepare the way for vs. 14 (οἱ ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμοις ἀπόστολοι). Wellhausen thinks it is intended to show that the apostles were not persecuted, being regarded as sufficiently good Jews; the attack was only against the Hellenist Christians. Or is it intended to show that the command in i. 4 not to leave Jerusalem was still being obeyed by the Apostles?

2. pious] It is probable that εὐλαβεῖς has no semi-technical sense, any more than has οἱ σεβόμενοι. But

to judge from his use of the word elsewhere the author possibly thinks of them as good Jews rather than as good Christians. They played a rôle like that of Joseph of Arimathea, who unlike Saul was not approving (Luke xxiii. 51). Christian tradition makes Gamaliel bury Stephen in his own tomb. However, it is possible for a man like Ananias to be described at one time as εὐλαβῆς κατὰ τὸν νόμον (xxii. 12) and at another as a μαθητής (ix. 10). Cf. also the problem of Joseph of Arimathea's Christianity (see K. Lake, *The Resurrection of Jesus Christ*, pp. 169-178). To bury an executed criminal was a duty prescribed by the Law (Deut. xxi. 22 f. and cf. Josephus, *B.J.* iv. 5. 2).

gathered up] συνκομίζω is 'to gather up for burial,' ἐκκομίζω is 'to take out for burial' (cf. Luke vii. 12). It is possible that συστέλλω is a synonym for συνκομίζω. See note on v. 6 and cf. Field, *Notes on the Translation of the N.T.* pp. 116 f.

made a great wailing] The traditional Jewish 'wake.' The fact that this 'wake' was possible is an indication that Stephen was lynched rather than executed, or at least that the writer wished this conclusion to be drawn. For a man executed by stoning no 'wake' was allowed (*Sanh.* vi. 6). Moreover, if Stephen had been executed in accordance with the Law of the Mishna, his body would have been hung up and exposed to public view, and then before sunset buried in one of the graves of malefactors, where it would have remained until the flesh had rotted away. The bones were then removed and buried in the man's family grave. (See Strack, ii. p. 686.) It should, however, never be overlooked that on this and similar points the Mishna represents the procedure which a writer in the second century thought proper, and therefore ascribed to the past, rather than that which was actually followed in the first century.

But Saul ravaged the church, entering in from house to house 3 and seizing men and women and handing them over to prison.

So then those who were scattered passed through the land 4

3. ravaged] ἐλυμάλνετο. Although this word occurs here only in the N.T., its use in the LXX, in *Hermas*, and in the papyri shows that it is neither specially literary (Blass) nor medical (Hobart). Even if its real etymology was from λύμη it evidently came to be popularly connected with λοιμός, as the spelling λοιμάλνομαι suggests. So (N) B in the LXX and P Grenf i. 17. 15. It came to have a figurative sense of 'insult,' but it is used literally of physical injury, e.g. *Arrian, Epict.* iii. 22. 87, particularly of the mangling by wild beasts, e.g. lions (*Dan. Theod.* vi. 22; *Aelian, V.H.* iv. 5), boars (*Ps.* lxxx. 14; *Callim. Hymn. in Dian.* 156; *Plut. Mulier. virt.* 248 D; *Aelian, De nat. anim.* xii. 38), leopards (*Ecclus.* xxviii. 23), wolves (*Isaiah* lxxv. 25, P Par 6. 19). That the author of *Acts* had this figure still in mind here is perhaps confirmed by his metaphors in xx. 28f. ποιμνίῳ . . . ἐπισκόπους, ποιμαίνειν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ θεοῦ . . . λύκοι βαρεῖς . . . μὴ φειδόμενοι τοῦ ποιμνίου. But its less literal use was common and may be illustrated by two references to anti-Jewish outrage at Alexandria contemporary with the events of *Acts*. Philo, *Legatio ad Caicum*, 134 (ii. p. 565) says of the Alexandrians προσευχὰς ὅσας μὴ ἐδυνήθησαν ἐμπρήσει καὶ κατασκαφαῖς ἀφανίσαι . . . ἕτερον τρόπον ἐλυμήναντο μετὰ τῆς τῶν νόμων καὶ ἐθνῶν ἀνατροπῆς, and the Emperor Claudius commands them (*P Lond.* 1912, 85f. = *H. I. Bell, Jews and Christians in Egypt*, p. 25) μηδὲν τῶν πρὸς θρησκείαν αὐτοῖς (i.e. Ἰουδαίους) νενομισμένων τοῦ θεοῦ λοιμένωνται (i.e. λυμάλωνται) ἀλλὰ ἐῷσιν αὐτοὺς τοῖς ἔθεσιν χρῆσθαι.

4.40. THE EVANGELIZATION OF SAMARIA AND JUDAEA. This section contains three stories: (a) vss. 4-13, the Preaching of Philip in Samaria; (b) vss. 14-25, the Preaching of Peter in Samaria; (c) vss. 26-40, the further adventures of Philip, ending in

Caesarea. Possibly ix. 32-xi. 18 is the legitimate continuation of this narrative, and should be catalogued as (d) the further adventures of Peter, including, like those of Philip, a visit to Caesarea but ultimately ending in Jerusalem. (See further the note on ix. 32-xi. 18.)

In this Peter-Philip-Caesarean narrative, the apparent schematization, which further suggests the parallelism between the two pairs Peter-Philip and Barnabas-Saul, has raised the question of its composition. Has the author combined a Peter document and a Philip document? In favour of this view is the way in which, though Peter and Philip are represented as the evangelists of Samaria and Judaea (Caesarea), they never meet. Moreover the Peter-narrative suggests by its introduction of John in vs. 14 that it is connected with the A source of the Jerusalem tradition. Even if the addition of John be due to the editor, he seems to have made that especial addition only in passages coming from J^a (see also Vol. II. p. 140). Such an hypothesis cannot be proved, but it is in any case more probable either than that of Waitz, who thinks that the mention of Philip is an emendation of an older tradition which spoke only of Peter, or than that of Preuschen, who reverses this suggestion. (See Waitz, *ZNTW.* vii. (1906), pp. 340 ff.; E. Schwartz, *Gött. Nach.*, 1907, pp. 279 ff.; Preuschen, note *ad loc.*; and cf. Vol. II. p. 152.)

4. So then] The μὲν οὖν in vs. 4 is, as usual, the sign of transition to a new episode. It recurs in vs. 25 introducing another story of Philip's preaching in Judaea, ending in Caesarea, the Roman capital. The narrator then turns to Saul in ix. 1, this time without any μὲν οὖν. But the significant particle again reappears as soon as the story of Saul is brought down as far as Caesarea and Tarsus, and ἡ μὲν οὖν ἐκκλησία κτλ. may introduce the story of Peter's mission

5 preaching the word. And Philip came down to a city of Samaria
6 and preached to them the Messiah. And the crowds gave
credence to what was said by Philip with one accord while they

in Judaea, but is more probably a 'connecting summary,' and, once more, this too is brought into connexion with Caesarea. Then in xi. 19 another *οἱ μὲν οὖν διασπαρέντες . . . διήλθον* takes the narrative back to the starting-point—the death of Stephen—and begins the story of another mission in which the local centre is Antioch, and the chief characters are Barnabas and Saul instead of Philip and Peter.

passed through] See note on ix. 32.

5. a city of Samaria] The textual evidence favours 'the city of Samaria,' but von Soden and Ropes are surely right in preferring πόλιν to τὴν πόλιν. (a) The city which in the O.T. was called Samaria was always known as Sebaste after its restoration by Herod. Samaria in the N.T. means the district, not the city. Though 'the city of Samaria' is good English with the meaning 'the city called Samaria,' it is an unusual idiom in Greek. The appositive genitive is much less common in Greek than in English, and the examples given can be understood otherwise, e.g. 2 Peter ii. 6 πόλεις Σοδόμων καὶ Γομόρρας = Jude 7 Σόδομα καὶ Γομόρρα καὶ αἱ περὶ αὐτὰς πόλεις. So also in vs. 1 κατὰ τὰς χώρας τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ Σαμαρίας means not the two provinces Judaea and Samaria, but the country districts (χώραι nearly = κῶμαι in vs. 25) of those areas are meant in contrast to Jerusalem. (b) There are few if any real parallels for the use of τὴν πόλιν Σ. with the meaning 'the capital' of Samaria, though τὴν πόλιν without qualification is common in that sense. In the papyri ἡ πόλις means Alexandria, and the name Stamboul for Constantinople is a corruption of εἰς τὴν πόλιν. The idiom is so obvious that it is found in most languages (cf. 'Urbs' for Rome and 'Town' for London), but it is contrary to its nature to qualify it by adding a name because the whole point is that 'the city' is so well known as to need no description. It is conceivable, but improbable, that the writer meant that

Samaria had only one 'city.' But this would have been untrue in fact: Sebaste was the Greek city; Neapolis (Nabulus), the ancient Shechem, was the headquarters of the Samaritans. (See A. E. Cowley, 'Samaritans' in *Enc. Bibl.*, and E. Meyer, *Ursprung und Anfänge*, iii. p. 277.) (c) In viii. 8 'that' city is a strange phrase if τὴν πόλιν in vs. 5 means Sebaste, but it is perfectly natural if the true reading be πόλιν without the article. (d) For πόλιν Σαμαρείας cf. Luke i. 39 πόλιν Ἰούδα, which (*pace* Torrey) surely means 'a city of Judah.'

To identify the city intended, if Sebaste be excluded, is of course impossible, but it is tempting to guess that it was Gitta with which Justin Martyr connects Simon Magus (Justin, 1 *Apol.* xxvi., lvi.).

Messiah] For the Samaritan Messianic belief see Vol. I. pp. 122 and 406.

6. gave credence] προσέχειν is found three times in this sense in this chapter, and once in xvi. 14, five times in 1 Timothy (i. 4, iii. 8, iv. 1, 13, vi. 3), and once in 2 Peter (i. 19). But in Matthew (six times) and Luke (four times) it is used (a) in the phrase προσέχετε ἑαυτοῖς = beware, or, by an extension of this meaning, (b) = avoid, e.g. προσέχετε ἀπὸ τῶν γραμματέων (Luke xx. 46); (c) in one passage (Matt. vi. 1) = be careful about (προσέχετε δὲ τὴν δικαιοσύνην ὑμῶν μὴ ποιεῖν ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων). It is not used in the Pauline Epistles (apart from 1 Timothy), in John or in Mark; in Acts it is used in the phrase προσέχετε ἑαυτοῖς in v. 35 and in xx. 28. It is also found in Hebrews ii. 1, on which Moffatt, *I.C.C.*, says, "As elsewhere in Hellenistic Greek (e.g. Jos. *Apion*. i. 2; Strabo, ii. 1. 7) προσέχειν (sc. τὸν νοῦν) is the opposite of ἀπιστεῖν; to 'attend' is to believe and act upon what is heard. This is implied even in Acts viii. 6 and xvi. 14 (προσέχειν τοῖς λαλουμένοις ὑπὸ Παύλου) where it is the attention of one who hears the gospel for the first time." The cross reference to this verse in vs. 12 accordingly uses ἐπίστευσαν.

heard and saw the signs which he did. For many of those 7 who had unclean spirits, crying with a loud voice they came out. And many, paralysed and lame, were healed, and there was great 8 joy in that city. But a certain man named Simon was already in 9 the city practising magic and amazing the population of Samaria, saying that he was someone great. And to him all gave credence 10 from small to great, saying, "This is the Power of God, which is

signs] See note on i. 8.

7. For many, etc.] The Greek of the B-text (πολλοὶ γὰρ τῶν ἐχόντων πνεύματα ἀκάθαρτα βοῶντα φωνῇ μεγάλῃ ἐξήρχοντο) is ungrammatical, for πολλοὶ ought to be the subject of ἐξήρχοντο, but clearly is not, as it was the πνεύματα not the πολλοὶ who 'came out'; moreover πνεύματα ἀκάθαρτα is obviously an accusative governed by ἐχόντων, but βοῶντα is the subject (or qualifies the subject) of ἐξήρχοντο. If any emendation is to be accepted the neatest is that of Blass, who suggests that ἀ slipped out after ἀκάθαρτα. In the preceding verse ἀ is omitted after σημεῖα in just this way by Cod. A. Probably, however, the text should not be emended. It is one of the several indications in the text that it was never finally revised. Perhaps by one of those tricks of mental 'telescoping' to which all writers are liable the author thought of πνεύματα ἀκάθαρτα as a nominative, forgetting that he had begun with πολλοί, and so finished up the sentence with βοῶντα ἐξήρχοντο. The variants in the Western and Antiochian texts seem to be merely emendations.

unclean spirits] πνεύματα ἀκάθαρτα (פְּרוּסוּתָא דְּמַלְאָכָא) is a Jewish phrase found in Mark, Q, and the first part of Acts, and in the Apocalypse, but not elsewhere in the N.T. In Mark it is used 11 times; Matthew has emended it to something else in all places except Matt. x. 1 = Mark vi. 7. Luke, on the other hand, seems to have had no objection to the phrase, and retained it in five places. The Q passage is Matt. xii. 43 = Luke xi. 24. It is used in Acts v. 16 (a summary, of which the language seems reminiscent of Mark [see note *ad loc.*]) and in the present passage.

8. paralysed and lame] Such summary statements are usually the generalization of specific incidents. Not only are these complaints among those most common in ancient records of miracles, but apart from exorcisms and resuscitations of the dead this book contains specific references only to the paralysed (ix. 33) and lame (iii. 2, xiv. 8).

9. someone great] Blass regards μέγαν as an interpolation (cf. v. 36 . . . Θεοῦ, λέγων εἶναι τινα ἐαυτόν, and Blass's note). But it is tempting to imitate the probably correct emendation in Lucian's *De morte Peregrini*, 11, where, speaking of Jesus, the mss. read τὸν μέγαν γοῦν ἐκείνον ἐτι σέβουσι, τὸν ἄνθρωπον τὸν ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ ἀνασκολοπισθέντα, but editors suggest μάγον for μέγαν. (Cf. also Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 7, 2, § 142, Ἀτομον (v.l. Σίμων) . . . μάγον εἶναι σκηπτόμενον.) For Simon see Addit. Note 13.

10. from small to great] A common LXX phrase; see Gen. xix. 11; 1 Sam. v. 9, xxx. 2, 19; 2 Kings xxiii. 2, xxv. 26; 2 Chron. xxxiv. 30; Judith xiii. 4 and 13; Is. xxii. 5, 24; Jer. vi. 13, xxxi. 34, xlii. 1, 8, xlv. 12, and cf. xxvi. 22. Thus there is no difficulty in the verse as it stands, but it is possible that it is out of place and belonged originally to the words of Simon, who used the Pythagorean phrase τὸ μικρὸν μέγα ἐσται, perhaps in connexion with sacraments which showed the way from 'small' to 'great.' There may also be some connexion between this and the strange Western addition to Matt. xx. 28 ὑμεῖς δὲ ζητεῖτε ἐκ μικροῦ αὐξήσαι, καὶ [οὐκ ?] ἐκ μείζονος ἐλαττον εἶναι. (See Hippolytus, *Refutatio*, iv. 51 στερεοῦ δὲ ὑπάρχαντος οὕτως ἐξ ἐλαχίστου σημείου

11 called Great." And they gave credence to him because for a long
 12 time they had been amazed by his magic. But when they
 believed Philip bringing the good news about the Kingdom of
 God and the name of Jesus Christ they were baptized, both men
 13 and women. And even Simon himself believed and was baptized

παντελῶς ἡ τοῦ μεγάλου σώματος ὑπέστη
 φύσις καὶ τοῦτο ἐστὶν ὃ λέγει Σίμων
 οὕτως τὸ μικρὸν μέγα ἔσται . . . κτλ.,
 and cf. A. Redlich, 'Die 'Απόφασις
 des Simon Magus' in the *Archiv für
 Geschichte der Philosophie*, Bd. xxiii.,
 1910, p. 385 n.)

the Power of God] Possibly this means simply God, especially if Simon belongs to the monotheistic Samaritan or Jewish religion. The rabbis use as a surrogate for God the term *הַנּוֹרָא* (G. F. Moore, *Judaism*, iii. note 115; Strack, i. pp. 1006 f.). The same substitute appears in Greek in the phrase *ἐκ δεξιῶν τῆς δυνάμεως* (Mark xiv. 62 = Matt. xxvi. 64), which reappears as *ἐκ δεξιῶν τῆς μεγάλης δυνάμεως* in Eusebius, *H. E.* ii. 23. 13 where Hegesippus is reporting James. In an attempt to elucidate the Marcan phrase Luke in his parallel (Luke xxii. 69) obscures the original intention of the phrase by adding *τοῦ θεοῦ*, just as he adds *τοῦ θεοῦ* to *ὁ χριστός* in Luke ix. 20 and xxiii. 35. It is therefore quite possible that here also he has added *τοῦ θεοῦ*. Cf. Dalman, *Words of Jesus*, p. 200. His *καλουμένη* further suggests that he is aware of dealing with a foreign term in his *μεγάλη*. See note on vi. 9 and Cadbury, *Style and Literary Method of Luke*, pp. 154 f. Others have conjectured that behind *μεγάλη* lies the like-sounding Hebrew or Samaritan word for 'revealer.' See Klostermann, *Probleme im Aposteltexte*, pp. 15 ff.

Beside the very frequent *μέγιστος* as an epithet for gods *μέγας* is not unrepresented. See xix. 28, 34 and the parallels in Ramsay's *Bearing of Recent Discovery on the Trustworthiness of the New Testament*, p. 118, note 3. For similar use of 'great power' in pagan religion and magic cf. Deissmann's citation of the Paris magical papyrus, line 1275, *ἐπικαλοῦμαι σε τὴν μεγίστην δύναμιν τὴν ἐν τῷ*

οὐρανῷ, and the inscription from Lydia, quoted by Ramsay, *eis theos ἐν οὐρανοῖς Μὴν οὐράνιος μεγάλη δύναμις τοῦ ἀθανάτου θεοῦ* (Keil and Premerstein, *Denkschriften der Wiener Akademie*, liv., 1911, p. 110).

Great] This chapter illustrates what may be described either as the tendency of the writer to repeat a word soon after he has used it (with or without slight variation of form or meaning), or as the influence on the wording of a given passage of what has gone before. Beside *προσεῖχον* in 10 and 11, *μαγεύων καὶ ἐξιστάνων* and *ταῖς μαγίαις ἐξεστακέναι* in 9 and 11, we may suspect that *δύναμις τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ καλουμένη μεγάλη* has been affected by the preceding *λέγων εἶναι τινα ἐαυτὸν μέγαν*, and is responsible for the following *σημεῖα καὶ δυνάμεις μεγάλας* in place of the more usual *σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα*. In verse 35 *ἀνοίξας . . . τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ* follows the quotation *οὐκ ἀνοίγει τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ*, and in the consecutive verses 26 f. we have the only N.T. occurrences of *ἰάξα* and *γάξα*.

11. This verse seems a rather clumsy repetition of vs. 9 f., but there is nothing in the text to justify its omission. The variants in the Peshitto on which Preuschen relies to prove textual corruption have no support, and seem to be merely due to a translator's choice. (See Preuschen's note *ad loc.*)

12. about] *περί* after *εὐαγγελίζεσθαι* is an unusual but intelligible construction.

the Kingdom of God] Any of the possible interpretations (see Vol. I. pp. 269 ff.) are conceivable, but the usage of Acts suggests, though it far from proves, that Kingdom of God here means the Church—the society of believers in Jesus, who through his representatives, using the power of his name, receive the Holy Spirit which cleanses and saves. (See note on i. 3 and Additional Note 11.)

and continued with Philip, and was amazed at seeing the signs and great miracles which happened.

But when the apostles in Jerusalem heard that Samaria had ¹⁴ accepted the word of God they sent to them Peter and John, who went down and prayed for them that they might receive ¹⁵

13. happened] Through whom? One would naturally say, through Philip, and this is surely the right answer, but it has been suggested that Simon was amazed at his own increased powers, thanks to his baptism.

14-25. PETER'S SAMARITAN MISSION. The meaning of this short story clearly is that the Apostles in Jerusalem wished to give the Samaritans the gift of the Spirit which they knew that Philip's baptism could not confer. I cannot see that the question of Apostolic control, as opposed to the rights of the Spirit, is in question (see Preuschen *ad loc.*), but the narrative certainly implies Apostolic power to confer the Spirit.

Three things must be kept clearly apart here. (a) The basis of the Church was Apostolic power; this is one of the central teachings of Acts, though it may be questioned if 'Apostles' means 'the Twelve' or a slightly larger group. (b) Later on Apostolic power is eclipsed by Ecclesiastical power. Doubtless the Church was originally the group which gathered round the Apostles, and at first Apostolic as distinct from Ecclesiastical authority must have been dominant. But every month must have seen an increase in the self-consciousness of the Church, so that before long it was 'the Apostles of the Church' rather than 'the Church of the Apostles.' (c) Still later a new element entered. There grew up a tendency to exalt the memory and exaggerate the power of the Apostles. (See Addit. Note 6.)

Acts, once more, is at the parting of the ways. The remains or germs of all the three stages can be seen in it. The question here is whether this story of Peter's intervention is a primitive tradition, representing the first stage, or one of the earliest of the stories belonging to the

third stage. Personally I incline to think that it is primitive, and that—in contrast to the opinion of Loisy—the 'Apostolic' element in Acts is early rather than late. Moreover, too much criticism (not, however, Loisy's) is vitiated by the fact that the critic cannot understand that the basis of the life of the Church was its belief in its own supernatural power, because he does not believe in such power. He may be right; but neither the writer of Acts nor any early Christian would have agreed with him, and to understand any book it is first necessary to assume the position of the writer, even if it be wrong.

14. Peter and John] See Vol. II. p. 140. If, as is generally held, this John is the son of Zebedee, this is the last mention of him in Acts. Gal. ii. 9 mentions him as present in Jerusalem at the conference with Paul and Barnabas. His brother James was executed by Herod (see xii. 2 and note *ad loc.*), and many think that John was put to death at the same time, in spite of the well-known tradition of his life in Ephesus to an extreme old age. It is interesting to note, in contrast to vs. 25, that he and his brother once wished to call down fire on a village of the Samaritans (Luke ix. 54) and were among those forbidden to preach in a Samaritan city (Matt. x. 6).

The possibility is, however, not excluded that this John is the John who in xii. 25 and xv. 37 is identified by the surname Mark but referred to once more as John without a surname in xiii. 13, and is presumably identical with the Mark (without John) of the Pauline epistles and later tradition. The change of name is parallel to, though not so striking as, the change in Paul's name, and to the omission of 'Joseph' in speaking of Barnabas after the first mention of him in iv. 36.

16 Holy Spirit. For it had not yet fallen on any of them, but they
 17 had merely been baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus. Then
 18 they laid hands on them and they received Holy Spirit. And
 Simon, seeing that through the laying on of the hands of the
 19 apostles the Spirit was given, brought them money, saying, "Give
 me too this power, that on whomever I lay my hands he may re-
 20 ceive Holy Spirit." But Peter said to him, May your money go with
 you to damnation because you thought that you would get the

16. baptized] The implication of this verse is quite clear. Baptism in the name of the Lord Jesus does not confer the Spirit: the laying on of Apostolic hands does. The difficulty is not in understanding this, but in its relation to xix. 1 ff., where there is again the case of Christians whom Paul found at Ephesus who had not received the Spirit. Why? asked Paul; had they not been properly baptized? It appeared that they had only received 'John's baptism'—i.e. in water—but when they were baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus they received the Spirit on the imposition of Paul's hands. This seems to suggest almost the exact opposite of the doctrine implied by the present passage.

The difficulty is most nearly cleared up by remembering that the baptism of the early Church was a conflation of the water-baptism of John with the Christian baptism which was the gift of the Spirit (see note on i. 5). The conflation was complete by the time that Acts was written, but the seams had not been quite successfully smoothed down. Possibly the 'laying on of hands' was the specifically Christian element in baptism. Certainly a comparison of this verse with i. 5 and xix. 1 ff. suggests this, even if it does not prove it, for xix. 5 f. might mean that the laying on of Paul's hands actually was the necessary baptism 'in the name of the Lord Jesus.' This might be more obvious if the editor had not been living after the conflation had been made, so that, though he still connected the gift of the Spirit with the laying on of hands, and his sources probably did so even more plainly, he had begun to feel

that Christian 'baptism' must include water.

18. laying on of the hands] The *Didache* and Justin do not mention the laying on of hands as part of baptism, but Tertullian expressly mentions it (*De bapt.* viii.). It ultimately became separated from it, and survives as confirmation. The same primitive belief, that in this way the Spirit can be conferred, also remains in the sacrament of ordination. It should be remembered that part of the confusion of thought which seems to be implied by a system which gives the Spirit twice is due to the mixture of two theories about the Spirit—(a) that the Christian becomes, once for all, regenerate and a *πνευματικός* at baptism; (b) that the Christian receives periodic gifts of the Spirit for various specific purposes. The two theories may be logically incompatible with each other, but they certainly existed side by side in the early Church without anyone feeling the difficulty. (See Additional Note 11.)

money] Hence the name of simony (*Eccles.* Latin *simonia*) given to the offence of purchasing or selling spiritual power.

20. damnation] With Peter's attitude cf. 1 Tim. vi. 5; 2 Clem. xx. 4, etc. The phrase *εἰς ἐπὶ ἀλώλειαν* is found in Dan. ii. 5 (Theod.).

gift] This English word does not suggest a *free* gift as clearly as does the Greek *δωρεά*, which supplies the adverb 'freely,' e.g. in Matt. x. 8 *δωρεὰν ἐλάβετε δωρεὰν δότε*. The Vulgate reads *donum*, but d. Tert., Cyprian have *gratiam*. The Vulgate also erroneously used the passive *possideri* for *κτᾶσθαι*, and the English versions followed suit. Verse 19

gift of God by money. There is for you no part nor lot in this ²¹ word, for your heart is not straight before God. Therefore repent ²² from this baseness of yours, and pray the Lord whether after all the plot of your heart may be forgiven you. For I perceive that ²³ you are in the gall of bitterness and the bond of unrighteousness." And Simon answered and said, "Pray for me to the Lord yourselves ²⁴ that nothing come on me of what you have said."

So then after giving their testimony and speaking the word of ²⁵

shows that Simon wished not so much to secure the Spirit as his own possession as to be able to sell it to others. Hence perhaps the curious fact that simony in later history more often means selling than buying spiritual powers.

21. part nor lot] Deut. xii. 12, and for all the LXX parallels to vs. 21-23 see Vol. II. p. 99.

heart, etc.] Ps. lxxviii. 37, *et al.*

22. repent] The question has been raised of the relation of this offer of repentance to the early doctrine that no repentance was valid for sin after baptism (see H. Windisch, *Taufe und Sünde im ältesten Christentum bis auf Origines*, and K. Lake, 'Zonde en Doop' in *Theologisch Tijdschrift*, 1906, pp. 538-554). The most probable answer seems to be that this passage is still dominated by the Jewish belief in the universal efficacy of repentance (cf. Vol. I. p. 71), the guiding principle of which is the doctrine of Ezekiel xviii. 27, "when the wicked man turneth away from his wickedness, he shall save his soul alive." The matter was entirely different in a Greek society, which regarded salvation as the result of a miraculous change of nature, sacramentally achieved. If anyone chose to throw away this privilege he could not acquire it a second time. But perhaps the question hardly comes in here. A new convert can never have been expected to be fully aware of his responsibilities at this early stage. Even the author of Heb. vi. 4-8 would probably have approved of this tale, though no doubt if Simon, having learned the sinful nature of his financial offers, continued to practise them the author of Hebrews would have declared him

damned. Vs. 23 means 'I fear you have quite misunderstood the nature of our message and have entered the Society under a misconception.' One of the 'morals' of the tale is the need for a catechumenate.

plot of your heart] The word *ἐνίνοια* is evidently used in *malam partem* of evil or hostile schemes or stratagems as it is in the passages collected by Kypke *ad loc.*, to which many more might be added from contemporary writers or records.

23. you are in] In view of the complete decay of any sense of difference between *eis* and *év*, and the obsolescence of *év*, this is probably the right rendering. Some commentators translate *ὅντα eis*, 'you have become,' but this is surely impossible.

gall of bitterness] Deut. xxix. 18, 'gall and bitterness,' where it is connected with heathen worship.

bond of unrighteousness] Is. lviii. 6, but the exact connotation of these phrases is obscure.

24. on me] The Western text adds, 'and he did not cease from much wailing.' This curious addition seems to suggest ignorance of the tradition which made Simon the consistent opponent of Peter. It is tempting to think that it is original and was removed under the influence of the Simon Magus legend. In any case, it is likely that the author of Acts included the story of Simon as a notable convert rather than an opponent of Christianity. Otherwise he would have narrated not only the apostle's threat, but also its fulfilment, as he did in the stories of Ananias and of Elymas.

25. So then . . . they] See note on vs. 4. The important point is

the Lord they returned to Jerusalem and brought the good news to many villages of the Samaritans.

- 26 But an angel of the Lord spoke to Philip, saying, "Rise and go southwards on the road which goes down from Jerusalem to
27 Gaza." (This is deserted.) And he arose and went, and behold an Ethiopian man, a eunuch, minister of Candace, Queen of

that the use of *μὲν οὖν* indicates that this is the beginning of a new paragraph, and therefore, as the context shows, the 'they' includes Philip.

26. an angel] Cf. vs. 29 'the Spirit,' vs. 39 'a Spirit of the Lord,' and the Western reading in the same verse, 'Holy Spirit fell on the eunuch, and an angel of the Lord seized Philip.' It is doubtful how far the writer distinguished between 'angel' and 'spirit.' Cf. xxiii. 8, and Addit. Note 9.

southwards] In spite of Nestle's observation that *μεσημβρία* in the LXX always means 'noon,' not 'south,' noon seems so improbable a sense in this passage that it must be rejected (see E. Nestle, *Stud. und Krit.*, 1892, pp. 335 ff.). If, however, the meaning 'at noon' should be adopted it might be supposed that the hour (an unusual one for starting a journey) was divinely suggested to facilitate the supernatural meeting. Compare the coincidence of Peter's hunger (not to be expected at noon) and of the arrival of messengers from Cornelius at a similar time of day ('the sixth hour,' x. 9, see note). The use of the word *μεσημβρία* is one of the points which have suggested the influence of Zephaniah on this whole incident in Acts. See Vol. II. p. 101.

the road, etc.] There were two roads from Jerusalem to the south; one went through Hebron and joined the coast road from Tyre at the foot of the hills of southern Judaea, the other went more to the west and joined the coast road before Gaza.

Gaza] The old city of the Philistines, the last town in Palestine on the road to Egypt. (See Stark, *Gaza und die philist. Küste*, 1852; M. Meyer, *History of the City of Gaza*, 1907, and E. Schürer, *G.J.V.* ii. pp. 84 ff.)

this is deserted] The road or the

city? The road is not through the desert until after Gaza, and Josephus says that Gaza was not deserted until after A.D. 66. (a) 'This is deserted' is a note by the editor referring to Gaza. If so, it may show that he was writing after A.D. 66. (b) More probably there were two cities called Gaza. Old Gaza, so called by Diodorus Siculus xix. 80, was built on a mound twenty stadia from the sea (Arrian, *Anabasis*, ii. 26. 1). This was destroyed by Alexander and was deserted. Not only Strabo (xvi. 2. 30) and Luke, but also a nearly contemporary anonymous geographer (*Geogr. Graec. Minores*, ed. Hudson iv. p. 39) places 'deserted Gaza' between Ascalon and 'New Gaza.' The 'New Gaza,' according to Josephus, was a Hellenistic town on the coast and it was this which was destroyed in A.D. 66. This view harmonizes all the data in the authors mentioned. (See W. J. Phythian-Adams in the *Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund*, 1923, pp. 30 ff., and G. A. Smith, *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, pp. 186 ff. note.)

27. Ethiopian] In Greek legend the Ethiopians lived far to the south of Egypt, and were famous for their blameless character, and for occasional visits from the gods (Homer, *Odyssey*, a 22 f.). The word was used by the LXX to represent the descendants of Cush and their land except on the first occasion of their mention (Gen. x. 7), when the transliteration *Xoûs* is used. In historical times the Ethiopians were the Nubian race inhabiting the Nile district from Assuan to Khartoum, where they had a kingdom of some importance, at least since 700 B.C. They had two main cities, Meroe and Napata. In recent times they were confused with the Abyssinians, who represent the ancient Axum in

the Ethiopians, who was in charge of all her treasure, who had come on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and was returning and was seated in his coach and reading the prophet Isaiah. And the Spirit said to Philip, "Go and join this coach." And Philip ran up and heard him reading Isaiah the prophet, and said, "Do you

the hill country east of the upper Nile, and thus the Abyssinian literature is commonly called Ethiopian. But ethnologically and geographically the Abyssinians and Ethiopians are distinct peoples, and the language now called 'Ethiopian' is not Hamitic but Semitic. (The clearest and best statement of the linguistic facts are Nöldeke's *Die semitischen Sprachen*; L. Reinisch, *Die Nuba-Sprache*, 1879; F. Praetorius, 'Über die hamitischen Sprachen Ostafrika's' in *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, vol. ii. (1894), pp. 312 ff.; E. Littmann, 'Geschichte d. äthiopischen Litteratur' in *Geschichte d. christlich. Literaturen des Orients*, 1907; F. Ll. Griffith, 'The Nubian Texts of the Christian Period' in *Abhandlungen d. könig. preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften*, phil.-hist. Klasse, no. 8, 1913; and for the history of Ethiopia, Ed. Meyer, *Geschichte d. Altertums*, ed. 3, 1913, i. 2, pp. 44-48 and 279 ff.; Theod. Mommsen, *Röm. Geschichte*, v. pp. 593 ff.; E. A. Budge, *The Egyptian Sudan*, 1907; J. H. Breasted, *A History of the Ancient Egyptians*, 1908; J. Garstang, A. H. Sayce, and F. L. Griffith, *Meroe, the City of the Ethiopians*, 1911; G. A. Reisner, 'The Pyramids of Meroe and the Candaces of Ethiopia' in *Sudan Notes and Records*, 1922; A. H. Sayce, 'The Meroitic Hieroglyphic Inscriptions' in *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 1909; A. Kammerer, *Essai sur l'histoire antique d'Abyssinie*, 1926, pp. 87 ff.)

Candace] Not a name, but a title such as Pharaoh. According to Bion of Soli, who wrote *Aethiopica*, the title was given to the queen-mother, who was the real head of the government. Her husband was unimportant, for the king, her son, was counted as the child of the Sun. (Cramer, *Catena in Act.* p. 143, and cf. Strabo, xvii. 1. 54.) According to Eusebius (*Hist.*

Eccl. ii. 1. 13) queens reigned in Ethiopia in his own time, though he does not give the name Candace; but it is found in the time of Augustus (Dio Cass. liv. 5. 4, Strabo, *loc. cit.*) and Nero (Pliny, *N.H.* vi. 186). See Wikenhauser, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, pp. 361 f., and the articles there mentioned.

in charge of all her treasure] Cf. Plutarch, *Demetrius* xxv. 5 ἐπιεικὴς γὰρ εἰώθεσαν εὐνούχους ἔχειν γαστροφύλακας.

on a pilgrimage] προσκυνήτης is still the correct modern Greek for 'a pilgrim.' In Acts xxiv. 11 the identical expression προσκυνήσαν εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ is used of Paul's last visit to Jerusalem.

28. returning] Thus Philip and the eunuch were travelling in the same direction; this seems strange at first, because it would seem that the eunuch in his 'chariot' would go too fast. But in generations when springs were unknown a carriage—which, after all, was very probably an ox-wagon—did not often go faster than a walker, and certainly not so fast as a rider. If the eunuch was reading, his carriage was certainly going slowly.

coach] Scarcely 'chariot,' though ἄρμα often means a war chariot or a racing chariot. But who would journey in a war chariot? The later Greek for carriage is ἡμαξία.

30. heard him reading] The facilities of travel by carriage were sufficient to permit reading (see Pliny, *Ep.* iii. 5). The Rabbis required that the Law should be read on a journey, and that it should be read aloud (see Strack, *ad loc.*). E. Norden (*Antike Kunstprosa*, p. 6) argues that the ancients rarely read silently, but his chief proof is the description of Ambrose in Augustine (*Conf.* vi. 3), and the meaning there is that Ambrose worked silently, and did not read

31 after all know what you are reading ? ” And he said, “ Why, how could I, unless someone guide me ? ” And he asked Philip to
 32 come in and sit with him. And the contents of the passage of Scripture which he was reading was this, “ He was led as a sheep to slaughter, and as a lamb dumb before its shearer, so he
 33 opens not his mouth. In humiliation his judgement was removed. Who shall narrate his generation ? because his life is removed from
 34 the earth.” And the eunuch answered Philip and said, “ I beg you, about whom is the prophet saying this ? About himself, or about

aloud to his pupils and explain the meaning to them. It was the lack of exposition to his pupils which was specially unusual. It is surely incredible that educated Greeks and Romans had not learned to read silently.

32. contents of the passage] *περιοχή* was later used for ‘lections’ in the ecclesiastical sense, but it does not necessarily mean this. In Cicero, *Ad Att.* xiii. 25. 3 it means the passage as a whole in contrast to the syllables. *γραφή* in the singular means usually ‘a passage of Scripture.’ ‘Scripture’ in the general sense is preferably *αι γραφαί*. (Cf. i. 16 and viii. 35.)

this] Isaiah liii. 7 f. It is very remarkable that this is the first clear identification of Jesus with the Suffering Servant; see Vol. I. pp. 384 ff. It is, however, also noticeable how exactly the quotation as given avoids the many references to the sins of others in connexion with the death of the victim. See Isaiah liii. 4, 5, 6, 8d, 10, 11, 12. This accords with the fact that in his gospel the same author does not retain Mark’s *δοῦναι τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ λύτρον ἀντὶ πολλῶν* (x. 45, contrast Luke xxii. 27), nor, if the Western text is to be followed, *τὸ αἷμά μου τῆς διαθήκης τὸ ἐκχυννόμενον ὑπὲρ πολλῶν* (xiv. 24, cf. Luke xxii. 19 *τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν διδόμενον* . . . 20 *τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐκχυννόμενον*). Compare F. C. Burkitt, *Christian Beginnings*, pp. 38 f., and J. Weiss, *Urchristentum*, pp. 77, 82 ff. Weiss notes that though Peter (ii. 38, x. 43) and Paul (xiii. 38, xvii. 30) announce the forgiveness of sins (cf. Luke xxiv. 47), they do not place this thought in connexion with

the crucifixion of Christ; contrast 1 Cor. xv. 3 (*ἀπέθανεν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν κατὰ τὰς γραφάς*).

33. judgement was removed] The meaning of the original is apparently as obscure to Hebrew scholars as are these Greek words. Wendt thinks that it means ‘By his obedience the sentence of death was annulled.’ The truth seems to be that the translators did not know what the meaning of the Hebrew was, and gave a literal but unintelligible rendering. As Philip does not give his explanation we do not know it.

generation] An obscure rendering, but not more so than the Greek. The meaning of this whole passage was probably quite as obscure in the first century as it is now. Its interpretation depends on *εἰσήγησις*, not *ἐξήγησις*.

34. answered] As in Semitic languages the New Testament often follows a Semitic idiom in its use of *ἀποκρίνομαι* to introduce statements which are not preceded by any definite question. (Cf. iii. 12, xxv. 4; Luke xiii. 14, xiv. 3; Matt. xi. 25, xvii. 4; and see Dalman, *Words of Jesus*, p. 25.) Here, however, the Ethiopian’s remark is essentially an answer to Philip’s original question.

I beg you] *δέομαι σου*. Perhaps almost the equivalent of ‘please’ when used before an imperative. Italian usage adopted *precor* (*prego*) for this purpose, but modern Greek uses *παρακαλῶ*, not *δέομαι*, which however recurs before an imperative in xxi. 39 (cf. Luke viii. 38). Cf. also Gal. iv. 12, and see ix. 38 for a similar ‘idiom of politeness.’

someone else?" And Philip opened his mouth, and beginning 35 from this passage gave him the good news of Jesus. And as they 36 went along the road they came to some water, and the eunuch said, "See, here is water. What prevents me from being baptized?" And he ordered the coach to stop, and they both [37] went down into the water, both Philip and the eunuch, and he baptized him. And when they came up out of the water Spirit 39 of the Lord seized Philip and the eunuch saw him no more, for

35. this passage] It is unfortunate that we have none of the details; it is only clear that Philip identified Jesus with the 'Suffering Servant.'

36. water] It is, of course, impossible to identify this water, but the Wadi el Hasi north of Gaza has found advocates.

baptized] The Western text adds, "and Philip said to him, If thou believest with all thine heart, it is possible; and he answered and said, I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God." This passed into the Antiochian text, and so into the *Textus Receptus*. It is vs. 37 in the English A.V. Its chief interest is that it is perhaps the earliest form of baptismal creed. It is also remarkable that it is an expansion of the baptismal formula 'in the name of Jesus Christ,' not of the Trinitarian formula. This process of expansion seems to have continued, and to have produced on the one hand the Trinitarian short creed of Dar Balyzeh, and on the other the κήρυγμα of Jesus, of which there are many traces in the second century. Finally, a combination of the two expansions produced the *Symbolum Romanum*. (See K. Holl, *Sitzungsberichte d. preuss. Akademie d. Wissenschaften*, Jan. 1919, pp. 2 ff.; A. von Harnack, *ibid.*, Feb. 1919, pp. 112 ff.; H. Lietzmann, *ibid.*, 1919, pp. 269 ff.; *Zeitschrift für die neueste. Wissenschaft*, xxi., 1922, xxii., 1923; J. Haussleiter, *Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theol.* xxv. 4, 1920, and K. Lake, *Harvard Theol. Rev.*, 1924, pp. 173 ff.)

39. Spirit of the Lord] This or any other translation is unfortunate. 'The Spirit of the Lord' implies a personality, which is not necessarily in the Greek, and 'a spirit' implies a

multiplicity of spirits, which is also not necessarily in the Greek. The rendering given is probably more correct, though it sounds pedantic. πνεῦμα κυρίου varies in meaning between the personality of an angel and the impersonality of an element. The source of the trouble is that we ask questions which never entered the minds of early Christians.

The Western text reads 'Holy Spirit fell on the eunuch, and an angel of the Lord seized Philip.' It is possible that this is original, and omitted because of its contradiction to the narrative a few verses earlier, which implies that the Spirit came only through the hands of the apostles.

Blass wishes to render πνεῦμα in this passage by wind. But whatever may be the case in 1 Kings xviii. 12, etc., πνεῦμα in Christian Greek regularly means spirit, not wind. Nor do I see why 'Spirit' is here *subabsurdum*. It is not more so than the picture suggested of Philip being 'blown' into Ashdod. Such exegesis is an unconscious attempt to rationalize the story. The whole passage is perhaps influenced by the story of Elijah's ascension in 2 Kings ii. where we have οὐκ εἶδεν αὐτὸν ἔτι (vs. 12), οὐχ εἶπεν αὐτόν (vs. 17), ἤρεν αὐτὸν πνεῦμα κυρίου (vs. 16), and ἄρμα (vs. 11). See also Vol. II. p. 102.

the eunuch] According to Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* iii. 12. 8, he became a missionary to the Ethiopians. Epiphanius says that he preached in Arabia Felix and on the coasts of the Red Sea, that he was martyred, and that his tomb had miraculous power. (See Th. Schermann, *Prophetarum vitae*, p. 127.) But there are no records of Ethiopian Christianity until much

40 he went on his way rejoicing. But Philip was found at Ashdod, and passing through the land he brought the good news to all the cities until he came to Caesarea.

91 But Saul, still breathing threats and murder against the disciples
2 of the Lord, went to the high priest, and asked from him letters to the synagogues at Damascus, in order that he might bring bound

later. Other traditions say that Matthias and Thomas preached there. (For later legends, which among other things say that his name was Judich, see Laurent, *Neutestamentliche Studien*, p. 145, and Dillmann's article on Ethiopia in Schenkel's *Bibellezikon*, i. pp. 290 ff.)

40. Ashdod] Azotus in Greek. The general picture presented of Philip in this story is very impressive, and seems extremely primitive. The Christian preacher moves about in a state of ecstasy and hardly knows how he goes from place to place. To his own mind at least he is completely under the control of the Spirit, which, however, works as it were in gusts.

all the cities] Is this intended to prepare the reader for finding Christians in Lydda and Joppa?

Caesarea] Originally called *Στρατωνος πύργος*, but when rebuilt by Herod named Caesarea Sebaste in compliment to Rome. It had an excellent harbour and was the headquarters of the Roman procurators. The implication of Acts is that Philip stayed there, for in xxi. 8 it mentions him as living in Caesarea.

In later Christian history it was a centre of learning, and in the third and fourth centuries was the third great library of Christian books, the other two being Jerusalem and Alexandria. It was the literary home of Origen and Eusebius. (See Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 11. 2, xiv. 4. 4, xv. 9. 6; *B.J.* i. 3. 5, 21. 5 and 7, iii. 9. 1; Pliny, *N.H.* v. 69; Strabo xvi. 2. 27; Tacitus, *Hist.* ii. 79; and cf. Baedeker's *Palestine*; Schürer, *GJV.* ii. 26 ff., 104 ff.; and Ehrhardt, *Röm. Quartalschr.*, 1891, pp. 217 ff.)

1-31. THE CONVERSION OF PAUL.
(Cf. the parallel narratives in xxii.

4 ff. and xxvi. 9 ff., and see Additional Note 15.) This passage is the direct continuation of viii. 3, the intervening verses being clearly a parenthesis.

1. breathing threats and murder]

The phrase *ἐμπνέων ἀπειλῆς καὶ φόβου* is regular in that *ἐμπνέω* takes with it a genitive case, but unusual in having as its objective what must be understood quite figuratively, though such metaphors occur, especially in poetry, with the simple *πνέω*. The emotion of anger was in Semitic physiology connected with breath. So the noun occurs in Ps. xviii. 15 *ἀπὸ ἐμπνεύσεως πνεύματος ὀργῆς σου*. The pair of genitives which follows is characteristic of the author's habit of pairs, but clear examples of hendiadys in such cases are too rare to justify us in translating 'threats of murder.' There is no desire to minimize the extent of Paul's rage, quite the reverse, or to acquit him of actual murder. See notes on viii. 1 and xxvi. 10.

the high priest] According to 1 Macc. xv. 15 ff. the right of the extradition of Jewish malefactors was conceded by the Romans to the high priest in the letter which Numenius brought back from Rome. The pertinent part runs: *Λεύκιος ὕπατος Ῥωμαίων Πτολεμαίῳ βασιλεῖ χαίρειν . . . εἰ τινὲς οὖν λοιμοὶ διαφεύγασιν ἐκ τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν πρὸς ὑμᾶς, παράδοτε αὐτοὺς Σίμωνι τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ, ὅπως ἐδικήσῃ αὐτοὺς κατὰ τὸν νόμον αὐτῶν.* Cf. Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 10. 2. It would seem that this exactly covers the case of Christian fugitives. The high priest to A.D. 36 was really Caiaphas, but Luke seems to have thought it was Annas (see note on iv. 6). See further Strack, *ad loc.*, and Schürer, ii.³ 206 ff.

2. Damascus] There was a large colony of Jews here, as Josephus relates that the Damascenes killed

to Jerusalem whomsoever he found that were of the Way, both men and women. But in the course of his journey he was approaching Damascus, and suddenly a light flashed round him out of the sky, and he fell to the ground and heard a voice saying to

10,500 of them after the Jewish war (Josephus, *B.J.* ii. 20. 2, § 561), or including women and children 18,000 (*B.J.* vii. 8. 7, § 368). Even more important, however, is the incidental evidence of Josephus that many of the wives of the Damascenes were adherents—in some measure at least—of the Jewish synagogue. When the Damascenes were planning the massacre just mentioned they were especially careful not to tell their wives, “as they with few exceptions adhered to the Jewish religion” (*B.J.* ii. 20. 2). This might mean that they were Jewesses by birth, but more probably that they were proselytes or half-proselytes. For the problem of the ‘Covenanters of Damascus’ see Vol. I. pp. 97 ff.

bring bound] Does this mean that Saul was to arrest Damascenes who had become Christians? More probably it means Christians from Jerusalem who had taken refuge in Damascus. His mission would therefore correspond exactly to the privilege conferred by Lucius (see note on vs. 1). This view is probably supported by a strict interpretation of *ἐκέλευε* in xxii. 5. But see note on vs. 10.

bound] This is of course a literal rendering of *δεδεμένους*, and doubtless any prisoner who was likely to escape would be handcuffed, or otherwise restrained, but perhaps ‘in custody’ gives a nearer approach to the connotation of the word.

whomsoever] Does the Greek, *ἐάν τις*, imply that he might not find any?

the Way] This appears to be one of the earliest names for the Church in Greek. ‘*Ὁδός*’ is found in this sense six times in Acts, but only in passages connected with Paul (ix. 2, xix. 9, 23, xxii. 4, xxiv. 14, 22, to which may probably be added xviii. 25 *ὁδὸν τοῦ κυρίου* and xviii. 26 *ὁδὸν τοῦ θεοῦ*). There is thus no evidence that it represents any Aramaic name, though it is doubtless based on the use of the word in the O.T. in such passages as

Jer. x. 2 *κατὰ τὰς ὁδοὺς τῶν ἐθνῶν μὴ μαθάνετε*. In rabbinical literature the word *דרך* is often used in the sense of ‘customs’ (see Strack ii. p. 690), but there seems to be no instance of its use without some defining adjective or adjectival genitive. Of course such names are not without parallel in other languages. *Tao*, from which Taoism receives its name, means in Chinese ‘way’; compare ‘methodist.’ ‘*Ὁδός*, however, is not used in this sense in the Pauline epistles. It is possible to guess that the word was current in Greek-speaking Jewish circles, and that it implied rather than stated that the Christians were heretical. It is noticeable that in all the rabbinical passages quoted by Strack the implication of the word is unfavourable. Similarly *Χριστιανός* was probably at first an uncomplimentary term of heathen origin. Paul himself adopted neither ‘Christian’ nor ‘Way,’ but both were accepted and justified by some of the community. It is perhaps significant that it was the heathen term ‘Christian’ which ultimately survived, not the Jewish term ‘Way.’ See Addit. Note 30.

3. he was approaching] Literally, ‘it came to pass that he was approaching,’ but this over-emphasizes the *ἐγένετο*, which should not be thus rendered in English, unless it be supposed that it is a conscious effort to imitate a Biblical style.

In xxii. 6 and xxvi. 13 it is added that it was about noon.

light] Cf. 2 Cor. iii. 18, iv. 6; Philipp. iii. 21. The risen Lord was a spirit, and was ‘glorified.’ ‘Spirit,’ ‘Light’ and ‘Glory’ are not synonyms, but they are analogous concepts.

flashed] See note on xxvi. 13.

4. fell to the ground] Cf. Ezekiel i. 28 and Dan. viii. 17.

voice] Perhaps the reference to the voice in this and other similar experiences of revelation, vii. 31, x. 13, etc., should be brought into connexion with the rabbinic *bath qoi*

5 him, "Saul, Saul, why do you persecute me?" And he said, "Who are you, Lord?" And he said, "I am Jesus whom you are persecuting. But arise and go into the city and it shall be told you what you must do." And the men who were in the caravan with him stood 8 speechless, hearing the voice but seeing no one. And Saul arose from the ground, but when his eyes were opened he continued to see nothing. And they led him by the hand and brought him into

which was an evasion of the use of the word 'God.' (See Dalman, *Words of Jesus*, pp. 204 f.; Blau, *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, ii. pp. 588-592; Strack, i. pp. 125 ff., and G. F. Moore, *Judaism*, i. pp. 421 ff.)

Saul, Saul] According to xxvi. 14 the Lord spoke Aramaic (lit. Hebrew, but the word at this time probably meant Aramaic). The Western text of this verse and the following is "Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? And he answered, saying, Who art thou, Lord? And the Lord said, I am Jesus the Nazarene, whom thou persecutest, but it is vain for thee to kick against the goad. And he, trembling, full of fear at what had been done to him, said, Lord, what wilt thou that I do? And the Lord said to him, Arise," etc. This may be harmonization with xxvi. 14 and xxii. 10. That it is not found completely in any Greek ms. is due to the paucity of Western Greek texts and the absence of D at this point. Erasmus translated it from the Vulgate and so it passed into the *Textus Receptus*. See note in Vol. III. pp. 84 f. The spelling Σαούλ is used only here, in the parallel passages xxii. 7, xxvi. 14, and below in vs. 17 and in xxii. 13, all in the vocative. Elsewhere the Graecized form Σαῦλος is used (Σαούλ is used in xiii. 21 of Saul, the first king of the Israelites). The repeated vocative is characteristic of the gospel of Luke (cf. viii. 24, x. 41, xxii. 31, and see Friedrich, *Das Lukasevangelium*, pp. 75 f.).

7. were in the caravan with him] συνοδεύοντες probably means 'were in the caravan'—the party of travellers who journeyed together for protection and guidance. Cf. συνοδία in Luke ii. 44.

speechless] ἐνεώλ, only here in the

N.T. (Is. lvi. 10; cf. Prov. xvii. 28.)

hearing the voice but seeing no one] There is, of course, a formal contradiction between this passage and xxii. 9, which says that Paul's companions saw the light, but did not hear the voice of him who was speaking. But it should be noted that it is not stated that they did not see the blaze of light, and the obvious meaning of both passages is to emphasize the fact that though the phenomenon was to some extent perceived by others, it was intelligible only to Paul.

A similar formal but unimportant contradiction may be noted between this verse and xxvi. 14. Here Paul's companions stand, but in xxvi. it is said that "we all fell to the ground." The Western text is "seeing no one, when he was speaking, but he said to them, Lift me up from the ground. And when they lifted him up, he saw nothing, though his eyes were open. And they led him by the hand and brought him to Damascus."

8. led him] χειραγωγούντες, cf. Tobit xi. 16, but the word is only found in the S-text of Tobit; and in the present uncertainty as to the history of the text of Tobit, it is doubtful whether the use of the word in both Acts and the S-text of Tobit is due to the influence of Tobit on Acts (see Vol. II. p. 76) or of Acts on S. Probably it is merely that this was the conventionally correct word to use of a blind man (cf. Josephus, *Antiq.* v. 8. 12, § 315, and Acts xiii. 11, and see Wettstein's note *ad loc.*), just as in English literature a blind man conventionally has a dog, which moreover is usually called Toby, probably in memory of Tobias—the only biblical character who is said to have had a dog.

Damascus. And for three days he was without sight, and neither 9 ate nor drank.

And there was a disciple in Damascus named Ananias, and the 10 Lord said to him in a vision, "Ananias." And he said, "Here am I, Lord." And the Lord said to him, "Arise, and go to the street called 11 Straight, and ask at the house of Judas for a Tarsian named Saul,

9. ate nor drank] The natural meaning seems to be that he was suffering too much from the shock of his experience to eat or drink, but some commentators think that it was an act of penance. It is also possible, though not necessary, to see in it an allusion to the custom of fasting before baptism. (Cf. *Didache* vii. 4; Justin, 1 *Apol.* lxi.)

10. disciple] In the parallel passage in xxii. 12 Ananias is described as *ἐυλαβὴς κατὰ τὸν νόμον, μαρτυρούμενος ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν κατοικοῦντων Ἰουδαίων*. By itself this scarcely means that Ananias was a Christian, but the words which follow in xxii. 14, "The God of our fathers ordained thee to know his will, and to see the Righteous One, etc.," seem to imply that he was. Nevertheless in view of the general difficulty of the whole problem of Ananias, it is not impossible that we are dealing with editorial changes and combinations which defy complete analysis. There is a somewhat similar problem in connexion with Joseph of Arimathea. The account in Mark xv. 43 does not describe him as a disciple, but uses the ambiguous phrase 'was expecting the Kingdom of God,' which Matthew interprets as 'a disciple.' (See K. Lake, *The Resurrection of Jesus Christ*, p. 50.)

Assuming that Ananias was a Christian there are two possibilities. He may have been one of those who fled from Jerusalem. This is the usual view and is quite possible, but the general impression given by the story is that Ananias was a Damascusene (cf. especially xxii. 12). Or he may have belonged to a group of Jews who had accepted the teaching of Jesus and were his disciples, yet were distinct from the apostles and their followers in Jerusalem. On general principles it is certain that

a teacher of such impressiveness as was Jesus must have left many disciples in Galilee and in Syro-phoenicia who were unable to join the company of those who travelled with him. It would not be strange if some of these were found later in Damascus and elsewhere. (For the similar possibility with regard to Apollos see note on xviii. 24-28.)

Here am I] Cf. the story of Samuel in the tabernacle at Shiloh. *ἰδοὺ ἐγώ* is the LXX rendering of יֵשֶׁנָּה, and is scarcely a Greek idiom. The African Latin, like the English, gives the sense but not a literal translation, and renders *ita domine*.

11. Straight] Presumably this was the great street which runs from east to west through Damascus, and is now called *Darb el-Mostakim*. In the Roman period it had long colonnades, and ended in great porches at each end. (See Baedeker's *Palestine* for a plan of the city.) The traditional house of St. Paul is near the west end of the street.

Judas] At first sight the details of this verse give the impression of accurate tradition sufficient to counteract suspicion created by the use of visions against the historicity of the facts. The directions are, however, all necessary for the story, and could not be dispensed with as can such details when they are true marks of original and primitive tradition. In visions full identification and address of a stranger to be visited must be given as here—Saul of Tarsus, at the house of Judas, Straight Street, and in Acts x., xi., esp. x. 6, Simon surnamed Peter, at the house of Simon the Tanner, whose house is near the sea. Part of the miraculous *motif* in such visions is the divine communication of the details. Were the addresses the mere survival of unneces-

12 for behold he is praying, and saw in a vision a man named Ananias come in and lay his hands on him that he might regain his sight.”
 13 And Ananias answered, “Lord, I heard from many about this man
 14 how much harm he did to thy saints in Jerusalem, and here he has authority from the high priests to bind all who call upon thy
 15 name.” And the Lord said to him, “Go, for my chosen instrument is this man, to carry my name before both the Gentiles and kings
 16 and the children of Israel, for I will show to him how much he must

sary historical detail we might have expected them also for Ananias in Damascus, for Peter in Lydda (ix. 38), and for Cornelius in Caesarea, and other occasions in the book where they might well have been given.

For the same reason the naming of Judas can only be used with caution as showing the author's interest in hosts and lodging, though this interest is doubtless elsewhere manifested. (See on Mnason in xxi. 16.) Harnack, however (*Acts of the Apostles*, p. 109), thinks these references show both the author's interest in the houses in which Peter (or Paul) stayed, and special information about Damascus (p. 87) and Lydda, and adds (p. 85 note): “If Peter enters into a house on the seashore and stays there a long time, we may perhaps assume that his trade of fisherman influenced him. He was no tanner.”

praying] It is noteworthy how often in Luke and Acts prayer is associated with visions. Cf. Luke i. 10, iii. 21, ix. 28 [xxii. 44]; Acts x. 9 f., xxii. 7; and see Cadbury, *Making of Luke-Acts*, p. 269, note 16.

12. vision] ἐν ὁράματι is omitted by NA, etc. (see Vol. III. p. 85) and may be a gloss; but even if so it is a correct explanation. Apparently it refers to another vision of Paul, of which no further details are given. The whole verse is omitted by Cod. h, but it is quite doubtful whether this is not accidental.

It has been argued by Corssen and Preuschen that the hesitation of Ananias in vs. 13 is unintelligible after this explanation. Doubtless he ought to have had no further scruples, but vs. 13 seems to represent nothing more than a natural

tendency to question so remarkable a vision.

regain his sight] ἀναβλέπω has this force not only in describing Paul's recovery (cf. vss. 17, 18 and xxii. 13 note), but even in relating the cure of those born blind (John ix. 11, 15, 18). Its occurrence in an account of a cure in the temple of Asclepius (Dittenberger, *Sylloge*³ 1173. 15 ff.) makes a specially interesting parallel with its use in connexion with the miracles of Jesus (cf. Bartimaeus in Mark x. 46 ff. = Matt. xx. 29 ff. = Luke xviii. 35).

13. saints] Cf. vss. 32 and 41, xxvi. 10. ἅγιοι is the common Pauline word for Christians. In Acts it is used only in this chapter (vss. 13, 32 and 41) and in xxvi. 10, which is in some sense parallel to ix. 13. Its use in vss. 32 and 41 suggests that it is due to the editor, for these verses can hardly come from the same source as vs. 13. The question may be raised whether ἅγιοι and δίκαιοι (xiv. 2 in the Western text) do not represent the same Aramaic word. Cf. also δίκαιος as a title of Jesus in iii. 14, vii. 52, xxii. 14 (see also Addit. Note 30).

14. high priests] Either in the sense of the high-priestly class, or a generalization from the singular in vs. 1. Cf. vs. 21 and see note on iv. 6.

15. chosen instrument] σκευός ἐκλογῆς, cf. Rom. ix. 22 σκευὴ ὀργῆς. The traditional rendering in English—vessel—has too narrow a meaning, at least now. The Greek means not only ‘vessels’ but implements in general.

children] Literally ‘sons,’ but the phrase is of course biblical and ‘children of Israel’ is the conventional English just as *ἱσραήλ* is the conventional Greek.

suffer for my name." And Ananias went forth and entered into ¹⁷ the house and laid his hands on him and said, "Saul, my brother, the Lord has sent me, Jesus who appeared to you on the road by which you came, in order that you may regain your sight and be filled with Holy Spirit." And immediately there fell from his eyes ¹⁸ a scaly substance, and he regained his sight and stood up and was baptized, and after taking food, he was strengthened. ¹⁹

16. suffer] The reference to future sufferings as the contents of the instruction to Paul is a little unexpected when compared with vs. 6 and xxii. 10 where he is to be told what he must do. But the phrase *ὑπὲρ τοῦ οὐνοῦ* *ἀνδραὶς μου* guarantees the reading (*pace* Pallis) when v. 41 and xxi. 13 are compared. The general shadow of Christian persecution falls over the Book of Acts (cf. xiv. 22) as it does over the Gospels.

17. my brother] The meaning really would be given better by 'my fellow-Christian.'

the Lord] One of the minor differences between this passage and the parallel in chapter xxii. tends to grow in importance when closely considered. In this passage Ananias is sent by the 'Lord, Jesus.' In xxii. he comes to Paul with a message from 'the God of our fathers,' and Jesus is not referred to as 'the Lord,' but as 'the Righteous One,' the typical 'Zaddik,' perhaps the oldest title given to Jesus, and inherited—if the phrase may be forgiven—by his brother James. This seems to me much more likely to be original, and makes me think that in some respects at least the account in xxii. has been less edited than the parallel version. Chapter xxii. gives a story which is typically Jewish-Christian in phraseology, while chapter ix. is typically Hellenistic-Christian. It is, however, true that the Jewish-Christian phraseology of chap. xxii., as contrasted with chap. ix., may well be due to the fact that it is a speech to a Jewish audience.

Holy Spirit] It is noteworthy that the message of Ananias was that Paul 'should regain his sight, and be filled with the Holy Spirit,' and that in the sequel he regained his sight and was baptized. This is one of the many

incidental indications that, at least in some circles of early Christians, baptism was regarded as conveying the gift of the Spirit (cf. esp. xix. 1 ff. and see Vol. I. pp. 332 ff.). But this element is quite lacking in the parallel passage in xxii., where Paul receives his sight before his baptism; baptism is regarded as 'the washing away of sin,' and there is nothing at all about the Holy Spirit.

It is also notable that, as it were, just behind the text of the present verse—which clearly regards baptism and the gift of the Spirit as a regenerative process analogous to the recovery of sight—there is the more purely Jewish concept which thought of the Holy Spirit mainly as the prophetic gift. Paul was to bear witness before Gentiles and Emperors and the Sons of Israel, and therefore he must receive the Spirit, for 'the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy.' (Cf. also Mark xiii. 11.)

18. a scaly substance] Cf. Tobit xi. 13 *καὶ ἐλεπίσθη ἀπὸ τῶν κἀνθων τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν τὰ λευκώματα*, and see Vol. II. p. 76. The fact that *λεπίδες* are described in medical books as 'falling off' (*ἀποπίπτειν*) has been used to support the view that the writer of Acts was a doctor (see Hobart, pp. 39 f.), but the medical use applies to skin diseases, not to the eyes. Furthermore the word *λεπίς* is used of many other forms of scales or flakes, such as thin vegetables or metal coatings (see the dictionaries). 'A scaly substance' seems to give the meaning of *ὡς λεπίδες* better than 'as it were scales,' which in English suggests a simile. It might be better to render *λεπίδες* 'flakes,' as 'scales' has come to be associated chiefly with fish.

regained his sight] It would be absurd to argue that this is merely an

20 And he was with the disciples at Damascus for some days, and immediately preached Jesus in the synagogues, that this is the Son
 21 of God. And all who heard were amazed and said, "Is not this he who in Jerusalem ravaged those who call on this name, and here he had come for this purpose that he might bring them bound to
 22 the high priests?" And Saul gained all the more in power and went on perplexing the Jews who dwelt in Damascus, demon-
 23 strating that this is the Messiah. But when many days were
 24 completed, the Jews made a plot to kill him, but their plot was known to Saul. And they were watching the gates day and night

allegory of baptism, though the conjunction of phrases may have been influenced by the fact that baptism is often called *φωτισμός*.

But if there is any force in this argument it probably ought to be applied the other way, and the story of his baptism be taken as another version of his recovery of sight. But I do not think that the writer of Acts had any such idea.

19. disciples] Either refugees from Jerusalem or a little colony of original disciples. See note on ix. 10.

20. Son of God] This is the only instance of this title of Jesus in Acts. It is implied, of course, in the use of Father on the lips of Jesus (though Acts does not limit Father to Jesus) and perhaps in the obscure phrase in xx. 28 (see note). It may be regarded as significant that at its only occurrence the term is applied to the preaching of Paul (W. Bousset, *Kyrios Christos*, 2nd ed., pp. 56, 151, and see Vol. I. pp. 392 ff.).

21. ravaged] *πορθεῖν* is used in the N.T. only here and in Gal. i. 13 and 23, and then also of Paul's persecution. This is perhaps the nearest approach that there is to verbal evidence of literary dependence of Acts on the Pauline Epistles. See Vol. II. p. 266 note 2. The suggestion of *πορθεῖν* is the sack of a city; that of *λυμαίνειν* (viii. 3) is the ravaging of a body by a wild beast.

this name] See Addit. Note 11.

22. gained . . in power] The Western text makes it plain that this refers to his preaching by adding *τῷ λόγῳ*. Probably this is correct, but *ἐνεδυνα-*

μοῦτο might refer to physical strength and continue the line of thought started by *ἐνισχύθη* in vs. 19.

perplexing] See note on ii. 6.

the Messiah] See Vol. I. pp. 346 ff. The earliest Western text was probably *ὁ χριστός, εἰς ὃν εὐδόκησεν ὁ θεός*. It may be the original reading, for it is not at all the type of addition which was customary at any late date, and it may have been omitted for theological reasons. Its adoptionist nature may have led Irenaeus to change it to *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, ὁ χριστός*.

23. many days] A singularly vague note of time, of which, however, the real difficulty is that it so obviously means that Paul was in Damascus from the time of his conversion to the time of his escape to Jerusalem, while he himself says that he was in Arabia.

completed] See note on ii. 1. The meaning of the imperfect *ἐπληροῦντο* would perhaps be best brought out by some such phrase as 'as time went on.' The implication is that the Jews felt that the situation was daily becoming more intolerable. Paul had been sent to arrest malefactors. He had not fulfilled his commission; he had not handed it over to anyone else; he was actually supporting those whom he had come to suppress.

24. And they] The sentence begins *παρετηροῦντο δὲ καὶ τὰς πύλας*, which might be rendered 'And they were watching even the gates,' but Luke uses *δὲ καὶ* as a connecting particle at the beginning of a sentence, and the *καὶ* probably does not qualify *τὰς πύλας*.

A divergent account of this plot

in order to kill him, but his disciples took him by night and let 25 him down over the wall, lowering him in a basket. And when 26 he reached Jerusalem he tried to join the disciples, and they were all afraid of him, not believing that he was a disciple. But 27 Barnabas took him and brought him to the apostles, and explained to them how he had seen the Lord on the road and that he had spoken to him, and how in Damascus he had spoken publicly in the name of Jesus. And he was with them going in and out at 28 Jerusalem, speaking publicly in the name of the Lord. And he 29 talked and argued with the Hellenists, but they tried to kill him. And when the brethren knew it they brought him down to 30 Caesarea and sent him off to Tarsus.

and Paul's escape is given in 2 Cor. xi. 32 f. See Addit. Note 15.

25. over] *διὰ* in this context is scarcely 'through'; if the expression were permissible it might best be rendered '*via* the wall.'

basket] *σπυρίδι* or *σφυρίδι*. (The spelling is discussed in modern grammars or lexica.) In 2 Cor. xi. 33 the word used is *σαργάνη*, which was a large woven or network bag or basket suitable for hay, straw (see Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, s.v.), or for bales of wool (P Oxy 2154). A *σπυρίς* was of similarly pliable material but probably smaller. It would be used for food as after the Feeding of the Four Thousand. A third word, used by all the gospels at the Feeding of the Five Thousand, is *κόφινος*, which, if any consistent difference can be seen, apparently meant a smaller and stiffer basket than the other two. On the three words see F. J. A. Hort in *JTS*, x., 1909, pp. 567 ff.; G. Farmer in Hastings, *D.C.G.*, i. pp. 173 f.

26. disciples] Presumably they thought he was an *agent provocateur* collecting evidence.

27. spoken publicly] *παρρησιάζεσθαι* is found seven times in Acts—ix. 27, 28, xiii. 46, xiv. 3, xviii. 26, xix. 8, xxvi. 26, but only twice elsewhere in the N.T. (1 Thess. ii. 2; Eph. vi. 20). Its exact meaning is hard to define. It seems improbable that it merely means 'bold' or 'plain' speech, and possibly may imply some kind of

inspired utterance. See notes on iv. 31 and xxviii. 31. Cf. Mark viii. 32 καὶ παρρησίᾳ τὸν λόγον ἐλάλει? 'Publicly' is here scarcely the right meaning, nor does 'freely' seem strong enough.

28. going in and out] A Semitism for free intercourse; see i. 21, and cf. 1 Sam. xviii. 13, 16.

29. Hellenists] See notes on vi. 1 and xi. 20, and Addit. Note 7. Here it may well mean heathen.

30. knew it] *ἐπιγινώσκοντες* without any object is perhaps idiomatic. Field, *Notes*, etc., *ad loc.*, says: "The absolute use of this word for *re cognita* 'when they knew of it' has its parallel in Diod. Sic. xvi. 10 ἀκατασχέτου δὲ τῆς ὁρμῆς τῶν ὄχλων οὐσης, ἐπιγινώσκοντες τοὺς μισθοφόρους καὶ τοὺς τὰ τοῦ δυνάστου φρονούντας ἥβροισαν." In Acts xii. 12, xiv. 6, *συνιδῶν*, *-όντες* is used in the same sense and in the same absolute way. A curious evidence of the likeness of the two is in *BGU*. 1139. 13 (5 B.C.), where the writer having written *ἐπιγινούς* erased it and wrote *συνιδών*.

Tarsus] A somewhat different explanation of his leaving is suggested in xxii. 17-21, where he is told in a vision to leave the city promptly since his message will not be received, and to go to the Gentiles. The natural meaning is that he went by boat from the port of Caesarea. It is surely unnecessary to consider whether Gal. i. 21 implies that he went through Syria to Cilicia (Tarsus) and therefore by land. In

³¹ So the church throughout all Judaea and Galilee and Samaria had peace, being built up, and living in the fear of the Lord and the comfort of the Holy Spirit was multiplied.

³² And it happened that as Peter was passing through all, he also

the first place 'Syria and Cilicia' is probably a phrase of which the order was fixed by custom, and does not mean that Paul went to Syria first any more than an American who said he had visited England and Wales would necessarily imply that this was the order of his route. In the second place the divergencies between Acts and Galatians are so great that this tiny discrepancy is of no importance in any case. The probability that he went by boat is perhaps supported by Luke's custom elsewhere of mentioning escort to the sea (xvii. 15) and the name of harbours, especially of embarkation (xiii. 5, xiv. 25), possibly because there was often a somewhat long delay when transferring from land to sea travel.

31. church] It is uncertain what the Western text read, as D d h are all defective, but the Antiochian text, which often preserves the Western reading, has 'Churches.' If this be an emendation it is probably early. It may be original; and it is unfortunate that there is any doubt, for it is an interesting question whether Acts has really the 'Catholic' usage of the word 'the Church.' The phrase 'the Church' comes in v. 11, viii. 1, xii. 1, xiii. 1 and xviii. 22, but in each case it may mean 'the local assembly of Christians,' and in xiii. 1 the matter is complicated by the obscure phrase *τὴν οὖσαν ἐκκλησίαν* of which the meaning is uncertain, and has therefore been used as evidence both for the 'Catholic' and the 'local' sense of the word. It should, however, be remembered that the question is lexical. There can be little doubt but that Acts has the Catholic concept of the Church: the point at issue is whether the word *ἐκκλησία* had as yet been consciously adopted to express that concept. (See also note on v. 11 and Addit. Note 30.)

Judaea] Here clearly in the narrower sense, and not, as is perhaps possible elsewhere, in the general

sense of the Holy Land. See note on ii. 9.

Galilee] This is the only mention of a Christian community in Galilee.

peace] Does the writer imply that the peace of the church was increased by the absence of Paul? More probably the *μὲν οὖν* implies that this verse is the introduction to the story of Peter's work in Lydda and Joppa. (See also Addit. Note 31.)

living] Literally 'proceeding.' But it is possible, as Torrey suggests, that this may be the Hebrew idiom *והלך*, which indicates that the change involved in the accompanying verb is continuing (Gesenius - Kautzsch, *Hebrew Gram.* § 113u). This is found also in the LXX in most of the passages where it occurs in Hebrew, e.g. 2 Chron. xvii. 12 ἦν Ἰωσαφάτ πορευόμενος μετ' αὐτὸν ἕως εἰς ὄψος, and perhaps at Luke i. 6, viii. 14. If this view be taken, we should translate 'and was continuously multiplied in the fear of the Lord and in the comfort of the Holy Spirit.'

comfort of the Holy Spirit] Or perhaps 'inspired exhortation.' *παράκλησις* is exhortation rather than comfort; if so, the meaning is that the preaching of the disciples added to the church, and that it was effective because the Holy Spirit was speaking in them.

ix. 32-xi. 18. THE STORY OF PETER AND CORNELIUS (Joppa, Caesarea, and Jerusalem). This section may be the continuation of viii. 25 where Peter is last mentioned, and it is tempting to interpret the difficult *διὰ πάντων* of vs. 32 as referring to 'the many villages of the Samaritans' mentioned in viii. 25 as the scene of Peter's preaching. In that case, however, it should read *διὰ πασῶν* unless it be thought that the intervening narrative had so broken the continuity of construction that the author changed *πασῶν* to *πάντων*.

But it is possible that vss. 31 and 32 are editorial, and if so this story of

visited the saints who lived in Lydda. And there he found a 33 man named Aeneas, bedridden for eight years, who was paralysed.

Peter may be an extract from another source, and perhaps out of place. See Vol. II. pp. 156 f. It is also worth asking whether one of the secondary objects of the editor, which may have partially modified his arrangement of sources, was not to show how Caesarea was a landmark in the history of Christianity. It is certainly noticeable that after dealing with the death of Stephen, which he clearly regards as the event which led to the 'scattering' of the disciples, he first brings Philip to Caesarea, then takes up the story of Paul, and follows him until the disciples bring him to Tarsus through Caesarea, and finally returns to Peter, and shows how he went to Caesarea and converted the Gentile Cornelius. It is not until xi. 19 that he turns to another 'landmark' and focuses his attention on Antioch. It should also be noticed that just as the end of the 'Caesarean chapter' is a conference in Jerusalem, in which the Caesarean school, headed by Peter, convinces the Christians in Jerusalem (xi. 1-18), so there is a similar end to the 'Antiochian chapter' in the conference described in chapter xv., in which Peter and James again convince the Jerusalemites. Can this 'parallelization' be traced even further, and noted in the return of Paul to Jerusalem after his mission to Asia, Macedonia, and Achaia, and in the favourable reception given him by James and the other Christians in Jerusalem?

32. passing through] Both *διέρχῃσθαι* and *κατελθεῖν* are constantly used in missionary contexts. *διελθεῖν* means to 'pass through' a district in order to preach in it, and *κατελθεῖν* to 'come down' from Jerusalem (or other centre) for that purpose. It would, however, be an exaggeration to describe them as technical terms. The sense is derived from the context, not from the inherent meaning. Thus here at least *διερχόμενον* does not mean to pass through and preach in heathen territory, as it seems to do in xiii. 6, but rather to visit recent converts, as it seems also to do in xvi. 6.

For the connexion of *διέρχῃσθαι* with missionary preaching see W. M. Ramsay, *Expositor*, 1895, pp. 385 ff.

all] This phrase is as strange in Greek as in English. Through 'all' what? *διὰ πάντων* is not an ordinary Greek phrase for 'everywhere,' and it is certainly contrary to the genius of the language to supply *ἀγίων* from the following phrase, as some commentators have done, as though it were *διερχόμενον διὰ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων κατελθεῖν καὶ πρὸς τοὺς κατοικοῦντας Λύδδα*. The Peshitto reads 'through the cities,' and some Latin manuscripts have 'per civitates et regiones,' but these merely show that the difficulty of *διὰ πάντων* was felt. It is possible that if a new source begins here there was once something in the context which would have explained the phrase.

Lydda] Formerly Lod, later the Greek Diospolis. According to 1 Chron. viii. 12 it was built by Shamed the Benjamite, and it is mentioned in Neh. xi. 35 as a town inhabited by Benjamites after the return from the captivity. It had belonged to Judaea since 165 B.C. (1 Macc. xi. 34) and was the capital of one of the 10 or 11 Jewish provinces or toparchies (Josephus, *B.J.* iii. 3. 5, § 55; Pliny, *N.H.* v. 70). It played a considerable part in the Jewish war of A.D. 66 (Josephus, *B.J.* ii. 19. 1 and iv. 8. 1). After the destruction of Jerusalem it was a famous centre of Rabbinical learning. It was also celebrated for its trade in purple-dyed stuffs. It figures in the legend of St. George, and it will be the scene, according to some authorities, of the final overthrow of Antichrist. (See Baedeker's *Palestine and Syria* and Schürer, *GJV.* ii. p. 183.) Apparently there were already Christians in it before Peter came. Were they refugees from the persecution of Stephen? or were they some of Philip's converts? Lydda is between Ashdod and Caesarea. It is the same problem as is raised by the existence of Christians in Damascus.

33. Aeneas] Apparently Aeneas

34 And Peter said to him, "Aeneas, Jesus Christ heals you. Arise and
35 lay the table for yourself." And he arose at once, and all who dwelt in Lydda and the Sharon saw him, and they turned to the Lord.

36 And in Joppa there was a disciple named Tabitha, which when

was not a Christian, but the point is not emphasized. The mention of the length of his illness is typical of the stories of cures (iii. 2, iv. 22 and note, xiv. 8, Mark v. 25 and ix. 21, Luke xiii. 11, John v. 5, ix. 1, and see Dittenberger, *Sylloge*³ 1168. 95; 1171. 5). It is to be noted that the names of those cured are given here, and in the raising of Dorcas (cf. the case of Eutychus in xx. 9), whereas in the gospels the names of those cured had almost completely vanished out of the tradition before it was recorded.

for eight years] Or possibly 'since he was eight years old.'

34. lay the table] στρώσον σεαυτῷ. The object to be supplied is doubtless κλίνην and the literal rendering would be 'spread your couch.' But the common phrase κλίνην στρώννυμι (see Wettstein on Mark xiv. 15) refers to eating rather than to sleeping quarters, and is often associated with preparing a τράπεζα. The idiomatic translation must be that given here, or something similar. The command of Peter is not to lift up his κράβατος to show that he is cured (see note on iii. 8) but to get himself something to eat (cf. Mark v. 43 = Luke viii. 55). The σεαυτῷ probably excludes the suggestion that Peter asked Aeneas to prepare a feast.

35. the Sharon] i.e. the coast plain (השרון). In the LXX and Josephus it is usually called either τὸ πέδιον or ὁ δρυμός (the oak thicket) or οἱ δρυμοί, but in Is. xxxiii. 9 the LXX has ὁ Σαρὼν. Are there any other instances of the use of this transliterated Hebrew as the Greek name of the district along the coast from Lydda to Carmel, famous for its fertility (cf. Is. xxxv. 2 and Cant. ii. 1, whence the Rose of Sharon has become proverbial)?

and they] οἱτινες introduces a subsequent act; cf. viii. 15, xi. 20, etc., and see note on i. 11.

36. Joppa] The Old Testament Yofa (יֹפָא) and the modern Jaffa. In Greek it is either Ἰόππη or Ἰόπη. Ἰόππη is the best attested form in the LXX and Josephus; it is also found in Pausanias, but Strabo has Ἰόπη, and so has the Zeno papyrus ii. 14. 7 (*Annales du service*, xviii. 3). The Arabic Yāfā and Syriac Yōphē have the single consonant of the Hebrew. Both Greek forms are found in coins and inscriptions (see Schürer, 4th ed. ii. p. 128, note). The city was conquered from the Philistines by Jonathan the Maccabee in 148 B.C. In 63 B.C. Pompey left it free of Roman control, while putting the rest of Judaea into the province of Syria, but in 47 B.C. it passed to Hyrcanus, and remained Jewish until Judaea became Roman in A.D. 6 (see 1 Macc. x. 74 ff.; Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 4. 4, and xiv. 10. 6; and cf. Schürer, *GJV*. ii. pp. 99 ff.).

disciple] μαθητρία is only found here in the N.T. It occurs also in *Ev. Petri*, xi. Its good Hellenistic quality is confirmed by its use in Diod. Sic. and Diog. Laert., and by the explicit condemnation of the word in Thomas Magister and Moeris as Hellenistic for μαθητῆς. Perhaps it only occurs here because in this chapter the author makes especial use of μαθητῆς. See verses 1, 10, 19, 25, 26, 38. Earlier than this μαθητῆς is used only in chapter vi. (again several times in a short space, vss. 1, 2, 7). Its distribution in later chapters is more uniform—eighteen times from xi. 26 to xxi. 16. For an attempt to use the word as a clue to a source of Acts see R. Schütz, *Apostel und Jünger*. Compare the almost exclusive use in this chapter, or its parallels, of ἄγιοι (note on vs. 13), Σαοὶλ (note on vs. 4), ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τὸ ὄνομα (ix. 14, 21, xxii. 16). See Addit. Note 30.

Tabitha] The Aramaic תַּבִּיṬא which means a gazelle, or in Greek Δορκάς. For the use of these names in Aramaic

interpreted is called Dorcas. She was full of good works and charities which she did. And it happened in those days that she was taken ill and died, and they washed her and laid her in an upper room. And as Lydda is near Joppa, the disciples, hearing that Peter was there, sent two men to him begging him, "Do not fail to come to us." And Peter arose and came with them, and when he arrived they took him up to the upper room, and

and Greek see Waddington, *Inscr.* No. 2155, and Dalman, *Grammatik d. paläst. Aram.* i. p. 109, n. 5. Tabitha appears to be the Aramaic equivalent of the Hebrew Zibiah (2 Kings xii. 1), but in the O.T. Peshitto this becomes Sauba (Sibya). It was the name of a slave of Gamaliel II. (*Wayyikra Rabbah*, xix., ed. Wünsche, p. 125). It was taken by the Western text of Mark v. 41 as a name instead of Talitha in the phrase 'Talitha cumi,' and Zahn (*Commentary on Acts*, p. 337) points out the extraordinary coincidence (for it can be nothing more) that this is misspelt Tabea in the Codex Palatinus (e) of Mark and in the modern German texts of Acts, though not in the original Lutheran edition of 1522. (See also E. Nestle, *ZNTW.*, 1910, p. 240.)

which] Here alone in Acts is the form η used instead of $\eta\tau\iota\varsigma$. But $\tau\iota\varsigma$ and $\sigma\iota\tau\iota\upsilon\varsigma$ have just preceded and η avoids repetition. See Cadbury, *JBL*. xlii. (1923), pp. 153 f.

which when interpreted is called Dorcas] Literally we should render 'which when translated means gazelle,' but the Greek language had already become accustomed to $\delta\omicron\rho\kappa\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ as a proper name, and by vs. 39 the author has perhaps unconsciously gone over to that usage. An English translation cannot easily follow this course. Animal names (e.g. $\Delta\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\iota\varsigma$, cf. Acts xvii. 34) represent a category familiar in Greek nomenclature, perhaps originally with reference to personal characteristics (Lucretius iv. 1161 *nervosa et lignea dorcas*). For instances of Dorcas see W. Drexler in *Philologus*, 1899, pp. 316 ff.; Moulton and Milligan, *Vocabulary* s.v., and (with other names from the same root) Fr. Bechtel, *Attischen Frauennamen*,

1902, pp. 87, 91; *Die historischen Personennamen*, 1917, p. 589; Fr. Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, s.v. From the last named it appears that no instance of Dorcas itself has been published from Egyptian remains.

For the use of $\Delta\omicron\rho\kappa\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ to translate an Aramaic name see Josephus, *B.J.* iv. 3. 5, § 145 $\Delta\omicron\rho\kappa\acute{\alpha}\delta\omicron\varsigma$ οὗτος (a certain Ἰωάννης) ἐκαλεῖτο παῖς κατὰ τὴν ἐπιχώριον γλῶσσαν, where Niese notes that ταβηθά is written by scribes (Christian?) in the margin of some MSS.

37. washed] The references to washing the dead are frequent in classical literature, and, though Wettstein gives no instances, it was also practised by the Jews (see Mishna, *Shabbat* xxiii. 5, and Maimonides, *Yad. Abel* iv. 1). The custom still obtains among the Jews, and is known as the 'Purification of the dead.'

38. near] Joppa is about ten miles north-west of Lydda.

two men] As so often, this author regards two messengers as appropriate. Cf. x. 7, xi. 30, xv. 27, xix. 22, xxiii. 23, and Vol. II. p. 140 note 2.

Do not fail to come] No translation can exactly indicate the idiomatic character of $\mu\grave{\eta}$ οὐκνήσης. (i.) οὐκνέω is one of those verbs (a class found presumably in every language) which for some reason the genius of the language requires to be used mainly if not exclusively with a negative. In Greek οὐκνέω occurs rarely in the positive. (ii.) Politeness has led in many languages to a softening of the blunt imperative with, *inter alia*, auxiliary prefixes like, 'Be so good as to,' 'Please,' etc. In Hellenistic Greek $\mu\grave{\eta}$ οὐκνεί (οὐκνήσης) etc. appears to have had this character in speech and as an epistolary formula. See Moulton and Milligan, *Vocab.* s.v.; Field, *Notes*,

all the widows stood by him wailing, and showing the tunics and cloaks which Dorcas had been making while she was with
 40 them. But Peter had all go out and knelt down and prayed. And he turned to the body and said, "Tabitha, arise." And she
 41 opened her eyes, and when she saw Peter she sat up. And he gave her his hand and raised her up, and called the saints and
 42 widows and presented her to them alive. And it became known throughout all Joppa, and many believed on the Lord.

43 And it came to pass that he stayed many days in Joppa with Simon a tanner.

p. 118. In Num. xxii. 16, and apparently Eccus. vii. 35, the Greek translators have skilfully used it to paraphrase similar negative auxiliaries in the Hebrew. Thus may be explained what is really the most striking of all the elaborate parallels drawn by Krenkel between Acts ix. 36-xi. 18 and Num. xxii. See Vol. II. pp. 102f.

39. widows] It is possible that the widows came in the capacity, which they certainly had later in the Christian church, of nurses and professional mourners (see Achelis, *TU*. xxv. 2, pp. 274 ff., and cf. note on vi. 1), but it seems more probable that they are present merely because they had benefited from the good deeds of Dorcas. Here, as in vi. 1, widows seem to be the recipients not the administrators of charity, and there is a real difference between Acts and the later ecclesiastical literature, beginning with the Pastoral Epistles.

tunics and cloaks] We may not decide whether these were her own wardrobe or evidence of her work of charity to the poor (vs. 36). ὅσα might suggest that the quantity rather than the quality of her needlework was the object of the demonstration, but in view of the fact that the simple relative δὲ was obsolescent, ὅσα is probably merely a substitute (cf. note on xiv. 27 and Cadbury, *JBL*. xlii. (1923), p. 157). Many interpreters press the middle ἐπιδεικνύμεναι as meaning that the exhibitors owned and were wearing Tabitha's gifts. In any case the pathetic scene was one that appealed to the author.

40. had all go out] Cf. Mark v.

40, the raising of the daughter of Jairus. It is noteworthy that in the gospel (Luke viii. 51) Mark v. 37 οὐκ ἀφήκεν οὐδένα . . . εἰ μὴ μόνον τὸν Πέτρον κτλ. is combined with Mark v. 40 ἐκβαλὼν πάντας παραλαμβάνει τὸν πατέρα κτλ. into οὐκ ἀφήκεν εἰσελθεῖν τινα σὺν αὐτῷ εἰ μὴ Πέτρον καὶ Ἰωάννην καὶ Ἰάκωβον καὶ τὸν πατέρα κτλ.

In other respects the accounts may be influenced by the raisings by Elijah (1 Kings xvii. 23 ὑπερφῶν) and Elisha (2 Kings iv. 33 προσήυξατο [cf. John xi. 41], iv. 35 καὶ ἤνοιξεν τὸ παιδάριον τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, cf. Vol. II. p. 103). But prayer is associated by this writer with cures at xxviii. 8, and above at vs. 11 (see note), and these coincidences are too slight and too natural to be of much importance.

arise] The Western text reads 'arise in the name of Jesus Christ' (see Vol. III. p. 91), which is doubtless the right formula.

sat up] Cf. Luke vii. 15, the raising of the son of the widow of Nain.

41. saints] It does not follow that the widows were not Christians, though this is the strict implication of the phraseology, 'the saints and widows.' See also note on vs. 13.

presented her . . . alive] The phrase is almost identical with that in i. 3 παρέστησεν αὐτὸν ζῶντα.

42. became known] γνωστὸν ἐγένετο, cf. i. 19.

Lord] Here Jesus is obviously meant.

43. a tanner] The work of a tanner was 'defiling' according to Jewish law. A psychologist might think that lodging in so questionable a

And a man in Caesarea by name Cornelius, a centurion of 10

house may have turned Peter's mind to the problem of clean and unclean foods, which is raised in the next chapter; but it is doubtful whether this idea, however true it may be, was in the mind of the writer. Was he a Christian, as W. Bauer says? For the mention of a trade cf. xvi. 14; xviii. 3; xix. 27 and Alexander the *χαλκεύς* in 2 Tim. iv. 14. His trade is perhaps mentioned merely because the author or his source, realizing that in this scene two Simons occur, decided to differentiate them, thus leading to the regular "Simon that is surnamed Peter" and to the unusual "Simon the tanner" (see also note on Judas in vs. 11). But he did not make the same consistent differentiation between Simon (whom we call *magus*) and (Simon) Peter in Acts viii.

1-18. THE EPISODE OF CORNELIUS. Apart from minor difficulties of exegesis, which are discussed in the notes, the chief obscurity of this episode is the relation of the vision to two cognate but separate problems—the admission of the Gentiles without the obligation of circumcision, and the social intercourse of Jews (whether Christian or not) with Gentile Christians.

The vision itself seems at first sight to be connected with the question of food, which has always been a barrier to social intercourse between Jews and Gentiles. The same suggestion is made by x. 28, "You know that it is improper for a Jew to mix with or go to the house of a foreigner," and also by xi. 3, "You went to the house of men who were uncircumcised and ate with them." On the other hand, the outcome of Peter's visit, the defence which he made at Jerusalem on his return, and his further reference to the matter at the meeting described in Acts xv., all point to the question of the admission of the Gentiles.

It is possible that in the minds of some Jews the question of going to the house of a Gentile and eating with him came first, as a probable though scarcely necessary antecedent to his conversion. But it is also possible, and perhaps more probable, that Luke has 'telescoped' together two distinct

controversies—the admission of uncircumcised Gentiles to Christianity, and the terms of social intercourse with them. It is argued in Additional Note 16 that this has happened in chapter xv., and the case is a strong one in that chapter, because we have the parallel evidence of Galatians ii. In the story of Cornelius we have no parallel evidence, but the internal evidence is rather stronger than in xv.

It is of course impossible to date the episode of Cornelius. The present order of Acts suggests that it was earlier than the Antiochian mission to the Gentiles described in xi. 19 ff., and certainly earlier than Peter's imprisonment described in xii. 1 ff., but there is a possibility that the order of events has been dislocated by the editor's arrangement, and that the story of Cornelius should really be placed after Peter's escape from prison, so that his preaching would have been practically contemporaneous with the Antiochian mission, and his return and defence in Jerusalem would be at about the same time as the historic conference described in Acts xi. 30, xii. 25, xv. 1-29, and Gal. ii. (see Additional Note 16, and Vol. II. pp. 156 f.).

1. Cornelius] The name is common to the families of all freedmen who had been liberated by Sulla, and had therefore acquired his family name. Cf. the frequency of the name of Aurelius in Egypt at a later period for a similar reason. (See Pauly-Wissowa, iv. 2431.)

There has probably been some assimilation between the description of this centurion of Caesarea and the one of Capernaum who also, according to Luke vii. 3 ff. (not the parallel in Mark), had a good reputation among the Jewish elders. It is difficult to say which account has affected the other. There is an interesting parallel to the detail given in Luke vii., that the centurion in Capernaum built a synagogue, in the inscription from Áthribis which describes the dedication of a synagogue by 'Ptolemy the chief of police.' On the Roman army see Addit. Note 33.

2 the cohort called Italica, a pious man and fearing God with
all his household, doing many deeds of charity to the People
3 and praying to God continually, saw clearly in a vision at about
the ninth hour of the day an angel of God come in to him and
4 say to him, "Cornelius." And he gazed at him and became
frightened and said, "What is it, sir?" And he said to him, "Your
prayers and deeds of charity have gone up as a memorial before
5 God, and now send men to Joppa and fetch a certain Simon

the cohort called Italica] See Addit. Note 33 (iii) (a).

2. fearing God] See Addit. Note 8.

the People] i.e. the Jews, who are constantly described as ὁ λαός in contrast to τὰ ἔθνη, the Nations or Gentiles. It appears, however, rather cumbersome to render it 'the Jewish people,' and 'the People,' with capital letter, seems the best device for representing this shade of meaning.

praying] For the combination of prayer and almsgiving see Matt. vi. 2-6, 1 Pet. iv. 7 f., *Didache* xv. 4, 2 Clement xvi. 4. The combination is certainly Jewish as well as Christian, cf. Tobit xii. 8 and many parallels in rabbinic literature. Prayer and almsgiving are constantly associated with fasting. (Cf. vs. 30 *v.l.* and note on xiii. 3.)

continually] διὰ παντός: the phrase is used of the 'perpetual' incense in the LXX (Exod. xxx. 8, etc.), but it seems far-fetched to think that this fact was in the writer's mind, as Zahn argues. The only point in favour of such a connexion is the recurrence of sacrificial terminology in μνημόσυνον in vs. 4. The use of such an adverb in reference to prayer was in any case familiar in other religious circles, as in the letters preserved in Egyptian papyri in the customary formula at the beginning of a letter referring to the writer's prayers διὰ παντός for his correspondent.

3. 'at about the ninth hour] ὥσει περὶ ὥραν ἐνάτην. The use of both ὥσει and περὶ may have seemed strange to the scribes, who omitted the latter (see Vol. III. p. 92), leaving an accusative of time which would be regular enough (cf. John iv. 52) even if not so common as the simple περὶ ὥραν. Luke, how-

ever, follows his custom of adding to numbers the cautious qualifying ὥσει (Cadbury, *Style*, p. 129). An exact parallel occurs in P Tebt i. 15 (114 B.C.) line 2 f. τῇ α' τοῦ ὑποκειμένου μηνός ὥσει περὶ ὥραν ἰα, and apparently in like manner line 25.

4. sir] Or should we translate 'Lord'? Cf. xi. 8. The difficulty is that in Greek there is one formula of address to gods, angels and men, but not in English. Therefore it depends on the context which is the better rendering. This is a border-case. Cf. also vs. 14.

memorial] Possibly with reference to the use of this word in the LXX for the part of the meat-offering which was burnt (Lev. ii. 1), and the constant comparison of prayer and alms with sacrifice (cf. Ps. cxli. 2; Philipp. iv. 18; Hebr. xiii. 15 f.). The whole phraseology is reminiscent of the LXX. It is noticeable that in x. 31 the writer substitutes ἐμνήσθησαν ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ for ἀνέβησαν εἰς μνημόσυνον ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ θεοῦ. The message is appropriately delivered by an angel, since according to Jewish thought angels were the transmitters or intercessors in prayer. In Tobit xii. 12 ff. Raphael, 'one of the seven angels who offer the prayers of the saints,' says "when you prayed, I brought the memorial of your prayer (τὸ μνημόσυνον τῆς προσευχῆς ὑμῶν) before the Holy One."

5. Simon] Peter is mentioned 56 times in Acts i.-xv., but he is called 'Simon surnamed Peter' only in this verse and in x. 18, x. 32, and xi. 13. In xv. 14, in the speech of James, he is called Symeon. In Mark he is called Simon in the three first chapters until the list of the apostles is given, where

who is surnamed Peter. He is lodging with Simon the tanner, 6 whose house is on the shore." And when the angel who spoke to 7 him departed he called two of the servants and a pious soldier of those in attendance on him and related everything to them and 8 sent them to Joppa. And on the next day as they were journey- 9 ing and approaching the city Peter went on the roof to pray at about the sixth hour. And he became very hungry and wished to

it is stated that Jesus gave him the additional name of Peter. After that he is called Peter, except in the garden of Gethsemane where 'Simon' is used. The same general usage is found in Matthew and Luke, but John uses 'Peter' and 'Simon Peter' equally, and on no distinguishable plan.

6. shore] A late tradition identifies the house with the present Latin monastery (see Baedeker's *Palestine*; see also note on ix. 11).

7. in attendance on him] προσκαρτερούντων, probably the equivalent of 'his orderlies.'

8. everything] πάντα. The Western text perhaps read *δραμα* (d has 'visum'), but D and h are not extant.

9. the next day] The distance between Caesarea and Joppa is about thirty miles, so that if they had started at 4 p.m. one day they must have travelled through the night to reach Joppa by noon the next day. This seems improbable, and it is doubtful whether it is borne out by the other notes of time in the story. In vs. 30 Cornelius says that he had seen his vision ἀπὸ τετάρτης ἡμέρας. That is, if for instance the vision was on a Monday, Peter came on a Friday. If so, the messengers started on Tuesday, arrived at Joppa in the course of Wednesday, left again on Thursday, and arrived back in Caesarea on Friday. But strict attention to the ἐπαύριον . . . ἐπαύριον . . . ἐπαύριον of vss. 9, 23, and 24 would shorten this period by one day, hence the Western text changed τετάρτης into τρίτης in vs. 30. But I think it is far more probable that the soldiers started early on the day after the vision, so that the 'morrow' in vs. 9 is relative to their starting, not to the vision of Cornelius. This is one of the places where it is clear that the

textual variation is the result of interpretation and emendation; cf. the treatment of the incident at the Beautiful Gate of the Temple. There our choice of reading is handicapped by our ignorance of the locality, but here it seems plain that the Western text is a natural emendation, due to a careful reading of the story, but proving intrinsically inferior when geography is taken into consideration.

roof] Apparently ἐπὶ τὸ δῶμα must mean 'roof.' Did the houses in Joppa have awnings? Otherwise it is extremely unlikely that Peter went on the roof to pray at noon-time. But the custom of praying on the roof is unquestionable. Origen discusses the custom at length in *Hom. in Jerem.* xix. 13 (p. 169. 11 ff. ed. Klostermann). The practice in the O.T. is more often associated with the worship of the host of heaven (cf. 2 Kings xxiii. 12; Jer. xix. 13; Zeph. i. 5).

sixth hour] The sixth hour (noon) is not one of the usual hours of prayer. But if prayer was made thrice a day (instead of at morning and evening), as Ps. lv. 17 and Dan. vi. 10 suggest, the middle hour may have been at noon. (Cf. also the injunction in *Didache* viii. to recite the Lord's prayer thrice daily.) It is, however, possible to suggest that some other reason than Jewish or Christian customs of prayer has led Luke in this place, and all the evangelists in the narrative of the passion, to confine their references to the hour to the multiples of three. The third hour (Mark xv. 25; Acts ii. 15; cf. xxiii. 23 ἀπὸ τρίτης ὥρας τῆς νυκτός), the sixth hour (Mark xv. 33 and parallels; Acts x. 9; John iv. 6, xix. 14), and the ninth hour (Mark xv. 33, 34 and parallels; Acts iii. 1, x. 3,

to eat food. And as they were getting it ready a trance fell on
 11 him, and he sees the sky opened and an object like a great
 sheet descending, let down by four corners on to the ground.
 12 And in it were all the quadrupeds and reptiles of the earth and
 13 the birds of the sky. And a voice came to him, "Rise, Peter,
 14 kill and eat." And Peter said, "Not so, sir, because I never ate
 15 anything common and unclean." And a voice came again a
 second time to him, "What God made clean do not you count
 16 common." And this happened three times, and the object was
 at once taken up into the sky.
 17 And as Peter was perplexed in himself, what might be the

30) divide the day into quarters, and perhaps these hours were used as round numbers for the approximate time within the day, as we use the quarter-hours as convenient round numbers for the periods within the hour. Matthew's parable of the vineyard, xx. 1 ff., begins at *πρωι* and ends at *δψια*, and the reference to the workman who started at the eleventh hour is familiar. But Matthew also refers in the same parable to shifts beginning about (*περι*) the third, sixth, and ninth hour respectively. There is some evidence that at night also similar 'quarter-night' units were employed (Mark xiii. 35).

10. hungry] *πρόσπεινος* is one of the small and diminishing number of words in Acts which have not yet been found elsewhere.

eat] In Rome noon was the usual lunch-hour (*prandium*), but did this custom extend to the East? (See Marquardt - Mau, *Privatleben der Römer*, i. p. 265, in Marquardt and Mommsen, *Handbuch der römischen Altertümer*, ed. 2, vii. 1.) *γεῦμα* is still an ordinary word for midday lunch and *πρόγευμα* for breakfast.

11. sees] The most striking of Luke's few instances of historical present are *θεωρεῖ* here and *εὕρισκει* in vs. 27. For a full list see Hawkins, *Horae Synopticae*, p. 119.

object] See note on ix. 15.

12. all the quadrupeds, etc.] Cf. Gen. vi. 20.

13. kill] *θῶσον*, 'sacrifice,' seems quite to have lost its original sense

(cf. Mt. xxii. 4; Luke xv. 23; John x. 10; 1 Macc. vii. 19).

14. never] *οὐδέποτε* . . . *πάν* is a Semitism. Cf. Luke i. 37 and Moulton, *Grammar*, i.² pp. 245 f., and see Blass-Debrunner, § 302. 1. The phrase is here dependent on Ezek. iv. 14. For the question of Peter's conduct in Antioch (Gal. ii. 11 ff.) see Additional Note 16.

common and unclean] The general nature of the food-law is well known; all animal flesh was forbidden except of those which had cloven hoofs and were ruminants. For the elaborate details see Lev. xi. and Schürer, *GJV*. ed. 3, ii. 70 ff. and iii. 116 ff.

15. clean] When did God make them clean? By his command to kill and eat? Or is there an allusion to Mark vii. 14 ff.? If the second alternative be taken it is tempting to see in the *καθαρίζων πάντα τὰ βρώματα* of Mark vii. 19 an allusion to the vision of Peter, as though Mark were saying "this is the occasion of the cleansing referred to by the voice which Peter heard at Joppa."

count common] From what is apparently a Jewish use of *κοινός* the verb *κοινῶς* comes to mean in the N.T. 'defile,' 'profane,' like the classical *βεβηλῶς* xxiv. 6. Here the paraphrase in vs. 28 suggests a variation of sense from 'make profane' to 'count profane' similar to that found in *δικαίῶς* and other verbs in *-ω*.

17. what might be the meaning of the vision] It seems, at least in the immediate context, to have been in-

meaning of the vision he had seen, behold the men who had been sent by Cornelius had asked their way to the house of Simon and stood at the doorway. And they called and enquired "Is Simon 18 surnamed Peter lodging there?" And as Peter was considering 19 about the vision the Spirit said, "Behold two men are seeking you. Now get up and go down and go with them without any 20 hesitation, because I have sent them." And Peter went down 21 to the men and said, "Behold, I am he whom you seek. What is the reason for which you are present?" And they said, 22 "Centurion Cornelius, a righteous man and fearing God, and with a good character from all the nation of the Jews, was

terpreted as referring to intercourse with Gentiles rather than to the law concerning food. The natural development of this line of thought is the allegorical explanation of the Law, which finds its highest point in the Epistle of Barnabas, where the whole food-law is explained as referring to men. Thus the command not to eat pork merely forbade intercourse with those who behave like pigs (Barnabas x. 3), and the Jewish or literal interpretation is held to be the invention of the Devil (Barnabas ix. 4). The fact is that the Church, in face of the obvious meaning of the Law, had to choose between (a) the Pauline position that the O.T. was for Christians valuable as Prophecy rather than as Law; (b) the still more radical position of Marcion; (c) the allegorical explanation of Barnabas; (d) the more complex position of the *Didascalia* that the Law was binding up to Exod. xxxii. (the golden calf) but that the rest was *δευτέρωσις* (Mishna), punishment inflicted on the Jews and not on anyone else. In general the Church accepted the last solution (see also note on x. 35).

asked their way to] *διερωτήσαντες*.

18. enquired] *ἐπύθοντο εἰ Σίμων ὁ ἐπικαλούμενος Πέτρος ἐνθάδε ξενίζεται* is usually translated as an indirect question: 'whether Simon surnamed Peter was lodging there.' In favour of the translation given above may be cited not only the use of *πυνθάνομαι* (iv. 7, xxiii. 19) and of *εἰ* (i. 6, xix. 2) in direct questions, but the fact

that, while *Πέτρος* is used everywhere else in narrative, *Σίμων ὁ ἐπικαλούμενος Πέτρος* is found, in this verse, in x. 32 and xi. 13, when it is quoted from a speaker. See note on vs. 5.

19. And as Peter, etc.] Preuschen thinks that either vss. 17 f. or 19 f. are superfluous. The Syriac *Didascalia* omits vss. 17 f., but Preuschen would rather leave out 19 f. Yet, admitting the awkwardness, neither clause is really redundant; 17 f. shows how the men arrived, 19 f. why Peter was inclined so readily to go with them, though not until vs. 28 does he explain the full significance of his vision.

two men] There is a curious amount of variation in the text; see Vol. III. p. 94.

20. I] i.e. the Spirit, cf. vs. 19. Is this 'Spirit' the same as the 'voice' in vss. 13 and 15 which Peter addresses as *κύριε*? It would seem probable. But is it not also identical with Jesus, and what difference did the writer see between the Spirit which spoke to Peter and the angel who spoke to Cornelius? Cf the variations in viii. 26, 29, 39 (*ἄγγελος κυρίου . . . τὸ πνεῦμα . . . πνεῦμα κυρίου*). Cf. Vol. I. pp. 322 ff. and Additional Note 9.

22. Centurion Cornelius] This is perhaps too formal, and implies a use of the name of an office as the title of a person in too modern a way. At the same time it not unfairly represents the difference between *Κορνήλιος ἑκατοντάρχης* and *Κορνήλιός τις, ἑκατοντάρχης* in the Western text.

instructed by a holy angel to send for you to come to his house
 23 and to hear what you have to say." So he called them in and
 gave them lodging. And the next day he arose and went out
 with them, and some of the brethren from Joppa went with him.
 24 And on the next day he entered Caesarea, and Cornelius
 was expecting them and had summoned his relatives and
 25 intimate friends, and when Peter entered, Cornelius met him
 26 and fell at his feet and worshipped. And Peter raised him
 27 up, saying, "Arise, I too am myself a man." And as he talked
 28 to him, he went in and finds many assembled. And he said to
 them, "You know that it is improper for a Jew to mix with or

was instructed] ἐχρηματίσθη. Cf. Matt. ii. 12, 22; Luke ii. 26; Hebr. viii. 5, xi. 7. The word is used of a divine revelation or oracle in all these places (all in the passive voice). It is similarly used in secular writings. For instance, it is found in an inscription commemorating the cure of a blind soldier at the temple of Asclepius on the island in the Tiber (Dittenberger, *Sylloge*³, No. 1173) quite in the same way as it was used by the LXX translator of Jeremiah. It is therefore appropriate here in the mouth of a Gentile.

what you have to say] Literally 'words from you.' Cf. xi. 14.

23. brethren] Cf. the 'saints' of ix. 32 and 41.

25. when . . . entered] ἐγένετο τοῦ εἰσελθεῖν. This construction with the genitive infinitive is only found here and in D in ii. 1, but cf. Luke xvii. 1, Acts xxvii. 1, and see Blass-Debrunner, § 400. 7. An exact parallel is quoted from the Apocryphal *Acta Barnabae* vii. ὡς δὲ ἐγένετο τοῦ τελέσαι αὐτοὺς διδάσκοντας. Apparently influenced by the difficulty that Cornelius could not have known exactly when to go out to meet Peter, the Western text has freely rewritten the passage, "And as Peter was approaching Caesarea one of the slaves ran ahead and announced his arrival. And Cornelius leapt up and met him," etc.

worshipped] Cf. the story of the centurion in Capernaum, in Matt. viii. 8 ff. and Luke vii. 2 ff.

26. Arise, etc.] The Western text

reads "What are you doing? I also am a man, even as you." The vigorous monotheism of early Christianity is repeatedly asserted by the rejection of such acts of reverence. Compare xiv. 14 f. (from which the Western text may have taken its *τί ποιεῖς*); Rev. xix. 10, xxii. 8 f.; *Ascension of Isaiah* vii. 21, viii. 4-5, and even Mark x. 17 f. and parallels. It is very curious that in Rev. xxii. 8 f. the angel who refuses worship is identified in the context as Jesus himself, for the speaker who says "Do it not. Worship God," is the same as he who goes on to say "Behold I come quickly," and that he is "the First and the Last," which can hardly mean anyone except Jesus.

28. improper] ἀθέμιτον (cf. 1 Pet. iv. 3). This translation is too weak, and 'abominable' would be far too strong, but both give the right general idea, whereas 'wicked' would be actually wrong. The word means contrary to *θέμις*, the divinely constituted order of things, breaking a taboo, hence it connotes profanity. As xi. 2 f. shows, this was the actual point made against Peter in Jerusalem; he had done wrong to eat with heathen. It is easy to overlook the fact that this was an immediate contention at the beginning of the Judaistic controversy, not the question of preaching to the Gentiles. After all, provided that the substance of the preaching was right, there was no reason why any missionary, Jewish or Christian, should not try to convert the heathen.

go to the house of a foreigner. And to me God showed that I should not call any man common or unclean. Wherefore when I was sent for I came without any objection. I ask then, Why did you send for me?" And Cornelius said, "It is four days ago to this hour that I was praying at the ninth hour in my house, and behold a man stood before me in shining clothing, and says, 'Cornelius, your prayer has been heard and your deeds of charity have been remembered before God. Send therefore to Joppa, and summon Simon who is surnamed Peter. He is lodging in the house of Simon the tanner on the shore.' Immediately then I sent to you, and you were so kind as to come. Now therefore we are all present before God to hear all that has been enjoined on you by the Lord."

It was quite a different thing if the missionary ate with his hearers, or if he lessened the requirements of the Law by waiving circumcision (see Addit. Note 17).

And to me, etc.] See vs. 14.

any man] The *ἄνθρωπον* is not to be overlooked. If the author wished to say 'anyone' *μηδένα* would have been sufficient, but *μηδένα* followed at the end by *ἄνθρωπον* means 'anybody, provided that he is a human being.' Compare *ἄνθρωπος* in vs. 26.

30. It is four days ago to this hour] In other words, it was again the ninth hour. This seems the only meaning possible, but the phrase does not read like ordinary Greek, and its difficulty is shown by the variations in the text, and the emendations of commentators due partly to the superficial impression that it ought to mean that Cornelius had been praying for four days. See Vol. III. p. 96. One suspects (1) either that *μέχρι* here means 'about' (in vs. 3 we have both *ὥσει* and *περί*); or (2) the author or a scribe was misled by the suggestion of *ἀπό* to write its usual correlative *μέχρι*. Such discrepancy is not unlikely in the original author. Even if it cannot be exactly paralleled (almost the reverse phenomenon occurs in Acts iii. 24), it is quite in a class with many in Harnack's long list (*Acts of the Apostles*, chap. vi.).

the ninth hour] It would be

tempting, if not so anachronistic, to render it 'I was saying nones,' for 'the ninth hour' puts too much emphasis on the time, whereas *τὴν ἐνάτην* is the name of the evening hour of prayer, *τὸ δειλινόν*, cf. iii. 1.

shining clothing] The angel of vs. 3 and 22 (cf. xi. 13) is here called 'a man (*ἄνθρωπος*) in bright apparel.' Similarly the two men in shining apparel in Luke xxiv. 4 are subsequently identified as angels (vs. 23; John xx. 12). This confirms the explanation that the two men in white garments in Acts i. 10 were angels. Compare in Luke's narrative of the Transfiguration scene his use of *ἄνδρες δύο . . . ἐν δόξῃ* and also the white shining apparel of Jesus (Luke ix. 29 f.). See also Mark xvi. 5.

32. the shore] The Western text continues, "who will come and speak with you." It goes on "therefore I at once sent to you, asking you to come to us, and you were so kind as to come quickly. Now, behold, we are all before you, wishing to hear from you what has been enjoined by God." The most attractive detail in this reading is *ἐνώπιόν σου* for *ἐνώπιον θεοῦ*. I suspect that *θεοῦ* is a misplaced correction of *κυρίου* in the next line. On the detailed address see note on ix. 11.

33. you were so kind as to come] *καλῶς (εὖ) ποιήσεις* is a common epistolary formula in making a polite

34 And Peter opened his mouth and said, "Truly I comprehend
35 that God has no favourites, but in every nation he who fears
36 him and works righteousness is received by him. He sent
the word to the children of Israel bringing the good news

request. In the past tense it expresses gratitude. For the future, as in 3 John 6, see letters in 1 Macc. xii. 22; Aristes 39, 46; and from the papyri in Moulton-Milligan, *Vocabulary*, p. 319; J. A. Robinson, *Ephesians*, pp. 281 f.; cf. Acts xv. 29. For the past, as here, see Phil. iv. 14; Ign. *Smyrn.* x. 1. The instances of the past tense from the papyri given by Moulton and Milligan are with *οὐ* and take the verb following in the infinitive rather than the participle. There can be little doubt that the affirmative phrase here conveys the polite gratitude of Cornelius.

34. God has no favourites] *προσωπολήμπτης*, lit. 'accepter of faces, or persons.' For the history of this truly Pauline idea and expression see Sanday-Headlam on Romans ii. 11; Thackeray, *Grammar of the O.T. in Greek*, pp. 43 f. In Deut. x. 17, Ps. Sol. ii. 19, it is said *ὁ θεὸς . . . οὐ θανάξι(σ)ει πρόσωπον*. *προσωπολήμπτης* like the other Greek compounds (*-λημπτέω* James ii. 9, *-λημφία* James ii. 1; Rom. ii. 11; Eph. vi. 9; Col. iii. 25; Polyc. *Phil.* vi. 1) outside the N.T. occurs in later ecclesiastical writers, but neither in Jewish nor secular Greek nor in the Christianity of the second century. *ἀπροσωπολήμπτως* appears in 1 Peter i. 17; 1 Clem. i. 3; Barnabas iv. 12. The underlying phrase is both Hebrew *לִפְנֵי* and Aramaic *לְפָנֵי*. See Dalman, *Words of Jesus*, p. 30.

35. works righteousness] The phrase is not very explicit, for the question was very largely what righteousness is. It seems to imply that vague distinction between ceremonial and moral law which appears in later Christian literature in the discrimination between the Law, which means roughly the decalogue, accepted by Christians, and the *secundatio* (*δευτέρωσις*) rejected by Christians as a secondary enactment intended merely to punish the Jews for worshipping the golden calf. There is also a trace

of this distinction in the *Oracula Sibyllina* and in the theory sometimes found in Jewish circles that the righteous heathen may inherit the World to come if they obey the Noachian precepts (see Addit. Notes 8 and 17).

36 ff. the word, etc.] The difficulty of this sentence in the Neutral text is (1) absence of connecting particles, which produces a general impression that it is not Greek; (2) the construction of *Ἰησοῦν τὸν ἀπὸ Ναζαρέθ*, which seems to be in a very harsh apposition to *ῥῆμα*; (3) *ἀρξάμενος*, which is impossible to construe according to the usual rules of ordinary Greek.

(1) The first of these difficulties cannot be mitigated—the particles which ought to be there in any ordinary Greek sentence are absent. It is of course possible to adopt the Western text, which inserts *γάρ* after *λόγον*, but it is almost inconceivable that if this were original it would ever have been omitted by all the representatives of the B-text. It is also probably true that the words *τὸν λόγον ἀπέστειλεν* are a quotation from Ps. cvii. 20; failure to recognize this led not only to the insertion of *γάρ* but also to that of *ἐν*, and this in turn made it necessary to take *λόγον* as the object of *ὑμεῖς οἴδατε*, leaving *τὸ ῥῆμα* κτλ. without any verb, and making the whole sentence finally impossible. Transcriptionally the omission of *ἐν* would be far harder to understand than its insertion, for any casual reader would rather expect *τὸν λόγον* to be the emphatic object of some distant verb, and look for a relative between it and *ἀπέστειλεν*.

(2) The construction of *Ἰησοῦν κτλ.* is undoubtedly very harsh. But so is the use of *ῥῆμα* with the meaning of event, yet that is certainly Lucan (see note on vs. 37). I am, however, inclined to suspect that the original text may have been *μετὰ τὸ βάπτισμα δ' ἐβάπτισεν Ἰωάννης τὸν Ἰησοῦν κτλ.*,

of peace through Jesus Christ (he is Lord of all),—you know the 37 event which happened, throughout all Judaea, beginning from Galilee after the baptism which John preached, Jesus of Nazareth, how God anointed him with Holy Spirit and power, who went 38

and that this was changed to δ ἐκήρυξεν for doctrinal reasons. This would certainly improve the construction, and make ὡς ἔχρυσεν the content of τὸ ῥῆμα, as it ought to be, while by emphasizing in this connexion the baptism of Jesus by John it would soon be somewhat objectionable to Christian thought. It is, however, possible that Ἰησοῦν . . . ὡς ἔχρυσεν αὐτόν is merely a rather clumsy periphrasis for ὡς ἔχρυσεν Ἰησοῦν.

(3) The construction of ἀρξάμενος outside the sentence is a construction to which Luke xxiii. 5, xxiv. 47, and Acts i. 22 provide sufficient parallels (see Vol. III. p. 98). It has been claimed as a Semitism (cf. note on i. 22), but there is some evidence that the participle was used in a quasi-adverbial sense in contemporary Greek, and it has even been suggested that this use and the employment of an abbreviation may account for the grammatical confusion found in N.T. passages (Moulton-Milligan, *Vocabulary*, s.v.). It is noteworthy that whereas the Antiochian revisers felt this adverbial use of ἀρξάμενος was wrong, and corrected it to ἀρξάμενον, the earlier Western reviser felt no objection to the adverbial nominative, and retained ἀρξάμενος.

If these explanations be thought unsatisfactory, there is probably no remedy for the sentence except to emend it heroically on the lines suggested by Preuschen, who wishes to read τὸν λόγον ἀπέστειλε . . . Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. ὑμεῖς οἰδατε ὡς ἔχρυσεν κτλ., omitting the rest as a gloss on τὸν λόγον. But I should prefer in this case to retain the Lucan τὸ ῥῆμα and omit τὸν λόγον . . . Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ as a gloss on τὸ ῥῆμα by some scribe who had been struck by this way of interpreting Ps. cvii. 20.

It is worth noting that though the Western text puts in connecting particles and a relative pronoun, it does nothing which really makes a good

sentence. This is characteristic; for the Western reviser was a commentator, not a critic. He freely decorated intelligible passages, and added little scraps of elucidation, but really serious difficulties he left untouched. A critic, on the contrary, leaves intelligible sentences, and emends those which he fails to understand.

bringing the good news of peace] Is. lii. 7.

he is Lord of all] A very difficult phrase in this context. The οὗτος ought to refer to τὸν λόγον, not to Jesus or to God, therefore Blass once suggested emending κύριος to κοινός, and afterwards advocated rendering κύριος as an adjective, translating the phrase 'the word . . . holds good for all.' But κύριος would be very much out of place in the N.T. with this sense. It seems on the whole decidedly better to refer κύριος to Jesus, and to treat the phrase as an ejaculatory parenthesis. Nevertheless the expression does not seem to me to be unquestionably Lucan. See Addit. Note 29, § 4 end.

37. event] ῥῆμα in the sense of רִבְרָא = 'fact' or 'history' as well as word. Cf. Luke ii. 15 ἴδωμεν τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦτο τὸ γεγονός; cf. Luke ii. 17 and 19 for the variation of meaning.

38. anointed] The speech has the early Christology of Mark, which represents Jesus as becoming Christ at the baptism. But in ii. 36 Peter seems to suggest that Jesus became Christ at the Resurrection. Again, in iii. 12 ff. Peter seems to avoid using the word Christ until in connexion with the Passion and Resurrection. Finally, it is probable that Luke's own view was that Jesus was born Christ, because he was conceived by the Holy Spirit. It is these divergent points of view which suggest, though they do not prove, that Luke was using at least one and probably more than one source for the Petrine speeches in Acts. Possibly this verse may echo the language of Is. lx. 1, quoted in Luke iv. 18.

about doing good and healing all who were overpowered by the
 39 devil, because God was with him, and we are witnesses of all
 that he did both in the country of the Jews and in Jerusalem.
 40 Him whom they killed, hanging him on a tree—him God
 41 raised up on the third day, and made him become visible, not
 to all the People but to witnesses who had been appointed
 beforehand by God, namely to us, and we ate and drank
 42 with him after he rose from the dead. And he enjoined on us

doing good] *εὐεργετῶν*, possibly with reference to the royal title of Hellenistic kings—*εὐεργέτης*. (Cf. Luke xxii. 25.)

the devil] It is scarcely possible to over-emphasize the extent to which Jesus appeared to his immediate followers as the great conqueror of the devil and of demons. Not chiefly as a preacher of good conduct and high ethics—of which neither the Jewish nor the heathen world was ignorant—but as the triumphant conqueror over the source of evil does he appear in the Synoptic gospels. Still more is this true of Acts, the speeches in which must at least be regarded as representing the message about Jesus which the apostles were supposed to have delivered. It is surely remarkable in this connexion that in the Synoptic gospels the commission given to the disciples is so different—to announce the Kingdom of God and to call on men to repent—even though exorcism is included.

39. they killed] The *ὃν καὶ ἀνείλαν* does not continue the last sentence but is closely connected with the following *τοῦτον* which in English must be taken first. The *καὶ* before *ἀνείλαν* serves for emphasis and cannot be properly rendered by 'also'; it means rather 'they actually killed.'

a tree] In classical Greek *ξύλον* means 'wood' rather than a tree, but there is some evidence in the Papyri that *ξύλον* had popularly extended its meaning to cover trees as well as timber. A similar tendency can be noted in English. In the LXX it is used to translate *py* which means 'tree' as well as 'wood.' Here of course it means the cross, which was 'wood,' not a tree, and it is doubtful whether

it ought to be translated by tree, because that suggests the parallelism with the 'tree' of knowledge in the Garden of Eden (*τὸ ξύλον τοῦ εἰδέναι γνωστὸν καλοῦ καὶ πονηροῦ*). This parallelism was much pressed in later writers; but it is doubtful if it was present to the mind of the writer of Acts. Cf. note on v. 30.

40. the third day] The reading of D, *μετὰ τὴν τρίτην ἡμέραν*, is remarkable and may be original, as it is hard to see how it could have been introduced by any reviser.

made] *ἔδωκε* in this sense seems to be a Semitism. Cf. ii. 27 (= Ps. xvi. 10) and xiv. 3, *διδόντι σημεία . . . γίνεσθαι διὰ τῶν χειρῶν αὐτῶν*.

visible] This whole passage clearly refers back to i. 3, but Luke as usual (cf. J. H. Ropes, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, xii., 1901, pp. 299 ff.) varies his phrase and writes *ἐμφανῇ γενέσθαι* instead of *ὁπτανόμενος* (see note on i. 3).

41. witnesses] Cf. Luke xxiv. 48 and Acts i. 8.

ate and drank] The reference doubtless is to Luke xxiv. 13 ff. (the supper at Emmaus) and to Luke xxiv. 36 ff. (the eating of the fish). The emphasis on eating and drinking is doubtless antidocetic. There may be an allusion to Tobit xii. 19, where Raphael points out that he, being an angel, had never eaten or drunk. The Western text adds "and sojourned (*συνεστράφημεν*) with him for forty days." Inasmuch as *συναλιζόμενος* in i. 4 is often rendered by *convivens* (d) and *conversatus* (Augustine) and may be merely a variant spelling of *συναυλιζόμενος* (see note on i. 4), it is quite likely that *συνεστράφημεν* represents *συναλιζόμενος*.

to preach to the People and to testify that it is he who is ordained by God as judge of the living and the dead. To him all the 43 prophets bear witness that every one who believes on him receives remission of sins through his name."

While Peter was still speaking these words the Holy Spirit 44 fell on all who heard the Word. And the believers of the circum- 45 cision who had come with Peter were amazed that on the Gentiles as well the gift of the Holy Spirit had been poured out, for they 46 were hearing them speaking with tongues and glorifying God.

42. to preach] Cf. the Western text of i. 2 (see Vol. III. p. 2).

who is ordained by God as judge, etc.] i.e. the Son of Man (see Vol. I. pp. 368 ff.). The fact that 'the Man' of the Apocalypses when rendered *υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* was neither idiomatic nor intelligible led to the interpretation of the phrase by Hellenistic Christians in a manner remote from its original meaning (cf. the use of the phrase in the Fourth Gospel), and to the substitution of other phrases to indicate the functions attributed to Jesus as the 'Son of Man.' Among these 'judge of the living and the dead' was one of the best and most popular. It occurs in 1 Peter iv. 5; 2 Tim. iv. 1; Barnabas vii. 2; 2 Clem. i. 1; Polycarp, *Philipp.* ii. 1; Justin, *Dial.* 118. 1; *Symb. Apost.* etc. The origin of this form of thought is clear, for whatever doubt there may be as to the opinion of Jesus himself, there can be none that an unbroken tradition going back to his actual hearers identified him with the Son of Man of whose coming he had spoken and whose functions are accurately indicated in the passages quoted. But the problem seems likely to be insoluble why the unidiomatic *υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* was retained even by Luke in the gospel but abandoned by him in Acts in favour of a periphrasis, as here, or of *ἀνδρὶ*—idiomatically so correct—in xvii. 31 *ἔστησε ἡμέραν ἐν ᾗ μέλλει κρίνειν τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ ἐν ἀνδρὶ ᾧ ὤρισεν*. Obviously the reason is somehow connected with the authority of the Marcan tradition. But why was this tradition followed by Luke so rigidly on some

points, and so seriously changed on others?

43. prophets] The reference is doubtless to such passages as those quoted in Peter's speeches in chapters ii., iii., and iv. There is some difficulty in seeing where the prophets promised salvation to those who believed, but the difficulty is partly because we overlook that the emphasis is on *πάντα*—all, Jew or Gentile,—partly owing to our having a point of view influenced by the sequence Paul—Augustine—Calvin. This regards damnation as the natural fate of man, from which he is rescued by Faith and Grace. Acts is certainly quite ignorant of this, and merely means that those who do not accept the Christ will perish at the judgement. The concept is eschatological, not psychological or mystical. For 'salvation by the name' in this passage, Rev. xiv. 1, and xxii. 4 may be compared more legitimately than the Pauline doctrine of salvation by faith, though the Apocalypse is perhaps more material in its concepts than is Acts.

remission of sins] The reference is to Luke xxiv. 46 f. Cf. also Acts xvii. 30.

44. the Word] *τὸν λόγον* means the gospel message rather than merely Peter's speech, though linguistically this meaning is not impossible.

45. circumcision] Showing that the Christians in Joppa had been Jews.

46. tongues, etc.] Cf. ii. 11, and note how the Lucan tendency to vary the phrase while repeating the substance changes *λαλοῦντων . . . γλώσσαις τὰ μεγαλεῖα τοῦ θεοῦ* into *λαλοῦντων γλώσσαις καὶ μεγαλυνόντων τὸν θεόν*.

47 Then Peter answered, "Can anyone forbid the water that these should not be baptized, who received the Holy Spirit just as we did?" And he ordered them to be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ. Then they asked him to stay on for some days.

1 r And the apostles and the brethren who were in Judaea

47. Then] It is curious that here the Western text reads *εἶπεν δὲ ὁ ἱερεύς*, though in the next line it changes *προσέταξε δὲ τὸ τότε προσέταξε*. *τότε* is markedly characteristic of Matthew (see Hawkins, *Horae Synopticae*, p. 8). It is found more than twice as often in the Western text of Acts as in the Neutral. The distribution is as follows:

	Neutral	Western
i. 12	τότε	τότε
ii. 14	δέ	τότε
37	δέ	τότε
iv. 8	τότε	τότε
15	δέ	tunc
v. 19	δέ	τότε
26	τότε	τότε
vi. 11	τότε	τότε
vii. 4	τότε	τότε
26	τε	τότε
viii. 17	τότε	τότε
ix. 17	δέ	τότε?
x. 21	δέ	τότε
23	οὖν	τότε
46	τότε	δέ
48	δέ	τότε
48	τότε	τότε
xi. 26	τε	τότε
xii. 11	καὶ	tunc?
xiii. 3	τότε	τότε
12	τότε	δέ
xiv. 20	δέ	tunc
xv. 22	τότε	τότε
39	τε	τότε
xvi. 22	καὶ	τότε
xviii. 6	..	tunc
xix. 9	..	τότε
15	δέ	τότε
21	..	τότε
xxi. 13	τότε	δέ
26	τότε	τότε
33	τότε	τότε
xxii. 27	δέ	τότε
29	οὖν	τότε
xxiii. 3	τότε	..
xxv. 12	τότε	..
21	δέ	tunc
xxvi. 1	τότε	tunc?
xxvii. 21	τότε	τότε?
32	τότε	..
42	δέ	tunc?

baptized] There can of course be no doubt that this is part of the original text of Acts. The editor certainly regarded baptism as essential. For the reasons for doubting whether it was part of the source of Acts, and for regarding it as editorial, see Vol. I. pp. 340 ff.

48. he ordered] It is curious that here and in viii. 12 the passive form is used. Combining this with 1 Cor. i. 17, 'Christ sent me not to baptize, but to preach the gospel,' it has been assumed that the apostles did not baptize their converts personally. This seems a precarious inference.

in the name of Jesus Christ] Apparently the oldest baptismal formula, afterward replaced in church custom by the Trinitarian formula. It is found in viii. 16 and xix. 5 with the variant *εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ*. (See Addit. Note 11.)

1-18. These verses present the first extensive illustration of the author's favourite method of repeating in a speech the content of an earlier narrative. Some repetition has already occurred in x. 22, 28, 30-32. As usual in such cases the author varies his expression, sometimes apparently on purpose, but shows an identity of construction, which suggests the same habit of thought, rather than an imitator working on an original. Compare the attachment of *τῆς γῆς* to *τὰ ἐρπετά* in x. 12, and to *τὰ τετράποδα* in xi. 6, the curious *ἀκοῦσαι ῥήματα παρὰ σοῦ* in x. 22 with *λαλεῖν ῥήματα πρὸς σέ κτλ.* in xi. 14; the reply of Peter *μηδαμῶς, κύριε, ὅτι οὐδέποτε ἔφαγον πᾶν κοινὸν καὶ ἀκάθαρτον* with the parallel reply, equally Semitic though variant, *μηδαμῶς, κύριε, ὅτι κοινὸν ἢ ἀκάθαρτον οὐδέποτε εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸ στόμα μου*. The words of the voice before and after this reply are exactly the same in the two accounts. The coming of the Spirit while Peter was still speaking (x. 44) and when he began to speak (xi. 15) constitutes a contradiction of

heard that the Gentiles also had received the word of God. And when Peter went up to Jerusalem those of the circumcision² argued with him, saying, "Why did you go in to men who were³

form rather than of thought. That the words of xi. are adapted to Peter as speaker is shown by such differences as the personal and vivid *καὶ ἦλθεν ἄχρι ἐμοῦ· εἰς ἣν ἀπενίστας κατενόουν καὶ εἶδον κτλ.* (cf. the colourless *ἐν ᾧ ὑπῆρχεν* of x. 12) and the self-defending attitude of Peter in xi. 16, 17. As usual also the second version not only omits details that the first version gives (it is in this case much briefer) but adds new details, as in vs. 12 the exact number (ἑξ) of the "certain of the brethren from Joppa" (x. 23) who accompanied Peter to Caesarea, and apparently the fact that they went with him to Jerusalem. On the other hand two small points indicate that the second account takes for granted a knowledge of the earlier narrative: (a) its use of the article in 12f. *τοῦ ἀνδρός . . . τὸν ἀγγέλου*, though this might possibly be explained as a reference to the special angel who lays prayers and alms before God (see note on x. 4); (b) except on the theory of a conscious allusion to the former narrative it is strange that Cornelius is not mentioned before this in Peter's account, and not mentioned at all by name.

1. apostles, etc.] The Western text rewrites and expands thus: "And it became known to the apostles and to the brethren who were in Judaea that the Gentiles also had received the word of God." Apparently this is taken as the end of the last paragraph, for the next sentence begins *ὁ μὲν οὖν* and goes on, "So then Peter, after a long time, wished to go to Jerusalem, and calling the brethren and having strengthened them, he departed (so Syr hl, see Vol. III. p. 103), speaking much throughout the country and teaching them, and he met them (the Jerusalem representatives) and reported to them the grace of God. But the brethren of the circumcision disputed with him, saying, 'You went in to uncircumcised men and ate with them.'" Besides this complete rewriting there seem to be rather more than the usual number of small

verbal changes in the context, so that the text almost seems to approach the completely free retelling of the story found in the *Didascalia*. One purpose of the expansion of vss. 1 and 2 is perhaps a desire to emphasize the parallel to xv. 3, possibly also to minimize the suggestion that Peter was recalled to Jerusalem to answer to the Church.

3. Why did you go in, etc.] The reading and translation are not quite certain. Some good manuscripts have the third person in the verbs: *εἰσῆλθεν . . . καὶ συνέφαγεν*. See Vol. III. *ad loc.* If with Ropes we adopt *λέγοντες* *ὅτι εἰσῆλθες . . . καὶ συνέφαγες*, three alternatives are possible. The first two, taking *ὅτι* as recitative introducing direct discourse, render the clause (a) as a statement, "saying, You went in," etc.; or (b) as a question, "saying, Did you go in?" etc. The third alternative is that *ὅτι* is equivalent to a direct interrogative. This construction is used as a direct interrogative in Mark ix. 11, 28 (see Field, *Notes*, p. 33), and probably elsewhere (in Mark ii. 16, Hermas, Barnabas, etc., see Grimm-Thayer, s.v. *ὅστις* 4, and C. H. Turner, *JTS*. xxvii. (1925) 58 ff.). This view has been adopted in the translation, as it suits the context here, and it is not improbable that Luke used the construction himself as well as knew it in Mark, though grammars, lexica, and commentaries do not mention any instance in his writings. For the complaint as well as the construction compare Luke xix. 7 *καὶ ἰδόντες πάντες διεγόγγυζον λέγοντες ὅτι παρὰ ἁμαρτωλῷ ἀνδρὶ εἰσῆλθεν καταλῦσαι*; xv. 2 *διεγόγγυζον οἱ τε Φαρισαῖοι καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς λέγοντες ὅτι οὗτος ἁμαρτωλοῖς προσδέχεται καὶ συνεσθίει αὐτοῖς*. See also Mark ii. 16, where, in place of *ὅτι*, *ἰδὼν* and the parallels in Matt. ix. 11 and Luke v. 30 read *διὰ τί*. Possibly this curious construction should be regarded as not strictly an interrogative, but the enunciation of a difficult or surprising statement followed by 'what about it?' understood. Cf. *JBL*. xlviii., 1929, pp. 423 ff.

4 uncircumcised and eat with them?" But Peter began and
5 explained to them as follows, saying, "I was in the city of Joppa
praying, and in a trance I saw a vision, an object coming
down, like a great sheet let down by four corners from the sky,
6 and it came straight to me. And I gazed at it and considered
it and saw the quadrupeds of the earth and the wild beasts
7 and the reptiles and the birds of the sky. And I heard a
8 voice saying to me, 'Rise, Peter, kill and eat.' And I said,
'Not so, Lord, because anything common or unclean never entered
9 into my mouth.' And a voice answered a second time from
the sky, 'What God made clean do not you count common.'
10 And this happened three times, and everything was drawn up
11 again into the sky. And behold, immediately three men stood
12 by the house in which I was, sent from Caesarea to me. And
the Spirit told me to go with them without any hesitation.

uncircumcised] *ἐχόντες ἀκροβυστίαν*, as in Gen. xxxiv. 14, not *ἀπεριτμητοί*, which is generally found in the LXX and papyri and Acts vii. 51. *ἀκροβυστία* is not found in pagan writings, but is fairly common in the LXX, Paul, and later Christian writings. Possibly it is a corruption of *ἀκροποσθία*.

eat with them] It is again noteworthy that the complaint against Peter is not that he preached to but that he dined with the heathen. The question of circumcision as a necessary preliminary to being accepted in the Christian Church is not raised. It is, however, surely certain that the two points cannot have been discussed separately, and in Acts xv. the story of Cornelius is obviously taken as bearing on the question of circumcision. This difficulty is largely overcome if we accept the suggestion made in Vol. II. pp. 156 f., and hold that Peter's journey to Jerusalem from Caesarea and Paul's from Antioch were made at the same time, so that the discussions of Acts xi. and Acts xv. really refer to the same gathering in Jerusalem. (See also Additional Note 16.)

4. began] See notes on i. 1 and x. 36.

as follows] See Vol. II. pp. 504 f.

6. beasts] It is difficult to say what is the difference between *τετράποδα* and *θηρία*. In some dialects of modern Greek *θηρίον* is said to mean especially a serpent, and in antiquity it was often used of serpents, as by this writer in Acts xxviii. 5. But here it seems to be rather a superfluous alternative to *τετράποδα* to express that group in the common classification of living things which is neither bird nor serpent (fish are not in view in this passage). The explanation is probably to be found in the influence of Gen. i. 24 f. *καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεός, Ἐξαγαγέτω ἡ γῆ ψυχὴν ζῶσαν κατὰ γένος, τετράποδα καὶ ἔρπετά καὶ θηρία τῆς γῆς κατὰ γένος, καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως. καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὰ θηρία τῆς γῆς κατὰ γένος καὶ τὰ κτήνη κατὰ γένος καὶ πάντα τὰ ἔρπετά τῆς γῆς κατὰ γένος αὐτῶν· καὶ ἶδεν ὁ θεὸς ὅτι καλὰ.* It is clear that in this passage *τετράποδα* καὶ *θηρία* in the first verse correspond to *κτήνη* and *θηρία* in the second verse, and the distinction is between wild and domesticated animals.

11. stood by] Or perhaps *ἐπέστησαν ἐπὶ*, both here and in x. 17, should be rendered 'came up to the house.'

12. without any hesitation] The

And there also came with me these six brethren, and we went into the house of the man. And he reported to us how he saw ¹³ the angel standing in his house and saying, 'Send to Joppa and fetch Simon surnamed Peter, who will speak words to you by ¹⁴ which shall be saved you and all your house.' And as I began ¹⁵ to speak, the Holy Spirit fell on them just as it did on us at the beginning, and I remembered the word of the Lord, how he ¹⁶ said, 'John baptized with water, but you shall be baptized in Holy Spirit.' If then God gave just the same gift to them as to us on ¹⁷ believing on the Lord Jesus Christ, who was I to be able to

B-text reads *μηδὲν διακρίναντα* here instead of *μηδὲν διακρινόμενον* as in x. 20. This may be rendered (a) 'making no distinction' (i.e. between Jews and Gentiles), for which idea the context and the use of the phrase *οὐδὲν διέκρινεν* (sc. ὁ θεός) in xv. 9, referring to this incident, give sufficient warrant, or (b) we may suppose that Luke meant by the active just what he meant by the middle, 'without hesitation,' though in his favourite habit of varying his expressions he has not used the verb idiomatically. More nearly synonymous with *μηδὲν διακρινόμενον* was the adverb *ἀνατιρήτως* of x. 29. The Antiochian text apparently took this view and emended *διακρίναντα* to *διακρινόμενον*. The Western text omits the whole phrase, and it may be a Western non-interpolation. It is characteristic of Luke that yet another use of the same verb (=dispute) in the middle voice is found in vs. 2.

six] The number is not given in chap. x. Luke usually makes the number of delegates two; see note on ix. 38. Even in x. 7 we have two servants and a soldier, which make *τρεῖς ἄνδρες*. At x. 19 these are referred to as *ἄνδρες*, *ἄνδρες τρεῖς* in different mss., and even as *ἄνδρες δύο* in B. See Vol. III. *ad loc.* The six brethren with Peter would make the seven witnesses, which is the number sometimes required on Egyptian documents. Compare the seven seals of Roman law which reappear in Rev. v. 1 and in *Evang. Petri* 8.

15. at the beginning] Referring to Pentecost, and parallel to x. 44, which

echoes the language of chap. ii. instead of referring to its events.

16. I remembered] Referring to Acts i. 5. But why, if Peter remembered this, did he at once order Cornelius to be baptized in water? It is noticeable that he does not say that he did so (see Vol. I. pp. 340 ff.). Did the author, who narrates this baptism in x. 48, omit it here because he saw the inconsistency of mentioning Christian water-baptism in connexion with the logion of Jesus or John on Spirit-baptism? The expression *ἐμνήσθην δὲ τοῦ ῥήματος τοῦ κυρίου ὡς ἔλεγεν* should be noted as resembling the formula used for quoting the sayings of Jesus in xx. 35 and in other early Christian writings mentioned in the note there. This saying is really not attributed in the gospels to Jesus but to John the Baptist.

with water . . . in Holy Spirit] *ὕδατι . . . ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ*. The contrast between water and spirit occurs three times in Luke-Acts, and once each in the other gospels. Luke consistently puts *ὕδατι* as a simple dative but uses *ἐν* with *πνεύματι ἁγίῳ*. Mark probably wrote *ὕδατι . . . πνεύματι* (though there is some textual variation in Mark i. 8) and Matthew wrote *ἐν ὕδατι . . . ἐν πνεύματι*. These variations are doubtless stylistic and have no importance for interpretation.

17. who was I, etc.] It is easier to grasp the meaning than to analyse the construction of the Greek—*ἐγὼ τίς ἦμην δυνατός*; apparently it is a mixture of two questions—(a) Who was I to thwart God? and (b) Could I thwart God?

18 thwart God?" And when they heard this, they stopped and glorified God, saying, "Why, to the Gentiles too did God give repentance unto life."

19 So then they who were scattered after the persecution which arose in connexion with Stephen journeyed to Phoenicia and Cyprus and Antioch, speaking the word to none except only to

18. stopped] *ἡσύχασαν* is perhaps to desist rather than to be silent, though of course there is no real difference in meaning (cf. xxi. 14 and xv. 12). They stopped their objections (*διακρίνεσθαι*) and began to glorify God.

glorified God] Perhaps in the Jewish sense of admitting or confessing (cf. John ix. 24), but the phrase is frequent in Luke in the plain sense of 'praised God for what he had done,' and is as appropriate here as after miracles of healing. Cf. xxi. 20.

19 ff. THE ANTIOCHIAN NARRATIVE. If Harnack's very probable suggestion be correct, this section lay before Luke in a written form (source A, see Vol. II. pp. 151 ff.). It clearly refers back to viii. 1, and consists of three chief episodes.

(a) xi. 19-26. The evangelization of Antioch, including the Gentile population, by those who had suffered in the persecution of Stephen, and the accession of Barnabas and Paul to their work. This passage reads more like a summary than a full extract from a written source.

(b) xi. 27-30. The famine-relief mission of Judaea, undertaken at the instigation of prophets from Jerusalem. This also reads like a summary. It may be the Antiochian doublet of the Jerusalem version of the same events, given in xv. 1 ff. (see Vol. II. pp. 153 ff. and Addit. Note 16). After finishing this the editor inserts a final section from the Jerusalem-Peter tradition in xii. 1-25, but the last verse (xii. 25) may be a rather clumsy repetition of xi. 30 (see note *ad loc.*).

(c) xiii. 1-xiv. 28. The first missionary enterprise of the Antiochian Church. This reads as though it

were an extract from a source, except perhaps the opening verses xiii. 1-3.

Antioch is here dealt with on the same system as the Church in Caesarea: the story is told so as to lead up to the fact that Christianity was preached to Gentiles, and that on consideration the Church at Jerusalem accepted the situation. The phrasing of this verse—*οἱ μὲν οὖν διασπαρέντες*—repeats viii. 4, and clearly refers to *διεσπάρησαν* in viii. 1. Harnack and others (see Vol. II. pp. 126 f. and 147 ff.) have therefore grouped vi. 6-viii. 3 with xi. 19 ff., and Harnack has argued that vi. 6-viii. 3 must be Antiochian inasmuch as xi. 19 ff. clearly belongs to Antioch.

But the facts, especially the repetition of *οἱ μὲν οὖν διασπαρέντες*, only show that Luke was conscious that the story of Antioch which begins with xi. 19 is not continuous with the story of Judaea (Caesarea) and Samaria, which begins with viii. 4, but parallel to it, and he indicates this by a deliberate repetition of phrase. *Οἱ διασπαρέντες* may belong either to the Antiochian or the Caesarean source, but *μὲν οὖν* is characteristic of the editor, and the *διασπαρέντες* both in viii. 4 and xi. 19 may be merely editorial references to *διεσπάρησαν* in viii. 1.

19. Antioch] Antioch on the Orontes. It was situated about fifteen miles from the coast, where the Orontes breaks through the hills. It was built partly on an island in the river, but mostly on the northern bank and on the slopes of the hill behind it. It was founded by Seleucus Nicator (Josephus, *c. Apion.* ii. 4) in the year 300 B.C., and to it were transferred the inhabitants of Antigonía which had been built by Antigonus a little higher up the river seven years earlier. Strabo (p. 750) gives a full account of

Jews. And some of them were Cypriotes and Cyrenians who came to Antioch and were speaking also to the Hellenists, bringing the good news of Jesus as the Lord. And the hand of the Lord

the city in his own time. He says that it was a combination of four cities, each with its own wall. The first contained the population of Antiochia, the second was the settlement of Seleucus Nicator, the third was added by Seleucus Callinicus (246-226 B.C.), and the last, on the side of the hill (Mt. Silpius), was added by Antiochus Epiphanes (175 B.C.). Round the whole of these four cities was a great wall including an area larger than that of Rome. Between the four cities ran two main streets which crossed each other obliquely.

Five miles from Antioch was Daphne, the seat of a cult of Apollo and Artemis, and so famous that Antioch itself was often called ἡ ἐπὶ Δάφνῃ, which is the origin of Tacitus's reference (*Annals* ii. 83) to a city called Epidaphna. The port of the city was Seleucia (Acts xiii. 4), 16 miles from Antioch, which was also founded by Seleucus Nicator. Pompey made Antioch a free city, and it became the seat of the prefect and the capital of the Roman province of Syria. Herod the Great gave the city a marble-paved street, which can still be traced. According to Josephus (*B.J.* iii. 2. 4) it was the third city in the Roman Empire, inferior only to Rome and Alexandria. Its reputation, however, was remarkably bad; *Daphnici mores* were a byword, and Juvenal (*Sat.* iii. 62) speaks of the Orontes flowing into the Tiber when he wishes to describe the invasion of Rome by eastern superstition and profligacy. It had a large Jewish colony, with many proselytes—an important fact for the spread of Christianity (Josephus, *B.J.* vii. 3. 3, and cf. Nicolas, a proselyte of Antioch, in vi. 5). Tradition associates it with the name of Peter, who is said to have been its first bishop. Early in the second century its bishop was Ignatius, who was sent to Rome as a martyr. [The best modern sources of information are E. S. Bouchier, *A Short History of Antioch 300 B.C.-1268 A.D.*, and (for Antioch in early Christian

history) K. Bauer, *Antiochia in der ältesten Kirchengeschichte*; the articles in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, in the *Encyc. Bibl.*, and in Cabrol's *Diction. d'archéologie chrétienne*, s.v. Antioch, and Baedeker's *Palestine*, but there is much information and references to early literature in K. O. Müller, *Antiquitates Antiochenae*, 1839, and a description of the city in Renan's *Les Apôtres*, pp. 215 ff.]

19, 20. Jews . . . Hellenists] The text is doubtful (see note in Vol. III. p. 106) but the meaning is clear. The first missionaries in Antioch preached only to Jews, that is to born Jews, whether Aramaic or Greek-speaking, and to Jews by adoption, or proselytes. But some of the Cypriote and Cyrenaeans Christians began to preach to the heathen as well. The question is which word was used in vs. 20 to describe heathen—"Ἕλληνας or Ἑλληνιστάς. If the meaning of Ἑλληνιστάς were at all certain the matter would be different, but it is not (see Addit. Note 7). Later tradition, at least since the time of Chrysostom, expounded Ἑλληνιστάς in vi. 1 as 'Greek-speaking Jews,' and therefore the whole textual tendency was to read Ἕλληνας here. But that is a strong argument for the originality of Ἑλληνιστάς, which however must mean 'heathen,' for they are contrasted with Ἰουδαῖοι, which covers both Greek- and Aramaic-speaking Jews.

20. Cypriotes and Cyrenians] It would be natural to see in these words a reference to Lucius the Cyrenian and to Barnabas the Cypriote (iv. 36) mentioned in xiii. 1, but it should be noted against this that Barnabas cannot be intended by 'Cypriotes,' as he did not come to Antioch until afterwards.

The list of names in xiii. 1, since it includes Barnabas, is not confined to the original preachers in Antioch. Simon the Cyrenian in Mark xv. 21 is an instance of a Cyrenian in Palestine. Cf. too the reference in vi. 9 to Cyrenians, and see note *ad loc.*

Jesus as the Lord] 'The Lord Jesus'

was with them, and a great number which believed turned to
 22 the Lord. And the report was heard about them in the ears of
 the church which was in Jerusalem, and they sent out Barnabas
 23 to Antioch. And when he arrived and saw the grace of God, he
 was glad and exhorted all to remain in the Lord in the purpose
 24 of their hearts, because he was a good man and full of Holy
 Spirit and faith. And a large multitude was added to the Lord.
 26 And he departed to Tarsus to look for Saul, and when he found

is an equally possible translation, but in English does not sufficiently bring out in this passage the fact that the message of 'good news' was the lordship of Jesus. This distinguishes very clearly the evolution of preaching. In the first stage the 'good news' was the coming of the Kingdom of God; this was the message of Jesus himself. In the second stage it was that Jesus was 'the Man' ordained to be judge of the living and the dead: this was the preaching of the disciples to the Jews. The third stage was the announcement that Jesus was the κύριος, which doubtless included the Jewish message, which Peter delivered to Cornelius, but must also have meant much more to heathen minds, and had connotations quite different from anything contemplated by Jewish-Christian preachers. (See notes on x. 36 and 38.)

21. hand of the Lord] Probably the O.T. phrase meaning God, and with no reference to 'Lord' as applied to Jesus.

turned to the Lord] Doubtless Jesus, in spite of the awkwardness of giving it a different meaning from the previous verse.

22. which was] τῆς οὐσης ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ presents no difficulty, but see note on v. 17.

sent out] ἐξαπέστειλαν, 'made their apostle.' Barnabas is sent out to investigate in Antioch as Peter did in Samaria in chap. viii.

23. the grace] The play on the words in the Greek defies translation (χάριν . . . ἐχάρη), and may be unintentional. Cf. James i. 1 f. ἰάκωβος . . . χαίρειν. πᾶσαν χαρὰν ἡγήσασθε κτλ.

exhorted] παρεκάλει, probably with

a reference to the etymology of his name given in iv. 36 (see note *ad loc.*).

in the Lord] The text is not quite certain. Breads προσμένειν ἐν τῷ κυρίῳ, but the other Neutral authorities and the Western text omit ἐν. The difference of meaning, if any, is very slight. Should ἐν τῷ κυρίῳ be represented by 'in the Lord' and τῷ κυρίῳ by 'with the Lord'? It is noticeable that in xiii. 43 we have προσμένειν τῇ χάριτι, and it is difficult to see how to translate this except 'remain in the grace of God.'

in the purpose of their hearts] πρόθεσις τῆς καρδίας is a curious phrase, found only in Symmachus's rendering of Ps. x. 17. If ἐν τῷ κυρίῳ were read we might translate 'to hold fast to their hearts' purpose in the Lord,' but ἐν is probably to be omitted (see Vol. III. pp. 106 f.). Or is it possible that τῇ προθ. τ. καρδίας merely means 'with determination'?

24. added to the Lord] B omits 'to the Lord,' but this is probably merely an accidental error. The scribe seems to have been tired at this point, for in the next line he wrote ἀναστήσαι by mistake for ἀναζητῆσαι. For προσετέθη τῷ κυρίῳ cf. v. 14 and the note on it.

25. Tarsus] According to Acts ix. 30 Paul went there after his first visit to Jerusalem. If the chronology in Gal. i.-ii. be correct (i.e. if '14' be not a primitive textual error) this was some years ago, though it is impossible to reckon the period exactly.

look for] ἀναζητῆσαι. Can this mean that the writer of Acts thought that Saul was not preaching at this time? According to Galatians there was an interval of many years between Paul's going to Tarsus and his second visit to

him he brought him to Antioch. And it happened to them that they were entertained in the church for a whole year, and taught a large multitude, and that in Antioch the disciples were called Christians for the first time.

And during these days prophets came down from Jerusalem ²⁷ to Antioch. And one of them named Agabus stood up and ²⁸

Jerusalem, and Acts certainly suggests that this visit of Barnabas to Antioch was only a short time before the second visit. The general impression made by Acts would certainly not be that there is an interval of 14, or even 11, years between Acts ix. 30 and xi. 30.

26. entertained] συναχθῆναι might mean 'were gathered together,' but 'to be taken in as a guest' is somewhat more probable. Cf. Matt. xxv. 35 ff.; Deut. xxii. 2, etc. The real difference in meaning is in any case small.

were called] The active form χρηματίζω often has this passive meaning of 'be called.' There are only a few late examples of its transitive sense which in this passage would mean that Paul and Barnabas styled the disciples Christians for the first time in Antioch. These uses of χρηματίζω, 'call,' or 'be called,' are so independent of the meaning 'receive an oracle' (x. 22 note) that J. H. Moulton, *Grammar of N.T. Greek*, ii. p. 265, regards them as "two entirely distinct words, the former from χρέματα 'business'—cf. our phrase 'trading as X. & Co.'; the latter from an equivalent of χρησμός 'oracle.'"

Christians] The termination -ιστὸς is a Latinism, and is used to express partisans, so Ἡρωδιανοί, Πομπειανοί, etc. Doubtless that is its meaning here, and it implies that χριστός was already taken by the Gentile population as a proper name—a custom to which Christians surprisingly soon submitted, as is shown by Paul's use of the word. (See further Additional Note 30 for the various names used by the early Christians, and cf. Mommsen, *Hermes*, xxxiv. (1899), pp. 151 ff., Blass (on the spelling χριστός), *Hermes*, xxx. (1895), pp. 465 ff., and the articles by S. C. Gayford in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*,

and by P. W. Schmiedel in the *Encyclopaedia Biblica*.)

27. prophets] See Vol. I. pp. 305 ff. Few things are more necessary for an understanding of early Christianity than a perception of the fact that it was essentially a prophetic movement. προφήτης or προφητεύειν is used by Luke of Jesus and John the Baptist, of Silas and Judas (xv. 32), of five other Christians at Antioch (xiii. 1), of Philip's daughters at Caesarea (xxi. 8), and once more of Agabus (xxi. 10).

28. Agabus] See also xxi. 10, where Agabus warns Paul of his approaching imprisonment in Jerusalem. Note that in xxi. 10 he is called ὀνόματι Ἀγαβος, as if he had not been mentioned before—possibly another sign that Acts has not been finally (or carefully) revised.

The name does not occur elsewhere unless it be identified with Hagab in the list of Ezra ii. 46 = Neh. vii. 48 = 1 Esdras v. 30 (cf. also Hagabah in the same contexts). The etymology and breathing are uncertain. (See Klostermann, *Probleme im Aposteltexte*, p. 10; Hort, *Introduction to the New Testament*, § 408.)

stood up] The Western text reads, "and there was much rejoicing, and when we had been in conversation together, one of them," etc. This is the first 'we' passage (see Vol. II. pp. 158 ff.) in any text. If it is genuine it connects the beginning of the document in the first person used by the editor of Acts—whether he was himself the writer or not is here immaterial—with Antioch. If, as is more likely, it is not genuine, it is equally important. The reviser who inserted it clearly thought Acts belonged to Antioch. He probably lived in the middle of the second century. Is there anywhere else as early evidence for the connexion of Acts or its author with Antioch? See Vol. II. pp. 247 ff.

made known by the Spirit that a great famine would be over
 29 all civilization, which happened in the time of Claudius. And
 the disciples, in proportion as any had means, each of them
 arranged for a mission to send to the brethren dwelling in
 30 Judaea. And this they actually did, sending it to the elders by
 the hand of Barnabas and Saul.

made known] ἐσήμαινον. Though
 σημαίνω often refers to straightforward
 declaration (cf. xxv. 27), a more enig-
 matic method of prophecy may be
 indicated. In connexion with the re-
 peated σημαίνω ποίῳ θανάτῳ ἡμελλεν
 ἀποθνήσκειν (John xii. 33, xviii. 32, cf.
 xxi. 19; Rev. i. 1) W. Bauer in Lietz-
 mann's *Handbuch* on John xii. 33 finds
 evidence in extra-biblical writings
 (Epictet. i. 17, 18 f.; Josephus, *Antiq.*
 vii. 9. 5, § 214, x. 11. 3, § 241) that
 σημαίνω is a "terminus technicus für
 die nur andeutende Rede des Orakel-
 spenders." Heraclitus is quoted in
 Plutarch, *De Pyth. orac.* 21 p. 404 E,
 as saying of the Delphic oracle οὔτε
 λέγει, οὔτε κρύπτει, ἀλλὰ σημαίνει.
 Other aspects of divine revelation are
 expressed equally idiomatically in
 Acts. See the notes on χρηματίζειν
 x. 22 and ἀποφθέγγεσθαι ii. 4. (Cf.
 the prophecy in Pharaoh's dreams and
 of Agabus in xxi. 10.)

famine] Of course there was no
 famine over all the world under
 Claudius. There never has been a
 world-wide famine. But the evidence
 of Suetonius (*Claudius* xix.) and
 Tacitus (*Ann.* xii. 43) shows that
 widespread famine was a feature of
 the reign of Claudius. Moreover, the
 real meaning of the evidence collected
 by Schwartz, *Gött. Nachr.*, 1907, 'Zur
 Chronologie des Paulus,' is that the
 famine probably started in Palestine
 (Josephus, *Antiq.* iii. 15. 3; xx. 2. 5;
 xx. 5. 2).

all civilization] Either a natural
 exaggeration, or possibly a Semitism
 for Palestine, 'the whole land.' The
 former seems more probable. It is
 very hard to translate οἰκουμένη.
 Literally, of course, it means the
 inhabited world, but it is a political
 rather than a geographical phrase.
 It almost—but not quite—equals 'the
 Roman Empire,' or 'the civilized

world.' Certainly anyone trying to
 translate 'throughout civilization'
 into Greek might do worse than
 render it κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην. Torrey,
 however (p. 21), thinks that an
 Aramaic source read כְּכָל הָאָרֶץ = 'all the
 land' in accordance with the custom
 of calling Judaea 'the land,' but the
 translator took 'land' in a wider
 sense. Torrey thinks that the same
 mistake was made in Luke ii. 1 where
 πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην is used.

Claudius] The mention of Claudius
 may be taken as an implication (a)
 that the prophecy was made before
 the time of Claudius, (b) that the
 author was writing after his reign.
 (See also Additional Note 34.)

29. arranged] ὥρισαν probably
 means that they fixed the amount
 that they would send, rather than
 decided to send undefined assistance.
 πέμψαι should be regarded as explana-
 tory of διακονίαν rather than directly
 governed by ὥρισαν, for κρίνω is the
 author's word for 'decide' with an
 infinitive, whereas ὀρίζω does not
 seem to take this construction. (See
 Field, *Notes, ad loc.*) Or perhaps
 ὥρισαν indicates the joint resolve on
 a total sum—what is called in America
 'the goal' of a 'drive.'

mission] The general term διακονία
 was perhaps beginning to have
 a special usage as an undertaking
 for financial relief. Cf. xii. 25; Rom.
 xv. 31; 2 Cor. viii. 4, etc. In accord-
 ance with this and the preceding
 note the whole passage would mean,
 "But the disciples fixed each of them
 upon an amount, proportionate to
 the means any had, for a relief fund
 to send to the brethren dwelling in
 Judaea."

30. And this they actually did]
 This seems to be Paul's second visit
 to Jerusalem, for it is surely futile to
 argue that Judaea is not Jerusalem.

And at that time Herod the king attempted to ill-treat some 12

On the question of this visit see Vol. II. pp. 271 ff., and see Additional Note 16. It is customary to find a 'strange assonance' (Loisy) or even actual dependence between this passage and Paul's reference to the request the 'pillars' made of him to remember the poor, *ὁ καὶ ἐσπούδασα αὐτὸ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι* (Gal. ii. 10). But the use of *ὁ* in reference to a whole sentence and of *ποιῶ* to a preceding verb must have been independently natural to both writers (cf. Acts xxvi. 10 *ὁ καὶ ἐποίησα*). The unemphatic character of the simple relative was often strengthened by *καί*, especially when, as in these cases, it had no single nominal antecedent (cf. Col. i. 29 *εἰς ὁ καὶ κοπιῶ*, and see H. J. Cadbury, *JBL*. xlii. (1923), p. 157).

elders] The heads of the Church at Jerusalem. Wellhausen (*Noten*, p. 6) thinks that this means the 'twelve.' But it is noticeable that in xi. 22 the twelve are not mentioned. Barnabas is sent by *τῆς οὔσης ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἐκκλησίας*. It is possible that the twelve were away, and that the elders with James at their head were the heads of the local Church. In xxi. 18 also only James is mentioned in Jerusalem with the elders, while in chap. xv. it is always 'apostles and elders' at Jerusalem. But if we assume the entire absence of the apostles at this time it seems to prevent our identifying this occasion with the visit in Gal. ii. 1 ff. when Peter and John were there as well as James, who is however significantly placed first. (See also Addit. Note 6.)

xii. 1-25. PETER'S IMPRISONMENT AND THE DEATH OF HEROD. The editor here returns to the tradition of Jerusalem, and seems in the last verse to indicate a synchronism by mentioning the mission to Jerusalem of Barnabas and Saul, which is the last item in the preceding part of the Antiochian section. Unfortunately the text of that verse is obscure (see note *ad loc.*), but if we accept the reading which on general principles has the best attestation, it would seem that he repeated the substance of xi. 30 in xii. 25, in

order to indicate the synchronism of these two verses, and not noticing the difficulty caused by his immediately going back to the Antiochian tradition, which he resumes in xiii. 1.

For the possibility that the Caesarean-Peter story in ix. 32 ff. ought to follow xii. 25, instead of being in its present position, see Vol. II. pp. 156 ff.

1. at that time] Such general references are sometimes only editorial marks showing that the author is using a detached incident and has no real knowledge of its date. They are, in short, paragraph marks rather than genuine synchronisms. The pericopes in the gospels often begin in this way. See K. L. Schmidt, *Der Rahmen der Geschichte Jesu*, p. 192 *et al.* Cf. Mark viii. 1; Matt. *passim*; Acts xix. 23 *κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκείνον*. But more often *κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν καιρὸν* and similar phrases are used by historians, notably by Eusebius, to indicate a general synchronism. As a rule, though not invariably, they imply that the narrator is going back to pick up another thread of his story. This would agree here with the probability that the famine mentioned in xi. 27 ff. came after the death of Herod. The writer, beginning with viii. 4, describes the work done by the Christians who were scattered after the death of Stephen in Caesarea and in Antioch down to a time a little later than the death of Herod. He first takes Caesarea, and then Antioch. He then returns and picks up the thread of events in Jerusalem. In so doing I suspect that he overlooked the fact that xii. 1-17 is the chronological antecedent of ix. 32 ff. He did so because in ix. 32 ff. he was dealing with the Caesarean story, and in xii. 1 ff. with the story of Jerusalem. See also Vol. II. pp. 156 ff.

Herod the king] Herod Agrippa I. See Vol. I. pp. 14-25 for an account of his career.

attempted] It is doubtful whether this is really the right translation, though Blass adopts it. There is no parallel for it in the N.T., which uses *ἐπιβάλλω* meaning 'arrest' or 'seize.' This may be its significance here, but

2 of those of the church, and he killed James the brother of John

it would naturally require a dative or a construction with ἐπί, for which the infinitive κακῶσαι τινος seems a clumsy substitute. (Cf. Acts iv. 3, v. 18, xxi. 27.) But xviii. 10 οὐδεὶς ἐπιθήσεται σοὶ τοῦ κακῶσαι σε is an almost exact parallel in which ἐπιθήσεται σοὶ replaces ἐπέβαλε χεῖρας and is similarly doubtful in meaning. ἐπιβάλλειν χεῖρας is found in Polybius (see Blass *ad loc.*) and in P Leid G¹⁹, P Tebt 6. 39; 24. 9 (all 2nd cent. B.C.), so it is not to be ranked as a Semitism.

2. James] The son of Zebedee. In Mark he is regularly mentioned before his brother John, but nothing more is known of him. Since the discovery of De Boor's fragment of Papias it has been widely held that both brothers were put to death at this time. The facts are these: (1) Codex Coislinianus 305 of the Chronicle of Georgios Harmatolos makes the following statement: . . . Ἰωάννης μαρτυρίου κατηξίωται. Παπίας γὰρ ὁ Ἱεραπόλεως ἐπίσκοπος, αὐτόπτης τούτου γερόμενος, ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ λόγῳ τῶν κυριακῶν λογίων φάσκει ὅτι δύο Ἰουδαίων ἀνθρώπων, πληρώσας δηλαδὴ μετὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τὴν τοῦ χριστοῦ περὶ αὐτῶν πρόρρησιν. This evidence was originally disregarded because Georgios says that Origen corroborated this statement in the Commentary on Matthew, which is not the case. (2) But in 1888 De Boor (*TU*. v. 2, pp. 167 ff.) showed that in at least one manuscript Philip Sidetes (4th century) makes the same statement: Παπίας ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ λόγῳ λέγει ὅτι Ἰωάννης ὁ θεολόγος καὶ Ἰάκωβος ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων ἀνθρώπων. This corroborates the statement in Georgios, and may be the source of it. (3) The Syriac Martyrology (see *A.S.S.*, Nov., vol. ii. p. [lxxi]) commemorates on the 27th of December 'John and James the apostles at Jerusalem.' (4) The Carthaginian Martyrology (*A.S.S.*, Nov., vol. ii. p. [lii.]) gives the 27th of December for "sancti Johannis baptistae et Jacobi apostoli quem Herodes occidit." But inasmuch as the usual date of John the Baptist, the 24th of June, is given in the same calendar, it is clear that

John the Baptist is here a mistake for John the apostle.

These four points present a reasonable case in favour of the existence of an early tradition that John was martyred as well as his brother. It is of course incompatible with the other tradition found in Irenaeus, *Haer.* ii. 22. 5, that John lived to an extreme old age and died a natural death. Consequently various attempts have been made to prove that one or the other tradition is a mistake.

(i.) Those who hold to the alleged tradition of Papias think that the belief in the longevity of the apostle is due to a confusion between him and John the Presbyter. (ii.) Those who hold the traditional view argue that the early martyrologies inserted the names of Stephen, John and James, Paul and Peter on the days following Christmas. This, however, is a weak argument, because (a) the Feast of the Nativity is not mentioned in the Syriac Martyrology, which probably represents a Greek source in use at Nicomedia in the second half of the fourth century and earlier than the adoption of the 25th of December for that feast. The title of the Martyrology makes it perfectly clear that the writer means martyrs in the later sense of the word and not merely apostles or teachers. (iii.) It has been argued that the reference to James is a confusion between James the son of Zebedee and James the Just. The best presentation of this case is probably to be found in J. H. Bernard, *Studia Sacra*, pp. 260 ff.

In the present condition of this controversy it may perhaps be said that neither side has completely succeeded in answering the other. The crucial points, which are often overlooked, are that, on the one hand, if as is often supposed, the aged man named John who was known to Polycarp was not John the son of Zebedee, the traditional story of his long life and natural death does not apply to the Apostle, and the confusion between the two Johns is early—as early as Irenaeus; but on the other hand, inasmuch as Papias was acquainted with two Johns, this confusion,

with the sword. And seeing that it was acceptable to the Jews³ he proceeded to arrest Peter too (and it was the Days of unleavened bread), and he seized him and put him in prison,⁴ handing him over to four squads of four soldiers each to guard him, wishing after the Passover to bring him out to the people.

however early, is still undeniable. Moreover, granted that the Apostle is not the Presbyter whose longevity became traditional, the saying of Jesus in Mark x. 39, "Ye shall drink of the cup that I drink of, and be baptized with the baptism wherewith I am baptized" implies a martyr's death for both brothers.

See E. Schwartz, *Abh. der Gesellschaft d. Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, N.F. vii. 5; Bousset, *Theolog. Rundschau*, 1905, pp. 225 ff.; Bernard, *Studia Sacra*, pp. 260 ff.; C. Erbes, *Zeitsch. f. Kirchengesch.* xxxiii. pp. 159 ff.; Spitta, *ZNTW*. xi. pp. 39 ff.; E. Schwartz, *ZNTW*. xi. pp. 89 ff.; De Boor, *TU*. v. 2, pp. 167 ff. The evidence and the English bibliography on the subject of John's early martyrdom will be found most conveniently collected for English readers in R. H. Charles, *Revelation* (Inter. Crit. Com.) i. pp. xlv ff. Cf. H. Latimer Jackson, *Problem of the Fourth Gospel*, 142-150.

with the sword] Eusebius (*H.E.* ii. 9) quotes from Clement of Alexandria's lost *Hypotyposes* as follows: "He says that the man who led him to the judgement-seat, seeing him bearing his testimony to the faith, and moved by the fact, confessed himself a Christian. Both therefore, says he, were led away to die. On their way, he entreated James to be forgiven of him, and James, considering a little, replied, 'Peace be to thee,' and kissed him; and then both were beheaded at the same time."

3. proceeded] *προσέβητο συλλαβεῖν* is possibly a Hebraism, but see Moulton, *Proleg.* p. 233. Cf. Luke xix. 11 and xx. 11, 12, where it is not derived from Mark.

Days of unleavened bread] There is a curious confusion in the terminology of this verse. It reads as though the Days of unleavened bread came before the Passover. Herod arrested Peter during the Days, and

waited until the Passover before dealing further with him. Actually, however, the sequence was the reverse. The Passover was killed on the 14th of Nisan and the Days followed, from the 14th to the 21st (see Exod. xii. 3-19). Possibly Luke regarded 'the Days of unleavened bread' and 'the Passover' as synonyms, for in Luke xxii. 1 he writes 'the Feast of unleavened bread, the so-called Passover' instead of Mark's more correct 'the Passover and the Unleavened bread.'

For the bearing of this episode on the date of Herod's death see Additional Note 34.

4. four squads] One quaternion for each watch of three hours. Cf. Vegetius, *De re militari* iii. 8 (cited by Preuschen), "et quia impossibile videbatur in speculis per totam noctem vigilantes singulos permanere, ideo in quattuor partes . . . sunt divisae vigiliae ut non amplius quam tribus horis nocturnis necesse sit vigilare."

to bring him out] What is the connexion of this with the Passover? It might be interpreted on the lines of Frazer's theory that there was a survival among the Jews of the Babylonian Sacaea. But it is surely more probable that it means merely that Herod did not wish to have an execution during the feast. Cf. Mark xiv. 2, "Not on the feast day lest there be an uproar among the people," which is reduced in Luke xxii. 2 to "for they feared the people." This is one of several cases where a *motif* in the gospel of Mark is omitted by the parallel in the gospel of Luke only to reappear in Acts. Cf. i. 7, vi. 12, ix. 40 (*ἐκβαλὼν πάντας*), and see note on vi. 11. For *ἀνάγειν* in the forensic sense of a public trial or verdict compare Dittenberger, *Sylloge*³ 799. 24 *ἀναχθέντα εἰς τὸν δῆμον*; P Magd 33. 8; P Tebt 43. 19. In vs. 6 *προάγειν* or *προάγειν* is used.

5 So Peter was kept in the prison, and prayer to God was made for
 6 him earnestly by the church. But when Herod was going to put
 him forward, in that night Peter was sleeping between two soldiers
 bound by two chains, and guards before the door were watching
 7 the prison. And behold, an angel of the Lord stood by him, and
 a light shone in the building, and he struck Peter's side and
 woke him up and said, "Arise quickly," and the chains fell off his
 8 hands. And the angel said to him, "Fasten your belt, and put
 on your sandals," and he did so. And he says to him, "Put on
 9 your cloak and follow me." And he went out and followed him,
 and did not know that what was done by the angel was real, but

5. in the prison] There is some evidence for a Western reading which adds 'by a cohort of the king.' See Vol. III. p. 110.

earnestly] *ἐκτενῶς*. 'Without ceasing' is the rendering of the A.V., but 'earnestly' seems nearer the meaning. Cf. Judith iv. 9. It is used of prayer in Luke xxii. 44; cf. Acts xxvi. 7 *ἐν ἐκτενείᾳ . . . λατρεῖον*. In later liturgical writings the word was used to mean rather 'at the top of the voice,' 'loudly.' See R. Knopf on 1 Clem. 34. 7 in Lietzmann's *Handbuch*, who quotes examples from early Christian liturgical passages.

6. between two soldiers] The custom of fastening a prisoner to a soldier is mentioned by Seneca (*Ep.* v. 7). Cf. also xxi. 33 and Ignatius, *Rom.* v. 1 *ἀπὸ Συρίας μέχρι Ῥώμης θηριομαχῶ, διὰ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης, νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας, δεδεμένοις δέκα λεοπάρδοις, ὃ ἐστὶν στρατιωτικὸν τάγμα*, and see Lightfoot's note on this passage. According to Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 6, 7, Herod himself when a prisoner at Rome had a soldier bound to him (*συνδεδεμένους αὐτῷ στρατιώτης*). It is possible that the other two soldiers of the squad are mentioned in the *φύλακες* πρὸ τῆς θύρας below and the *πρώτην φυλακὴν καὶ δευτέραν* (vs. 10). With the former cf. v. 23 *τοὺς φύλακας ἐσώτας ἐπὶ τῶν θυρῶν*. The whole scene in v. 17 ff. should be compared with the present passage.

7. angel] The following account is one of the most obviously legendary

in Acts. This does not, however, render it improbable that Peter was put in prison and escaped, or that the miraculous nature of his deliverance was fully believed quite shortly. The parallel passage in the story of Paul is his rescue at Philippi, but the details are quite different. A closer parallel is the quotation given by Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* ix. 27. 23, from Artapanus, *De Judaeis*, describing an episode in the life of Moses—*νυκτὸς δὲ ἐπιγενομένης τὰς τε θύρας πάσας αὐτομάτως ἀνοιχθῆναι τοῦ δεσμοτηρίου καὶ τῶν φυλάκων οὐδὲ μὲν τελευτῆσαι τινὰς δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ ὕπνου παρεῖναι τὰ τε ὅπλα κατεαγῆναι*.

The point which is suggested is not that there is necessarily any literary connexion between these stories, though that is not impossible, but that there was a tendency to describe escapes from prison as happening in a certain miraculous way. For the general belief cf. such classical passages as Euripides, *Bacch.* 443 ff., and Ovid, *Metamorph.* iii. 696 ff. See also Reitzenstein, *Hellenistische Wundererzählungen*, p. 121, and note on xvi. 25-26.

stood by] *ἐπέστη*. This verb is used of persons who come on the scene, but both Luke and Gentile writers use it especially of divine or angelic (demonic) apparitions. Cf. Luke ii. 9, xxiv. 4; Acts xxiii. 11.

building] *οἶκημα* is used in Attic Greek as a euphemism for prison. See Wettstein and Blass *ad loc.*

thought he saw a vision. And they passed through the first guard¹⁰ and the second, and came to the iron gate which leads to the city, which opened of itself to them, and they went out and went one street farther, and immediately the angel left him. And when¹¹ Peter came to himself he said, "Now I know truly that the Lord sent his angel and delivered me from the hand of Herod and from all the expectation of the people of the Jews." And when¹² he was aware of it he came to the house of Mary, the mother of

9. saw a vision] The story of Peter's release is exactly like a dream, and it is a little hard to resist the question whether the dream may not have included the imprisonment as well as the escape. But of course the writer of Acts had no such idea.

It is also not impossible that some unknown sympathizer had drugged the soldiers and bribed the turnkey (cf. F. C. Burkitt, *Christian Beginnings*, p. 103).

10. to the city] Where was the prison? It is quite unknown, but commentators agree that the tower of Antonia is the most likely place (see map in Vol. I. opposite p. 136). It had access both to the Temple and to the city, and this may be the implication of this definition of the iron gate. The Western text adds that when Peter and the angel "went out they descended the seven steps." This may be a piece of local knowledge on the part of the Western reviser (see note on iii. 2). But it should not be forgotten that we have no knowledge as to (i.) where the prison was, for the unanimity of commentators has no basis in knowledge, and (ii.) whether there really were seven steps. See Additional Note 35.

of itself] Doors opening of their own accord (usually *αὐτομάτως* as here) are a frequent element in miracles from Homer down, as Wettstein amply illustrates. It was natural still further to attest the miracle by emphasizing the weight and solidity of the door. We may compare the stone at Jesus' grave which in Mark was 'very great.' The Neutral text of Luke omits this detail, but the Western text (D etc.) probably added it and described the stone as *ὄν μέγας*

εἰκοσι ἐκύλιον (Luke xxiii. 53). In Matthew it was sealed and guarded by soldiers and only removed by an angel. In the Gospel of Peter it took all who were there, scribes, elders, centurion and soldiers, to roll the stone and place it at the door of the tomb, yet it rolled back of itself (*ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ*). Beside the Jewish writer Artapanus quoted above compare the portents in Josephus, *B.J.* vi. 5. 3, § 293 (mentioned probably independently in Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 13): "the eastern gate of the inner court—it was of brass and very massive, and, when closed towards evening, could scarcely be moved by twenty men; fastened with iron-bound bars, it had bolts which were sunk to a great depth into a threshold consisting of a solid block of stone—this gate was observed at the sixth hour of the night to have opened of its own accord" (*αὐτομάτως*).

one street] *ῥύμην* is a street or alley. The meaning may be, as the translation indicates, that they went along the main street until its intersection by a *ῥύμη*. But it is also possible that *μὴν*, as so often in later Greek, is equivalent to *τινά*. If so it might be rendered 'they went along a certain street.'

11. And when Peter] The Western text reads 'then Peter.' See note on x. 47.

12. aware of it] *συνιδών*. Cf. xiv. 6, and see the notes of Wettstein and Field *ad loc.*

the house] A tradition which goes back to the fourth century identified this house with that in which was the Upper Room, the scene of the Last Supper, and the centre of the earliest community in Jerusalem. Obviously

John surnamed Mark, where many were assembled and praying.

the evidence cannot prove this: a tradition which does not appear until 300 years after the event is historically valueless. But at the worst it is an attractive guess. The testimony is collected by C. Mommert, *Die Dormitio*, and also given by Th. Zahn, *Einführung*, ii. § 51. 7. Nevertheless I doubt whether the guess is right, for from the context it is plain that this house was not the headquarters of 'James and the brethren.' It is perhaps interesting to note that John xix. 26 indicates a tradition that John the son of Zebedee and Mary the mother of Jesus lived in Jerusalem after the Crucifixion. Is this another John-Mary house? Is it another possible hint of an early confusion between two (or more?) Johns? It is curious how many faint indications point in this direction.

Mary, the mother of John surnamed Mark] It is more usual to designate a person by his father than by his son. Blass thought that by this curious phrase "quasi digito monstratur auctor narrationis." But similar expressions occur in the cases of another Mary (Mark xv. 40, etc.) and of Simon of Cyrene, the father of Alexander and Rufus (Mark xv. 21), and suggest that they are employed because the readers would be more familiar with the children than with the member of the preceding generation. John Mark, at least, recurs in the sequel.

Mark] *Μάρκος* or *Μάρκος*. For a discussion of the accentuation see Blass-Debrunner, *Gram. d. N.T. Griech.* § 13, and Moulton-Milligan, *Vocab.* s.v.

The facts known from the N.T. about Mark are these: he was the son of Mary (Acts xii. 12) and was taken by his kinsman Barnabas to Antioch after the mission of Barnabas and Paul in connexion with the famine (Acts xii. 25). He then went with them on the first missionary journey (Acts xiii. 5). At Perga in Pamphylia he left them and went back to Jerusalem (Acts xiii. 13). After the return of Barnabas to Jerusalem Barnabas wished to take

him again on the second journey, but Paul refused, and Barnabas and Mark went to Cyprus (Acts xv. 37 ff.). Neither appears again in Acts. In Col. iv. 10, however, mention is made of a Mark who was *ἀνεψιός* of Barnabas, which means cousin rather than nephew (see Lightfoot's note *ad loc.*). From this it has been concluded that Paul and Mark were reconciled, and that Mark was with him when he wrote Colossians (from Rome? or Caesarea? or Ephesus?), and he is also mentioned in Philemon 24 and in 2 Tim. iv. 11. If all these letters come from Rome, it is possible that this Mark is mentioned in 1 Peter v. 13 as Peter's son and at Rome (Babylon). It is, however, not certain that this Mark is the same as the John Mark of Acts; the genuineness of 2 Timothy and 1 Peter is open to considerable doubt, and that of Colossians is questionable. But even if none of them is genuine, they may represent an early tradition which connects Mark with Paul, Peter, and Rome. Later traditions (Papias quoted by Eusebius iii. 39, Irenaeus iii. 1 in Eus. *H.E.* v. 8 and iii. 10. 5, and Clement of Alexandria in Eus. *H.E.* vi. 14. 6) ascribe to Mark the writing of the second gospel, and still later traditions connect him with Alexandria (see Eusebius, *H.E.* ii. 16).

If it be accepted that Mark wrote the second gospel and Luke the third, it is interesting and important to notice that in Colossians, Philemon, and 2 Timothy both names appear in the same context.

It is also worth asking whether the phrase in Col. iv. 10, "Marcus, concerning whom ye received commandments, — if he come receive him," means that the 'commandments' were now cancelled. They may have been unfavourable; and if so this passage might be taken as dating the reconciliation of Paul and Mark. (See also, in addition to the standard commentaries on Mark, B. W. Bacon, *Is Mark a Roman Gospel?* 1919, and *The Gospel of Mark, its Composition and Date*, 1925.)

And when he knocked at the door of the entrance, a servant 13
 named Rhoda came forward to answer it. And when she recog- 14
 nized Peter's voice, for joy she did not open the entrance but ran
 in and reported that Peter was standing before the entrance.
 And they said to her, "You are mad," but she protested that it 15
 was so. And they said, "It is his angel." But Peter continued 16
 knocking, and they opened the door and saw him and were
 amazed. But he motioned to them with his hand to be quiet, 17
 and explained to them how the Lord had brought him out of
 prison. And he said, "Tell this to James and the brethren."
 And he departed and went to another place.

And when it was day there was no little commotion among 18
 the soldiers as to what in the world had become of Peter. And 19
 Herod called him up, and when he did not find him he examined

13. the door of the entrance] How-
 ever sceptical one may be about the
 details in the prison, it is impossible
 to deny the convincing nature of the
 behaviour of Rhoda and of the family.

Rhoda] The name is an ordinary
 Greek one, cf. *Hermas* i. 1. The
 Hellenistic nature of the house may
 be suggested by the names, Marcus
 and Rhoda, though Rhoda seems to
 have been a favourite name for a
 slave. But it must be remembered
 that Marcus and Rhoda were both
 likely to be used by Jews because
 they contain no heathen god's name.
 For the use of Greek names by Jews
 see note on i. 23.

came forward] i.e. from the house
 proper.

to answer it] This (not 'to listen')
 is the exact idiomatic rendering of
 the Greek, cf. *ὁ θυρωρὸς, ὅσπερ εἰώθει*
ὑπακούειν, Plato, *Phaed.* 59 E, and
 examples in Field, *Notes*, *ad loc.*

15. his angel] It probably means his
 guardian angel. Cf. Gen. xlviii. 16;
 Tobit v. 21; Judith xiii. 20; Matt.
 xviii. 10; and see Moulton in *JTS.*,
 1902, pp. 519 f.; M. Dibelius, 'Der Hirt
 des Hermas' in Lietzmann's *Hand-*
buch, pp. 494 f.; Strack i. pp. 781 ff.

17. James] i.e. the Lord's brother.
 It is clear that James was not living
 in this house; also that he is regarded

as the head of the community. On
 James see Additional Note 6.

another place] Quite indefinite.
τόπος may mean another house, or
 another town. Cf. Luke ix. 56 καὶ
ἐπορεύθησαν εἰς ἑτέραν κώμην. I think
 that it means town, and that the
 narrative originally continued with
 ix. 32 ff., but of course this is merely
 a guess. The suggestion that the
τόπος intended is Antioch seems to
 be less likely, because Gal. ii. 11 in-
 dicates that Peter's visit to Antioch
 was after the 'Council in Jerusalem,'
 which on any hypothesis must have
 been later than the famine, and this
 was at least a year later than the
 death of Herod. It therefore seems
 more likely that Peter, after leaving
 Jerusalem when he escaped from
 prison, went to the unnamed 'other
 place' and then returned, perhaps two
 years later, to Jerusalem. If the hypo-
 thesis mentioned above be accepted,
 the conversion of Cornelius took place
 during this absence. (See also Vol. II.
 pp. 156 f.) Roman tradition identifies
 the 'other place' with Rome.

18. no little] Perhaps the first of
 the series of instances of litotes in Acts
 (see Vol. II. p. 44, note 1), but some
 Western authorities omit 'no little,'
 which suggests that perhaps it is
 taken from xix. 23.

the guards and commanded them to be executed. And he went down from Judaea and stayed at Caesarea.

20 And he was furious with the Tyrians and Sidonians, and they waited on him in a body, and having won over Blastus, the king's chamberlain, they asked for peace because their country
21 was supplied by the king's. And on a fixed day Herod put on

19. executed] According to the Code of Justinian, which doubtless represents Roman custom, a guard who allowed a prisoner to escape was liable to the penalty which the prisoner would have paid (*Cod. Justinianus*, ix. 4. 4). It has, however, been questioned whether ἀπαχθῆναι need mean more than 'led off to prison.' Cf. Gen. xxxix. 22, xl. 3, xlii. 16, and Luke xxiii. 26, and see E. Nestle, *Philologica Sacra*, p. 53. Both meanings are attested in the Papyri; see Moulton and Milligan, *Vocabulary*, s.v. Possibly it was to resolve this ambiguity that the Western text read ἀποκρανθῆναι.

stayed at Caesarea] εἰς Καισαρείαν διέτριβεν. This is probably a somewhat more correct rendering than 'he went down from Judaea to Caesarea and stayed there,' which would surely require διέτριβεν ἐκεῖ. For the use of εἰς with verbs of rest cf. xix. 22 ἐπέσχεν . . . εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν; xxv. 4 ἤρπασθαι εἰς Καισαρείαν, and many examples both in Acts and elsewhere in Greek literature.

It is interesting to note that Caesarea seems to be distinguished from Judaea, of which it was actually the capital for purposes of Roman administration. For the whole question of Luke's use of names for political and geographical districts see Addit. Note 18.

20 ff. The death of Herod Agrippa I. is described by Josephus as divine punishment, on account, however, not of earlier sins but for the sin of omission in not rebuking the flatterers on this occasion at Caesarea. Acts also takes this view, but combines it with the sin against the Church. Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 10. 6, in quoting Josephus has slightly modified the text in the light of Acts. See McGiffert's note *ad loc.* in the *Ante-Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*.

The author of Acts does not indicate the relation either of time or of cause between this scene and the preceding, but there can be little doubt that he intended the readers to see in the death of Agrippa divine punishment for his cruelty to the apostles. Such a lesson would be readily drawn by the reader. "Die erbaulichen Schriften der Zeit sind voll von Strafwundern, Aelian hat eine lange Reihe, und Plutarch schreibt ein ganzes Buch über das Thema" (Wendland, *Urchristliche Literaturformen*, 1912, p. 264, note 6). The motive is the same in the death of Judas in Acts i. and in other accounts. But here a certain amount of historical setting, irrelevant to the principal point of the event and the author's interests, has remained in the narrative.

20. furious] This meaning of θυμομαχῶν is found in Polybius xxvii. 8. 4 and elsewhere (see Wettstein *ad loc.*). It is, however, more often used of an actual state of war, which seems an impossible meaning in this context. There is no trace of this quarrel in Josephus, but it has been plausibly suggested that Tyre was disliked by Agrippa because it was the scene of a disagreement between him and his cousin Antipas (Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 6. 2).

Blastus] Nothing is known of him, but the name itself is not rare; see Preuschen-Bauer, s.v.

chamberlain] The title is found in inscriptions and was common in the Byzantine period, and passed in translation from imperial usage to the courts of Europe. (See D. Magie, *De Romanorum juris publici sacrique vocabulis*, 1905, p. 73.)

21. fixed day] According to Josephus it was a feast in honour of the Emperor, and E. Schwartz has identified

royal robes, sat on his throne, and made a speech to them, and the people cheered,—“It is the voice of a god and not of 22 a man.” And immediately an angel of the Lord smote him 23 because he did not give the glory to God, and he became eaten by worms and expired.

And the word of God increased and multiplied. And 24

this with the *Vicennalia*, which came in March A.D. 44 (see Additional Note 34). But it is quite plain that Acts means that it was a day fixed for a special audience to the Tyrian representatives.

robes] Josephus also emphasizes the effect of the robes.

them] i.e. the Tyrians, as distinct from the *δημος*, the Caesarean populace. The Western text brought this out by adding “on the occasion of his reconciliation with the Tyrians,” though the extant Greek is corrupt and cannot be reconstructed with certainty (see Vol. III. p. 114).

23. give the glory to God] This is commonly understood to mean ‘instead of allowing divine honours to be paid to himself.’ But if we may omit the article with D and later MSS. we have the more frequent *δόξαν διδόναι* which in John ix. 24, Rev. xvi. 9, Joshua vii. 19, seems to mean ‘confess the truth’ or ‘pray for forgiveness.’

eaten by worms] The compound *σκαληκόβρωτος* formerly found elsewhere only in Theophrastus is attested for the unscientific vocabulary by its occurrence in the papyri, e.g. *PSI.* v. 490, 14 (3rd century B.C.). Like our ‘worm-eaten’ it seems to be applied to vegetable rather than animal substances. It was not invented by Luke, as Blass suggested, and it is not a technical term in medicine (see Cadbury, *JBL.* xlv., 1926, p. 201).

For gruesome diseases sent as punishment there are in antiquity frequent references to worms (*σκαλῆκες*) or to lice (*φθείρες*), the two sometimes combined or confused. Probably here and elsewhere no merely natural disease is intended (cf. Harnack, *Texte und Untersuchungen*, viii., 1892, 4, p. 95). In any case its identification

with any specific disease known to modern medicine would be impossible. See the full collection of passages in Wikenhauser, *Die Apostelgeschichte und ihr Geschichtswert*, 1921, pp. 398 ff., including Job vii. 5; 2 Macc. ix. 5 ff.; Is. lxvi. 24; Judith xvi. 17; *Apoc. Petri*, § 27; Papias fragm. 3 (ed. Funk); Lucian, *Pseudomantis* 59; and others. In emphasizing that this phenomenon befell him while still alive (*ἐν ζῶνι*) Codex Bezae (Greek and Latin) agrees with several of the parallels, e.g. Herodot. iv. 205; Pausanias ix. 7. 2; Tertull. *Ad Scap.* 3, etc.

Those who think that Luke knew the writings of Josephus but read him carelessly (see Vol. II. pp. 355 ff.) might derive this story from the narrative of the death of Herod the Great (*Antiq.* xvii. 6. 5; *B.J.* i. 33. 5). But it is also possible that being eaten by worms was a traditional punishment for great men who had offended. See J. Z. Lauterbach, ‘A Significant Controversy’ (in the *Hebrew Union College Annual*, iv. pp. 190 ff.), who quotes from Yoma 19 b etc. the story of a high priest who erred in the ritual of the Day of Atonement, and was killed by an angel. In his case worms came out of his nose.

xii. 24–xiii. 3. Like the other summaries in Acts this passage looks both backwards and forwards. It picks up the narrative from xi. 19–30 and introduces the story of the missionary journey of chapters xiii. and xiv. xii. 25 is specially connected with xi. 27–30, and the reference to Mark refers back to xii. 12 and looks forward to xiii. 5. Verse 24 is a characteristic opening of a summary, though more vague than common. Cf. vi. 7, xix. 20, and Additional Note 31.

But three questions may be quite

Barnabas and Saul returned to Jerusalem in completion of their mission, taking with them John surnamed Mark.

And there were in Antioch in the local church prophets and teachers—both Barnabas and Simeon called Niger, and Lucius the Cyrenian, and Manaen a ‘companion’ of Herod the tetrarch,

legitimately asked, though they cannot be answered.

(i.) How far is it the composition of the editor, and how far is it derived from a source?

(ii.) Is xiii. 1-3 part of an Antiochian source? Harnack has been inclined to think that not only it, but also xi. 19-30, and even chapters vi.-vii., are derived from an Antiochian source. But the feeling has grown on me not only that vi.-vii. are probably the Jerusalem tradition (or traditions) of the death of Stephen, but that even xi. 19-30 may be the Jerusalem tradition of the founding of the Antiochian church. In it Barnabas is a representative of Jerusalem, and he fetches Paul from Tarsus as his assistant.

(iii.) If I am right, did the original Antiochian source maintain that Barnabas, etc., were prophets, working in the power of the Spirit, not emissaries of Jerusalem, and was xiii. 1-3 based on it? If we had some of the letters of Barnabas, would they reveal the same independence of Jerusalem as the Pauline Epistles? It is noteworthy that in Gal. ii. 11 f. Barnabas is not a representative of Jerusalem, but is an Antiochian teacher who is momentarily carried away by the emissaries of James. The proportion suggested is that the real Barnabas is to the Barnabas of Acts as the real Paul is to the Paul of Acts.

25. to Jerusalem] It cannot be doubted that *eis* Ἱερουσαλήμ is the most probable reading judged by the rules of textual criticism (see Vol. III. p. 114). It has the Neutral text and transcriptional evidence in its favour. But it is hard if not impossible to explain. The natural feeling of anyone who reads xi. 27 to xiii. 1 is that xi. 30 gives the arrival of Paul and Barnabas at Jerusalem and xiii. 25 ought to give their departure. Thus the tendency of scribes would be to

change the reading *eis* Ἱερουσαλήμ to ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλήμ. The question is whether they were not right in regarding *eis* Ἱερουσαλήμ as a corruption. The possible explanations are (i.) Dr. Hort's (Westcott and Hort, ii., Appendix p. 94), which inverted the order and read τὴν *eis* Ἱερουσαλήμ διακονίαν πληρώσαντες; (ii.) Dr. Bartlett's, which regards *eis* Ἱερουσαλήμ as a gloss (Century Bible, Commentary on Acts); (iii.) that suggested in *The Earlier Epistles*, pp. 317 ff., to the effect that xii. 25 repeats the substance of xi. 30 in order to indicate that the famine was after Herod's death. Perhaps the comment of Ephrem might be taken to support Dr. Hort's emendation (see Vol. III. p. 416). It is also perhaps just possible that πληρώσαντες is used to express purpose (see note on xxv. 13). The translation given attempts to be as ambiguous as the Greek.

Mark] Ephrem has the remarkable addition “and Luke the Cyrenian.” His comment is, “And these were both evangelists, and wrote before the discipleship of Paul,” which may mean “before Paul's conversion,” or “before they became disciples of Paul.”

1. local] See note on v. 17.

church] See note on ix. 31.

Lucius, etc.] For the text of this verse see Addit. Note 37.

Manaen] See note on Barnabas in iv. 36. The copula with Manaen is *τε* instead of *καί*, as though Manaen and Saul went together in one class, as against Barnabas, Simeon, and Lucius. Ramsay (*PTRC*, p. 65) suggests that the three were prophets and the two were teachers. It may be doubted whether an enclitic can quite bear the strain of this interpretation; moreover, surely Paul was quite as much a prophet as Barnabas. It seems more likely that Luke for variety sometimes continues lists with *τε . . . καί* instead of the simple *καί* repeated between

and Saul. And when they were engaged in service to the Lord² and fasting the Holy Spirit said to them, "Come, separate to me Barnabas and Saul for the work to which I have called them." Then after fasting and prayer and laying their hands on them,³ they sent them off.

So then they, having been sent out by the Holy Spirit,⁴ reached Seleucia, and thence they sailed away to Cyprus. And⁵

each term (or between every other term). Thus *τε καί* occurs three times in the list of Acts ii. 9 f.

The Western text in D seems to mean "Manaen the son of Herod and companion of the tetrarch," which would mean Herod the Great by Herod, and Antipas by the tetrarch.

companion] The title *σύντροφος* is frequent and formal. It is a title of honour given at court to certain youths of the same age as a prince, and retained by adults. See Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, pp. 310 ff., for examples from several kingdoms.

2. engaged in service] It would be excessive to see in this word (*λειτουργούντων*) a clear instance of its later use in connexion with sacraments. But it is to be remembered that by this time at least ten years had passed since the first preaching by the 'Stephen' refugees. Probably the worship of the church was far more like that pictured in I Corinthians than a synagogue service, possibly including the Eucharist as a sacrament, though I doubt if this was so in the 'James' circle of Christians in Jerusalem. The connexion of *λειτουργούντων* with *ὑποστηνόντων* suggests that the service thought of was especially prayer, but the meaning of *λειτουργούντων* cannot be narrowed to this, or even to 'worship,' in view of *Did.* xv. 1 where it is said that bishops and deacons *λειτουργοῦσι καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν λειτουργίαν τῶν προφητῶν καὶ διδασκάλων*.

Come] It is very difficult to render the Greek *δή* except by some such periphrasis. *δή* may have been connected with *ἤδη* but in Hellenistic Greek it had mainly an intensive force. Cf. Luke ii. 15 and Acts xv. 36.

3. fasting and prayer] The com-

bination is a common one in Judaism. In the New Testament it appears in Luke's writings, e.g. Luke ii. 37, v. 33; Acts xiv. 23. Compare ix. 11 with 9 and 19 and with x. 9 f. Later scribes have supplied the combination at Acts i. 14, x. 30; Matt. xvii. 21; Mark ix. 29. (See also Cadbury, *Making of Luke-Acts*, p. 269.)

laying their hands on] See Addit. Note 11.

xiii. 4-xiv. 28. THE FIRST MISSIONARY JOURNEY. There is no difficulty in understanding the meaning of the writer. He describes a journey made by Barnabas and Paul from Antioch to Cyprus, Perga in Pamphylia, Pisidian Antioch, Iconium, Lystra and Derbe, returning through the same places, except Cyprus, to Antioch. This journey comes between Paul's second visit to Jerusalem (xi. 30 and xii. 25) and his third (xv. 1 ff.). But if the theory be accepted that these two visits are really one and the same (see Addit. Note 16), obviously the journey was either before or after the single visit. Assuming that it was after the visit, Schwartz thinks that xiii., xiv. and xvi. originally belonged together, and that the division of their narrative into two journeys is due to the editorial rearrangement of the material. It is, however, possible that there were really two journeys, and that the editorial rearrangement (which must in any case be postulated) consisted in putting xiii.-xiv. after xii. 25 instead of making it come immediately after xi. 26.

4. Seleucia] The port of Antioch, about sixteen miles west of the city and five miles north of the mouth of the Orontes. It was founded by Seleucus Nicator (died 280 B.C.).

when they arrived at Salamis they announced the word of God in the synagogues of the Jews. And they had John as an attendant. And passing through the whole island as far as Paphos they found a man, a magian, a Jewish false prophet, whose name was Bar-Jesus, who was with the proconsul, Sergius Paulus, an intelligent man. This man summoned Barnabas and Saul and sought to hear the word of God, but Elymas, the

Cyprus] The island was incorporated in 55 B.C. with the province of Cilicia. It was given by Julius Caesar to Arsinoe and Ptolemy, and later by Antony to the children of Cleopatra. In 27 B.C. it was taken back as an imperial province, but in 22 B.C. Augustus gave it to the Senate in exchange for Dalmatia and Gallia Narbonensis, after which it was governed by propraetors with the courtesy title of proconsul. See Hogarth, *Devia Cypria*, esp. pp. 116 ff.; Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, i. pp. 391 ff., and cf. Dio Cassius, xlviii. 40, liii. 12 and 13, liv. 4. It is noteworthy that Barnabas (and Mark ?) was a Cypriote (iv. 36), and that when Barnabas and Mark separated from Paul it was to Cyprus that they went (xv. 39). For the Jews in Cyprus see E. Schürer, *GJV*. iii. p. 27; and Hastings, *DB*. vol. v. p. 97.

5. Salamis] The chief town of Cyprus; the others of any size were Citium and Amathus on the south coast, Paphos on the west, and Soli on the north.

John] John Mark. Cf. xii. 12.

attendant] Cf. Luke i. 2 and iv. 20. The former passage is of particular interest since in it this author refers to the *ὑπηρεταί τοῦ λόγου* from whom ultimately was derived the contents of gospels known to him, and since one of these is ascribed by tradition to John Mark. Cf. *Expositor*, Dec. 1922, p. 414 note.

6. passing through] See note on ix. 32, and for the argument that no technical use is contemplated see W. L. Knox, *St. Paul and the Church of Jerusalem*, 1925, pp. 216 ff.

Paphos] The official capital of Cyprus, not, however, the ancient city (*Παλαίπαφος*), famous for its temple

of Aphrodite, but the New Paphos (see Strabo, p. 683). Paphos and Salamis are taken to represent Cyprus in *Orac. Sibyll.* iv. 128 ff. and v. 450 ff.

a magian, a Jewish false prophet] Ramsay takes *Ἰουδαῖον* as a substantive, and draws attention to the 'triple beat,' comparing xiv. 8 and xvi. 6 f. (*PTRC*. p. 115), to which might be added xxi. 39 and Luke vi. 38 *πεπλεγμένον, σεσαλευμένον, ὑπερεκχυνόμενον*. But surely *Ἰουδαῖον* is here an adjective qualifying *ψευδοπροφήτην*. In spite of Old Testament prohibitions the sorcery of the Jews was famous. (Cf. Pliny, *N.H.* xxx. 2 (11).) It played an important part in the religious fusion which the remaining magical papyri represent. Josephus mentions a Jewish sorcerer from Cyprus (*Antiq.* xx. 7. 2), and tells how other Roman officials, like Sergius Paulus, were interested in another Jewish sorcerer (*Antiq.* viii. 2. 5). On Jewish magic see further Schürer, *GJV*. iii. 407 ff. The name of the Cyprian sorcerer is given in some mss. of Josephus as Simon, probably to conform to Simon Magus, but in the better ones as *Ἄτομος*, which one naturally associates with the variant *Ἐτοιμάς* of verse 8. On the exact meaning of *μάγος* see Addit. Note 14.

Bar-Jesus] For variants in the spelling see Vol. III. pp. 116 f. See further on vs. 8.

7. proconsul] The proper title for the governor of a senatorial province. See Vol. I. pp. 195 f.

Sergius Paulus] See Additional Note 34.

this man] i.e. Sergius Paulus, as the context shows, though grammatically it might mean Bar-Jesus.

8. Elymas, etc.] If the text be correct, and if *μεθερμηνεύεται* means 'is translated,' this sentence is in-

magian, for thus is his name translated, withstood them, seeking to pervert the proconsul from the faith. But Saul, who is also

explicable. The best attempt is that which points out an Arabic word which resembles Elymas (cf. H. Grotius, *Annotationes in N.T.* ii. p. 71 of the 1756 edition, and H. Grimme, 'Elym der Astrolog' in the *Oriental. Literaturzeitung.*, 1909, pp. 207-211) and means 'wise man,' and so might be the equivalent of μάγος. But why should a Jew in Cyprus at the court of a Roman consular governor be called by an obscure Arabic nickname? Moreover, the meaning of the passage calls for something quite different. The writer says that the 'magian, Jewish false prophet,' had the name Bar-Jesus, and he goes on to say that when it μεθερμηνεύεται—whatever that means—this name was 'Elymas the Magian.' 'The Magian' is obviously common to both descriptions, so that the equation is really Bar-Jesus = Elymas. But it is equally obvious that Elymas is not a translation of Bar-Jesus, nor do any of the many variants in spelling (see Vol. III. pp. 116-119) give any help. F. C. Burkitt (*JTS.* iv. pp. 127 ff.) thinks that Elymas was really a corruption of ὁ λοιμός = 'the pest.'

It is, however, possible that the Western text originally had ἐτοιμᾶς for ἐλύμας, and that this is right. Accepting this, and assuming that ἐτοιμᾶς represents ἐτοιμος, Th. Zahn suggests that Βαρ-ησοῦς is a corrupt spelling of the Western reading Βαρ-ησοῦαν, which he thinks represents ברי-ישׁוּ. This he connects with שׁוּ, which in the Piel might mean to 'make ready,' and a name based on it might be ἐτοιμος (*Apog.* ii. pp. 417 f.).

This seems the best suggestion yet made, but the combination of a doubtful reading with a somewhat strained etymology is not quite convincing. If we reject it we must choose between two possibilities. (i.) There is a primitive corruption which renders the passage hopeless. (ii.) μεθερμηνεύεται does not mean 'is translated,' but merely that this Magian, whose Semitic name was Bar-Jesus, had in Greek circles the

name Elymas or Etoimas. In favour of (i.) is the fact that the editor of Acts does not seem to be very secure in his renderings (see note on iv. 36, the rendering of Barnabas). In favour of (ii.) is the fact that Jews then as now naturally adopted Hellenic names which sometimes were translations, sometimes homophones (cf. Menahem and Menelaus, Jesus and Jason, Levi and Lewis, Moses and Maxwell), sometimes were without any relation to each other (see also note on i. 23). John Mark is probably an illustration of the last class. His Semitic name was Iohanan, his Greek or Latin name was Marcus; though it is noteworthy that in modern times Mark or Marcus as a Jew's name often stands for Mordecai; and other examples may be Joseph Barsabbas Justus (Acts i. 23) whom Papias seems to have called Βαρσαβᾶς ὁ καὶ Ἰουδᾶος (see De Boor, *TU.* v. 2, 170), and perhaps Ἰγνάτιος ὁ καὶ θεοφόρος in the opening verse of each of the Ignatian epistles. This may have led to a gradual softening of the meaning of μεθερμηνεύεται, which was really only appropriate to the first class, until it came to signify merely 'who in Greek was called.' But I have not found any evidence which would demonstrate this hypothesis.

The possibility that the name of the magician was ἐτοιμᾶς rather than ἐλύμας suggests the further problem of the conceivable identification of this magician with the Cyprian magician whom Josephus calls Ἀτομος (*Antiq.* xx. 7. 2), who acted as an intermediary between the Procurator Felix and Drusilla, the daughter of Agrippa I., who was at that time the wife of Aziz of Emesa. (See further J. Rendel Harris, *Expositor*, 1902, pp. 189 ff.; Th. Zahn, *Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift*, 1904, pp. 189 ff.; the article 'Ελύμας in Preuschen-Bauer's lexicon, and Klostermann, *Probleme*, 1883, pp. 21 ff.)

from the faith] It seems more likely that this is the right translation, rather than 'from his belief,'

which would imply a more technical and later meaning of *πίστις*. The Western text adds "because he was listening to them with great pleasure."

9. who is also Paul] That is, Paul was the Roman name of Saul (for this custom of having two names see notes on i. 23 and xiii. 8). The use of *ὁ καὶ* in this sense is frequent. Cf. Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 12. 1, and see Wettstein *ad loc.*; Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, pp. 313 ff.; Zahn, p. 422, and especially E. Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri*, ii., 1926, p. 61, who shows that *ὁ καὶ* = *alias*, but is rare before the first century A.D., and not found before the first century B.C. Such an extra name is to be distinguished alike from the nomen, the cognomen, and the half-affectationate shortening of the name which grammarians call hypocoristic. M. Lambertz has traced the history of such 'by-names' from Egypt to Syria and Asia Minor until in the Christian era the custom penetrated the whole Greco-Roman world. See his comprehensive article "Zur Ausbreitung des Supernomen oder Signum im römischen Reiche," *Glotta*, iv. (1912) pp. 78 ff.; v. (1913) pp. 99 ff. For its use by Jews see Strack, vol. ii. p. 712, and Juster, *Les Juifs dans l'Empire Romain*, ii. p. 229, with the literature cited. The word *signum* is applied to such names on inscriptions beginning shortly before the third century A.D. (Diehl, *Rheinisches Museum*, lxii. (1907), pp. 390 ff.). It is possible, therefore, that in Paul's case the name Παῦλος has nothing to do with his Roman citizenship or with the familiar Latin cognomen Paul(l)us.

As Ramsay points out (*PTRC*, pp. 81 ff.), it is very unlikely that this name is mentioned here for the first time merely by accident. Three reasons may be suggested.

- (i.) This begins a 'Paul' source.
- (ii.) It marks the coincidence of name with the proconsul, almost as though *ὁ καὶ Παῦλος* meant 'Saul, who was another Paulus.'
- (iii.) For the first time the writer was dealing with strictly Gentile surroundings.

Naturally these do not exclude each other. All three may be true; but the first may be the decisive

factor, for it is quite probable that a new source begins with the description of this missionary journey, especially since up till now Barnabas has always seemed to take precedence of 'Saul,' whereas now 'Paul' takes precedence of Barnabas. The identity of names with the proconsul is also obviously curious and striking, though it is not sufficient to explain the facts by itself, for the use of 'Paul' continues throughout the rest of Acts. The force of the third point is somewhat weakened by the fact that when Paul returns to Jewish circles in chaps. xv. (the council of Jerusalem) and xxi. (the last visit to Jerusalem) the narrative does not revert to the use of Saul except in the vocatives xxii. 7, 13, xxvi. 14. But to the writer the apostle was Paul rather than Saul, and perhaps the noteworthy point is that he used Saul before this passage, rather than that he did not do so afterwards. For Luke's interest in names see Cadbury, *Making of Luke-Acts*, pp. 225 ff.

Among the many attempts of ancients and moderns to explain the name the following are the most noteworthy:

- (i.) Origen is the first writer to discuss this question, and, as so often, is also the most intelligent. In the preface to his commentary on Romans, only extant in the translation of Rufinus (Migne, *PG*. xiv. 836), he says: "Prima nobis quaestio de nomine ipsius Pauli. . . . Invenimus in scripturis divinis quibusdam veterum commutata vocabula. . . . Sed haec ex praecepto Dei legimus facta, nusquam vero erga Paulum invenimus tale aliquid gestum. De qua re quibusdam visum est quod Pauli proconsulis, quem apud Cyprum Christi fidei subjecerat, vocabulum sibi Apostolus sumpserit." He then goes on to say that while not wholly rejecting this view, which had the analogy of Roman custom, by which generals took as a title the name of a conquered nation, he preferred to rely on the fact that differences in the names of the apostles showed that it was a Hebrew custom to have more than one name. He concluded that the apostle always had the double name Paul-Saul, and he ends by saying, "Nam et hoc ipsum quod Scriptura dicit, *Saulus autem qui et Paulus* evidenter non ei tunc

Paul, filled with Holy Spirit, gazed at him and said, "O full of 10
all deceit and all wickedness, son of the devil, enemy of all
righteousness, will you not cease perverting the straight paths of
the Lord? And now, behold, the hand of the Lord is upon you 11
and you shall be blind, not seeing the sun for a while." And
immediately cloud and darkness fell on him, and he sought some
to lead him as he groped. Then when the proconsul saw what 12

primum Pauli nomen ostendit imposi-
tum, sed veteris appellationis id fuisse
designat."

(ii.) Jerome, *De vir. ill.* v., reviews
the judgement of Origen, and accepts
the view that Saul took the name
Paul from the proconsul. This view
has also been proposed by scholars
thoroughly conversant with the *ὁ καὶ*
=*alias* idiom, viz. H. Dessau, 'Der
Name des Apostels Paulus,' *Hermes*,
xlv., 1910, pp. 347-368, followed by
E. Meyer, *Ursprung und Anfänge des*
Christentums, iii., 1923, p. 197.

(iii.) Chrysostom thinks that the
name was given to Saul at his "ordina-
tion (by the church at Antioch) just
as in Peter's case" (*Hom.* xxviii.).

(iv.) Augustine, using the meaning
of the name, thinks that it is a reference
to Paul's modesty, "I am the least of
the apostles" (*Augustine, De spirit. et*
litt. xii., *Serm.* cclxxix. 5, cccxv. 5).

(v.) Among modern writers, Otto,
Zeitschr. f. kirchl. Wiss. und kirchl.
Leben, 1882, pp. 235 ff., suggested
that it is a Hebrew name derived
from the root כּוּס, meaning chosen.

gazed at] ἀτενίσας (cf. iii. 4) means
rather more than 'looked at.' In
some cases at least it is connected with
the Jewish belief in the power of the
eye, especially of Rabbis, for good or
evil. This belief, represented down to
the present by the superstition of the
'evil eye,' was widespread. According
to one Rabbi ninety-nine out of one
hundred deaths are caused by the evil
eye. It is not impossible that the
meaning of this passage is that Paul
was suddenly inspired to use this
power of the eye against Elymas (see
Strack, ii. pp. 713 ff.).

10. son of the devil] It is possible
that this is chosen in antithesis to the
etymological meaning of Bar-Jesus,

but the situation sufficiently explains
the language.

perverting, etc.] Probably with a
reminiscence of Prov. x. 9 and Hosea
xiv. 9. The punishment of blindness
may be taken from Deut. xxviii. 28 f.,
"The Lord shall smite thee . . . with
blindness . . . and thou shalt grope
at noon-day." Note in this passage
the emphatic repetition πάντως . . .
πάσης . . . πάσης.

11. for a while] Cf. Luke iv. 13
(the story of the temptation) ὁ διάβολος
ἀπέστη ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἄχρι καιροῦ. Chryso-
stom deduces that Paul was anxious
to convert Elymas and therefore in-
flicted on him the blindness which had
accompanied his own conversion
(*Hom.* xxviii.).

cloud] ἀχλὺς is used by medical
writers of an inflammation which
brings a cloudy appearance into the
eye. ἀχλὺς δὲ ἐστὶ περὶ ὄλον τὸ μέλαν
ἀπὸ ἐλκώσεως ἐπιτολαίου (Galen, *Medi-*
cus 16, xiv. 774 Kühn, and see also
Hobart, pp. 44 f.). But this implies
a different kind of blindness, and if
ἀχλὺς be a medical term the writer is
using it wrongly. Moreover it is
used in connexion with blindness by
Josephus (*Antiq.* ix. 4. 3, §§ 56 f.),
and other writers. No doubt it is
used also of mental blindness, but
here with σκότος and χειραγωγούς it is
probably literal.

to lead him] χειραγωγούς. Cf. χειρ-
αγωγοῦντες in ix. 8.

groped] This is too strong for
περιάγων, but it is strangely hard to
find a rendering which is not too strong
—as this is—or banal, as 'moved
around' would be.

12. Then] τότε as a rule is character-
istic of the Western text (see on
x. 47), but here the Western reviser
drops it and reads ἰδὼν δέ.

had happened he believed, in astonishment, on the teaching of the Lord.

13 Having started from Paphos, Paul and his party came to Perga of Pamphylia, but John departed from them and

believed] Critics doubt with good reason whether Sergius Paulus was really converted. It is significant that there is no mention of his baptism. But it is hard not to believe that certainly the writer of Acts and probably Paul and Barnabas thought so. They may have mistaken courtesy for conversion.

astonishment] Blass may be right in connecting ἐκπληττόμενος with the miracle. It is not 'believed, being astonished at the teaching,' but 'believed, in astonishment, on the teaching,' etc. In view of modern tendencies to regard Christianity as a wholly ethical movement, it is well to emphasize how much stress Luke puts on the miraculous power of the apostles; nor is this Lucan, it is early Christian. But on the other hand the combination of ἐκπλήσσεσθαι and ἐπὶ διδασκῇ has good support in parallels. It should be noted that (i.) it is thus combined in Luke iv. 32 = Mark i. 22 = Matt. vii. 28. Cf. Mark vi. 2 = Matt. xiii. 54. Mark xi. 18 and Matt. xxii. 33 also have explicitly ἐξεπλήσσοντο ἐπὶ τῇ διδασκῇ αὐτοῦ. Cf. Luke ii. 48. (ii.) διδασκῇ is in one sense inclusive of the miraculous element (ἐξουσία). It was this power in teaching which distinguished Jesus from the scribes (Mark i. 22 and 27) and Paul from Bar-Jesus. And for Sergius Paulus 'seeing,' not hearing, 'was believing.'

13. Paul and his party] οἱ περὶ τὸν Παῦλον is noteworthy in contrast to the usual 'Paul and Barnabas' or 'Barnabas and Paul.' Since the author is about to mention Mark again, he prefers a more inclusive phrase, which shows that he regards Paul as the head of the party. Neither the occasional order 'Barnabas and Paul' nor their identification as gods by the Lycaonians (xiv. 12) really imply that the author himself ever thought of Paul as second in importance.

Perga] Perga is about eight miles up the Cestrus, and some distance (about five miles) from the river (see

Strabo, p. 667). The river is at present unnavigable by any boat that could sail from Cyprus. Possibly the river was then in better condition, or possibly they landed at the mouth of the river, but I think the most natural hypothesis is that they landed at Attalia (xiv. 25), the main harbour of the district, and then went on by road. Obviously the problem is as unimportant as it is insoluble. At Perga, or rather on a hill near it, was the Temple of the 'Artemis of Perga' with an annual feast.

Pamphylia] A small poor region between the Taurus mountains and the sea. In 103 B.C. it was put into the province of Cilicia, and was afterwards given to Polemon, king of Lycaonia, but in 36 B.C., when Polemon was moved to Pontus, Pamphylia was given to Amyntas, king of Galatia (Strabo, p. 571, and Dio Cassius, xlix. 32). At the death of Amyntas in 25 B.C. Pamphylia was not included in the province of Galatia, but remained independent (Dio Cassius, liii. 26) until A.D. 43, when Pamphylia and Lycia were formed into a separate Imperial province (Dio Cassius, lx. 17). A little later, at a date which is not known, probably under Nero or Galba, Pamphylia was detached from Lycia and again given to Galatia, and after this was once more united to Lycia. (See Ramsay, *Pauline and other Studies*, p. 265.)

departed] The reason for Mark's departure is not given, but Paul obviously was dissatisfied with it, and refused to travel with Mark when Barnabas wished to take him on their next journey (xv. 38). Perhaps Col. iv. 10 indicates that the dissatisfaction was not permanent. It is quite possible that the original plan did not contemplate anything more than Cyprus and that Mark did not feel it his duty to continue with the new enterprise. Although it is not so stated here (as in xvi. 6-10), the plans for travel were doubtless tentative

returned to Jerusalem. And they passed on from Perga and ¹⁴ arrived at Pisidian Antioch, and came into the synagogue on the Sabbath day and sat down. And after the reading of the ¹⁵ Law and Prophets the archisynagogues sent to them, saying,

and subject to change. Barnabas as a Cypriote (iv. 36) would perhaps feel most interest in Cyprus, and Mark, if his relative, would have the same feeling. Perhaps this is a reason for the fact that on the first missionary tour of the island Barnabas is named before Paul, and that after their separation Barnabas and Mark chose to go there again. (See note on verse 4.)

14. passed on] They thus entered a new province, Galatia. Assuming that the Galatians addressed in Paul's epistle are Galatians in the sense of provincials, it is legitimate to think that they were the inhabitants of Pisidian Antioch, Iconium, Lystra and Derbe (but see Additional Note 18), and to connect Paul's arrival in Galatia with Gal. iv. 13, "You know that because of physical sickness (*ἀσθένειαν τῆς σαρκός*) I preached to you the first time." If so, it is tolerably clear that Paul was ill when or after he landed in Pisidia, and that he therefore went on to Antioch. The generally malarious nature of the coast and the far more healthy climate of Antioch (3600 feet above the sea) render very probable Ramsay's guess that Paul had fever in Perga (see Ramsay, *PTRC*. pp. 92 ff.).

Pisidian Antioch] Probably not Antioch of Pisidia, as the Western text reads. Antioch was not in but near to Pisidia. Strabo therefore on p. 569 calls it *ἡ πρὸς τῇ Ἰλισιδίᾳ*, and on p. 577 *ἡ πρὸς Ἰλισιδίᾳ καλουμένη*. It had been built by Seleucus Nicator, and been made a 'colonia' by Augustus. It was a Phrygian city which had been given to Amyntas, who was then king of Pisidia and of Pisidian Phrygia, in 39 B.C. At his death it naturally passed into the province of Galatia. The province of Pisidia was not founded until A.D. 295, and until then Pisidian Antioch belonged to Galatia (see esp. W. M. Ramsay, *Cities of St. Paul*, pp. 262 ff.).

Sabbath] Ramsay thinks that this Sabbath was not necessarily the first after their arrival. But the natural meaning of the Greek is surely that Paul was asked to preach on the first Sabbath that he was in Antioch, and it is certainly more probable that the invitation was given before there had been any opportunity of hearing him. However much the populace may have been impressed, the leading Jews must have soon known that Paul's teaching was unorthodox.

15. reading] Though the present lections were fixed later, the general outline of the synagogal service in the first century is known. It contained (a) the recitation of the Shema (Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is One, etc.), (b) prayer by the leader, (c) lections from the Law and the Prophets with a translation into the local language, (d) a sermon, and (e) a blessing. The sermon was given by any suitable member of the congregation. Cf. Philo (*De spec. leg.* ii. 6, § 62, p. 282 M.) *ἀναστὰς δὲ τις τῶν ἐμπειροτάτων ὑφηγεῖται τὰ ἀριστα καὶ συνοίσοντα*, and Luke iv. 16.

archisynagogues] The word *ἀρχισυνάγωγος* is well attested by inscriptions for both Gentile and Jewish assemblies (see Ziebarth, *Das griechische Vereinswesen*, p. 55; Juster, *Les Juifs dans l'Empire Romain*, i.). In the New Testament the only occurrences in the plural are this passage (which implies that several held office for a single synagogue at one time) and Mark v. 22, where Jairus is introduced as *εἰς τῶν ἀρχισυναγῶγων*. Luke viii. 41, in copying Mark v. 22, substitutes *ἀρχων τῆς συναγωγῆς*. The reading of Codex Bezae and others at Acts xiv. 2 is *οἱ δὲ ἀρχισυνάγωγοι τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ οἱ ἀρχοντες [τῆς συναγωγῆς]*. Inscriptions also show that appointment was sometimes for life (*διὰ βίου*) and was held by successive generations (cf. the Theodotus referred to in the note on vi. 9). That

“Brethren, if there is with you any word of exhortation to the
 16 people, say it.” And Paul arose and motioned with his hand and
 17 said, “Men of Israel and those who revere God, listen. The God
 of this people of Israel chose our fathers and exalted the people
 in their sojourning in the land of Egypt, and with a high arm he
 18 led them out of it, and when for forty years he had endured
 19 their behaviour in the wilderness, destroying seven nations in

the title was sometimes honorary is shown by the fact that it was applied to women and children; in the present passage it seems to be official (cf. Luke xiii. 14). Possibly here as elsewhere Luke implies a multiplicity of officers where we should expect to hear of a single one (see notes on high priest, iv. 6; Asiarchs, Addit. Note 22; proconsuls, xix. 38). Two ἀρχισυνάγωγοι are named at Corinth (xviii. 8, 17), but they may not have officiated in the same synagogue or at the same time. See Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East* (Eng. trans. 1927, pp. 440 ff.); Schürer, *GJV*. vol. ii.⁴ pp. 509-512; Lake, *Earlier Epistles of St. Paul*, 1911, p. 104 note; Juster, *Les Juifs dans l'Empire Romain*, vol. i. pp. 450 ff.

16. revere God] See Addit. Note 8.

17. Israel] The repetition of ‘Israel’ may indicate that the speech is directed principally to the heathen listeners, but there is nothing else in it to justify this view. Possibly the perception of this difficulty produced the reading of B ‘the people of Israel’ (see note in Vol. III. p. 120). The omission of ‘Israel,’ as Ropes suggests, has much in its favour.

sojourning] παροιμία originally means a place where one is πάροικος, a sojourner, as distinct from a settled resident or citizen. For the further development of the word in ecclesiastical language to mean ‘diocese’ and ‘parish’ see the note of Valesius on Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* i. 1, and cf. Harnack, *Acts*, p. 56 note. The difference between πάροικος and μέτοικος illustrates the difference between Athenian and Imperial psychology.

high arm] Forcibly. Cf. Deut. iv. 34, etc.

18. and when, etc.] ὥς does not

qualify τεσσαρακονταετῇ, unless καὶ be read before καθελών. See note in Vol. III. p. 121. But Luke has a tendency to insert ὥσερ or ὥς even when his source has no such qualification (cf. Mark v. 42 = Luke viii. 42), and the same idiom is used in vs. 20.

endured their behaviour] ἐτροποφόρησεν, from Deut. i. 31, where there is also the same variant ἐτροποφόρησεν as here. The Hebrew means to ‘carry’ rather than to ‘endure,’ and, as Ropes notes (Vol. III. p. 120), ἐτροποφόρησεν, ‘nourished,’ seems to give a better meaning. But what is the evidence that the word really existed in Greek? The only passage quoted is 2 Macc. vii. 27, and as there is no allusion to τροφή in the context the soundness of the spelling is doubtful (see Blass’ note *ad loc.* and Field’s *Hexapla* on Deut. i. 31). τροποφορεῖν, however, seems to be authenticated by its use in Cicero, *Ad Attic.* xiii. 29, and the Schol. on Aristophan. *Frogs* 1432. On the other hand it is probable that if a verb was formed from the stem τροφ- with φορέω, euphony would modify the first φ into a π (cf. θύω, aorist ἐτύθην). Moreover, there was a certain tendency in Greek to use sonorous compounds with the same sense as a simple form (cf. ἐριθεία for ἐρις and πληροφορέω for πληρώω), so that though ἐτροποφόρησεν is undoubtedly the right spelling, it is much less certain that ‘endured’ is the right rendering.

19. seven nations] Deut. vii. 1, “The Hittites, and the Girgashites, and the Amorites, and the Canaanites, and the Perizzites, and the Hivites, and the Jebusites, seven nations greater and mightier than thou.” (Cf. Jos. iii. 10, xxiv. 11, but Deut. xx. 17 omits the Girgashites.)

the land of Canaan, he gave them possession of their land for 20 about four hundred and fifty years. And after this he gave them

possession] κατακληρονομεῖν is a LXX word which seems to have lost the sense of 'inheritance' in favour of that which inheritance gives—possession.

20. four hundred and fifty] The B-text makes this period cover the time from the promise to Abraham to the occupation of the land. The period from the Promise to the Exodus is reckoned, as in vii. 6, in accordance with Gen. xv. 13 ("And he said unto Abram, Know of a surety that thy seed shall be a stranger in a land that is not theirs and shall serve them; and they shall afflict them four hundred years"), rather than with Exod. xii. 40 ("Now the sojourning of the children of Israel, who dwelt in Egypt, was four hundred and thirty years") as 400 years, to which is added 40 years for the wandering in the desert, and about 10 years for the occupation of the land. (It is noteworthy that to modern eyes it would seem that both Genesis xv. 13 and Exod. xii. 40 refer to the period of the Oppression in Egypt, but Rabbinical opinion apparently did not take this view, and reckoned the 'sojourning' of Israel as covering the whole period from Abraham to the Exodus. The Rabbinical explanation of the difference between Exodus and Genesis is that Genesis reckons from the birth of Isaac, and Exodus from the first promise to Abraham. See Strack, ii. p. 668.)

The Western and Antiochian texts and the majority of the modern editors think that 450 ought to refer to the period of the judges. Therefore the Western text reads "and after destroying seven nations in the land of Canaan, he gave them for their inheritance the land of the aliens, and for about four hundred and fifty years he gave judges," etc. This seems to represent a mechanical addition of all the notes of time in the Judges, without considering synchronisms, which makes 410 years, to which the addition of the 40 years of Eli makes 450 (Judges iii. 5, 11, 14, 30; iv. 3; v. 31; vi. 1; viii. 28; ix. 22; x. 2, 3, 8; xii. 7, 9,

11, 14; xiii. 1; xv. 20; 1 Sam. iv. 18). But it is to be noted that this applies only to the Hebrew text. The LXX, which agrees with the Hebrew throughout the list of dates in Judges, gives Eli only 20 years instead of 40 in 1 Sam. iv. 18. Thus, if it be true that this method of reckoning was followed by the maker of the Western text it implies that he used the Hebrew text, not the LXX. This is not usually true of Luke, who in case of variation is always on the side of the LXX. The fact may prove important for our ultimate judgement as to the character and provenance of the Western text.

There is, however, no trace that this way of calculating was ever used by the Jews. Josephus is quite inconsistent with himself. In *Antiq.* viii. 3. 1 he reckons the period from the Exodus to the Building of the Temple as 592 years, but in *Antiq.* xx. 10 as 572, and in *Antiq.* xi. 4. 8 he reckons the period of the Judges as more than 500 years. Moreover, in calculating this he reckons Saul's reign as 20 years in *Antiq.* x. 8. 4, but as 40 years in *Antiq.* vi. 14. 9.

The official Rabbinical reckoning is given in *Seder Olam R.* 15 as 383 years for the period of the Judges, and 440½ years from the Entry into Canaan to the Building of the Temple. This is based on the statement in 1 Kings vi. 1 that Solomon began to build the Temple 480 years after the Exodus ("And it came to pass in the four hundred and eightieth year after the children of Israel were come out of the land of Egypt." Once more it is to be noted that this does not hold good if the LXX be followed, for it reads "in the four hundred and fortieth year"). The Rabbis reckoned 40 years in the Wilderness, 302 years to Jephthah's death, 81 years from Jephthah to Eli's death, 10 years to the anointing of Saul, 3½ years for Saul's reign, 40 years for David's reign, and 4 years of Solomon's reign before the Temple was begun (see Strack, ii. pp. 724 ff.). The best explanation of how the redactor of 1 Kings reached his result is prob-

- 21 judges until Samuel the prophet, and after that they asked for
 a king and God gave them Saul, son of Kish, a man of the tribe
 22 of Benjamin, for forty years. And he removed him and raised

ably that of Nöldeke as emended by G. F. Moore, who suggests the redactor adopts the eastern custom of not counting periods of oppression, and also omits the reigns of Saul and Abimelech as illegitimate. This theory gives 40 years to Joshua and 40 to Samuel, but only 20 to Eli, following the LXX rather than the Massoretic text. (See Nöldeke, *Untersuchungen zur Kritik des A. T.*, 1869, pp. 173 ff., and G. F. Moore, 'Judges' in *International Critical Commentary*, pp. xli f.)

This is another case in which textual and exegetical problems go together. If we knew the solution of either we could solve the other. Both texts are plain, and each gives a plausible meaning. It is in any case a curious coincidence that so reasonable an explanation of the number 450 can be given with either text. On the whole I think the B-text and the interpretation based on it is the more probable, because the Western text seems to have disregarded the plain statement of 1 Kings vi. 1, whether the Hebrew or the LXX be followed, and the problem resolves itself into the further question: which was less likely to disregard 1 Kings vi. 1, Luke or the Western reviser? Personally I think Luke; but I am not very sure about it. Moreover, the Western text—as shown above—implies the use of the Hebrew text, which Luke is less likely to have followed.

It is interesting, and important for the history of the text, to note that Chrysostom's text, as printed, gives the Antiochian reading (*Hom. xxix.*), but his comment implies the B-text. He says: "... 'He divided the land to them by lot,' and the time was long, 'four hundred and fifty years.'" Obviously the 'four hundred and fifty years' goes, as in the B-text, with the occupation of the land. But the lemma clearly follows the Antiochian reading. There is much reason for thinking that the text of

Chrysostom in the lemmata has been accommodated to the later text. Unfortunately most statements about the text which he used are based on these lemmata, not on the comment, which sometimes—as here—reveals the truth, though often it cannot do so.

Samuel] As in the early chapters of 1 Samuel he is the connecting link between Judges and Prophets and can be reckoned with either. Cf. iii. 24.

21. Benjamin] Is it possible that the writer emphasizes this point because the Saul who is speaking was also a Benjamite (Rom. xi. 1; Philipp. iii. 5)? There were various grounds for pride assigned to this tribe. See Strack, *Kommentar*, iii. pp. 286 ff., 622. For the whole custom of patronymics and tribal designations compare Luke ii. 36.

forty years] This is not stated in the O.T., but it is found in Josephus, *Antiq.* vi. 14. 9, § 378, where it is said that Saul reigned 18 years during the life of Samuel, and 22 years after his death. But in *Antiq.* x. 8. 4, § 143, Saul is given only 20 years. Rabbinical reckoning in *Seder Olam R.* 13 gives him only 3 years and a third. It is possibly not an accident that this 40 years is combined with the 450, for 490 (450 + 40) was a favourite number with the Jews and with Christians. Cf. the apocalyptic 70 weeks of years (7 × 70), and the 'generations' in Matthew, which probably represent 3 periods of 490 years (14 × 35, 35 being traditionally a generation). See G. F. Moore, *Harvard Theological Review*, xiv., 1921, pp. 97 ff.

22. removed] μεταστήσας, with reference either to the rejection of Saul (1 Sam. xv. 23) or to Saul's death. The former view is perhaps more probable in view of Luke xvi. 4. It might indeed be rendered 'deposed,' but it is better to keep the more ambiguous verb—'removed.' Josephus uses μεθίστημι in both senses.

Ps. lxxxix. 21

up David for them as king, in testimony to whom he said, 'I found in David the son of Jesse a man after my own heart, who will do all my wishes.' His is the seed from which according to his promise God did bring for Israel a saviour, Jesus, when John had preached beforehand before his coming a baptism of repentance to all the people of Israel. And as John was finishing his course he said, 'As for what you suspect that I am, no ! I

I found, etc.] Combining Ps. lxxxix. 20 (LXX, lxxxviii. 21) εἶρον Δαυεὶδ τὸν δοῦλόν μου, ἐν ἐλπίδι ἀγίῳ ἐχρίσα αὐτόν, 1 Sam. xiii. 14 καὶ ζητήσῃ κύριος ἐαυτῷ ἄνθρωπον κατὰ τὴν καρδίαν αὐτοῦ, and Is. xlv. 28 ὁ λέγων Κύριε φρονεῖν, καὶ πάντα τὰ θελήματά μου ποιήσει. The importance of the first part of the combination is that it is also found in 1 Clem. xviii. 1 τί δὲ εἰπωμεν ἐπὶ τῷ μεμαρτυρημένῳ (cf. Acts μαρτυρήσας) Δαυεὶδ, πρὸς δὲ ἐπεὶ ὁ θεός· εἶρον ἄνδρα κατὰ τὴν καρδίαν μου Δαυεὶδ τὸν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ; The identity of the combination and the use of ἄνδρα for ἄνθρωπον are very significant. (For the doubt as to the text of Acts see note in Vol. III. p. 122.) It may be one of two things: (a) 1 Clement is quoting Acts, (b) Acts and Clement both used a book of 'Testimonies.' (Cf. Vol. II. p. 94, note 2.) The choice between these possibilities depends largely on the view taken of the whole problem of 'Testimonies.'

In view of the suggestion of quotation of Acts xx. 35 in 1 Clem. ii. 1 (ἡδὶον διδόντες ἢ λαμβάνοντες), I incline to think that Clement knew Acts. The other quotation from Acts sometimes ascribed to him (the use of πορεύεσθαι εἰς τὸν τόπον of the death of Peter and Paul, compared with Acts i. 25) seems to me negligible (see *The N.T. in the Apostolic Fathers by the Oxford Society of Historical Theology*).

It should be noted that the date of 1 Clement is by no means so certain as is often assumed. The only serious reason for dating it in 96 is that it is thought to refer to the persecution of Domitian. But there is very little reason to believe in a persecution under Domitian, and the evidence would fit equally well

some other period of persecution, such as the time of Trajan.

23. promise] Possibly the primary allusion is to 2 Sam. xxii. 51 μεγαλύνων τὰς σωτηρίας βασιλείας αὐτοῦ καὶ ποιῶν ἔλεος τῷ χριστῷ αὐτοῦ, τῷ Δαυεὶδ καὶ τῷ σπέρματι αὐτοῦ ἕως αἰῶνος. Cf. also Ps. cxxxii. 11 and 17, and Acts ii. 30.

bring] The reading ἤγαγεν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ σωτήρα Ἰησοῦν is both the oldest (BNA) and the most difficult. The later and easier reading, defended by Pallis, substitutes the more idiomatic ἤγειρεν. Cf. verse 22 and the formula of Judges translated in the LXX at iii. 9 καὶ ἤγειρε Κύριος σωτήρα τῷ Ἰσραὴλ (cf. iii. 15). It is, however, possible that ἤγαγεν is an error for an original ἤγειρεν (cf. Acts v. 30), as D at xiv. 2 reads ἐπήγαγον for ἐπήγειραν.

saviour] Possibly with a reference to the meaning of the name Jesus (Jahveh is salvation). Cf. Matt. i. 21.

24. before his coming] πρὸ προσώπου τῆς εἰσόδου is a Hebraism which Torrey claims as an instance of translation. But it may be due to the LXX version of the proof text about John from Malachi iii. 1 τὸν ἀγγέλον . . . πρὸ προσώπου μου . . . ἡμέραν εἰσόδου αὐτοῦ.

25. was finishing] See note on ii. 1. The meaning of the imperfect seems to be clear, for John had not 'finished his course' at the time referred to. Though the words given to him do not quite correspond, the allusion is clearly to Luke iii. 15 ff.

It is noteworthy that this speech implies that all Paul's hearers know John the Baptist, and apparently also the existence of Jesus, but the doctrine about Jesus is presented as something new.

what] The Western text emends τί

am not he, but behold he is coming after me, and the shoes of
 26 his feet I am not worthy to undo.' My brothers, sons of the race
 of Abraham, and those who fear God among you, to us has the
 27 word of this salvation been sent out. For those who dwelt in
 Jerusalem and their rulers did not know him, and fulfilled by
 their judgement the words of the prophets which are read every
 28 Sabbath, and though they found no capital charge they asked
 29 Pilate for him to be put to death. And when they had fulfilled

to *τίνα*, which Blass takes as the equivalent of *ὅν* (see Blass *ad loc.*), and the grammarians are generally agreed that *τι* or *τίνα* is an instance of the interrogative used as a relative. This is Hellenistic; see Blass-Debrunner, § 298. 4, and Mayser, II. i. p. 80.

worthy] The synoptic gospels have *ικανός*. John i. 27 has *ἄξιος* as here, and Matt. iii. 11 (Q?) agrees with this passage in omitting 'latchet of.'

26. fear God] Does this mean 'half-proselytes' or 'those among you who are really pious'? The latter seems to give the better meaning with the B-text, *οἱ ἐν ὑμῖν φοβούμενοι τὸν θεόν, ἡμῖν κτλ.*, but 'half-proselyte' is preferable if *ἡμῖν* be read for *ὑμῖν*. In view of the readiness with which *ὑμῖν* and *ἡμῖν* are interchanged in mss., and of the generally technical meaning of *οἱ φοβούμενοι τὸν θεόν, ἡμῖν* should probably be adopted. (See Addit. Note 8.)

this salvation] Possibly again with reference to 2 Sam. xxii. 51, but the primary allusion is to *σωτήρα* in vs. 23.

27-29. The text of these verses is extraordinarily corrupt. The translation given above represents the B-text. Unfortunately it gives a rather smoother rendering than the Greek justifies. The difficulty is that *κρίναντας* apparently refers to *τοῦτον*, and *ἐπλήρωσαν* to *τὰς φωνὰς τῶν προφητῶν*. It is not absolutely impossible to construe, but few are likely to think that it is tolerable Greek.

The reconstructed Western text given in Vol. III. p. 261 might be rendered, "For the dwellers in Jerusalem and her rulers, not understanding the scriptures of the prophets, which are read on every sabbath,

fulfilled them, and though they found no capital charge in him judged him and handed him over to Pilate for destruction, and as they were fulfilling all that was written about him, they begged Pilate, after he was crucified, for him to be taken down from the tree, and, gaining their request, took him down and put him in a tomb." This is much clearer and better. It is probably in the main a revision, but in several points, especially the position of *κρίναντες*, is perhaps more nearly the original than is the B-text. (See the Detached Note in Vol. III. pp. 261-263.)

27. him] Or possibly 'it.' *τοῦτον* may refer to Jesus or to *λόγος* in vs. 26. In favour of the connexion with *λόγος* is its nearness, but the probability that it is Jesus is rendered at least equally great by the fact that in vs. 28 *αὐτόν* must refer to him.

by their judgement] Blass suggests the emendation *ἀναγινωσκομένας μὴ ἀνακρίναντες*, which is very attractive, but ought to have left more trace in early witnesses if it be right.

28. they found no capital charge] The innocence of Jesus is a favourite subject for emphasis by this writer. See Cadbury, *Making of Luke-Acts*, pp. 308 ff. But what in Luke xxiii. 4 is applied to Pilate is here referred to the Jews in general, just as the latter replace Joseph of Arimathea in the next verse. The desire for condensation of expression and grammatical simplicity is probably responsible for both these changes here and not a really different impression about the facts of the Passion story. Cf. iii. 13 where Pilate appears in the same light as in the Gospels.

for him to be put to death]

all the things that had been written about him they took him down from the tree and put him in a tomb, but God raised him 30 from the dead, and he was seen for many days by those who 31 had gone up with him from Galilee to Jerusalem, who are now his witnesses to the People, and we bring you good news of the 32 promise which was made to the fathers, that God has fulfilled 33 this to our children by raising up Jesus as it is written in

ἀναρροθῆναι αὐτόν. Probably *ἵνα ἀναρροσῇ*, 'that they might destroy him,' is the original text. See Vol. III. p. 263.

29. tree] See notes on v. 30 and x. 39.

and put him] This makes Joseph of Arimathaea act as a representative of the Sanhedrin. It is only in Matthew and John that he is made into a disciple, and only in Luke xxiii. 50f. that he is described as a good and righteous man who had no part in the condemnation of Jesus. For the doubt whether he was a disciple, and the suggestion that this verse, even if only accidentally, is correct, see K. Lake, *The Historical Evidence for the Resurrection*, pp. 48 ff.

tomb] Unlike the tomb of David, which is mentioned in ii. 29 to show that David was not raised from the dead, the tomb of Jesus is mentioned here and in I Cor. xv. 4 *ἐτάφη* is put in, to show the reality of the death and thus the miraculousness of the resurrection. For the same reason it is mentioned fully in the Gospels and included in the Creed. The atmosphere of the docetic controversy is very perceptible.

31. for many days] *πλείους* used with no sense of comparison, cf. ii. 40. For the whole phrase note that a comparison with i. 3 (*δι' ἡμερῶν τεσσαράκοντα ὀπτανόμενος*) gives an example of the Lucan tendency to vary a phrase while repeating its general meaning.

from Galilee] Is this a Lucan variant for 'in Galilee' just as Mark xvi. 7 'He goes before you into Galilee, there ye shall see him' becomes in Luke xxiv. 6 'Remember how he spoke to you while he was still in Galilee'?

It is somewhat strange that Luke makes Paul mention appearances to the Galilean disciples but none to himself. Contrast I Cor. xv. 1 ff.; Acts xxii. and xxvi. This and the other likenesses to Peter's speech suggest that in spite of verses 21 (Saul) and 39, the author is not constantly thinking of Paul.

now] *νῦν* may be an addition. It is omitted by B, put after *εἰσι* by S, before it by AC 81, and in the form *ἄχρι νῦν* by D vg. It is also strangely omitted in the ecclesiastical text.

the People] i.e. the Jews: does this imply a contrast between these 'witnesses to the Jews' and Paul?

33. to our children] *τοῖς τέκνοις ἡμῶν*. The evidence for this reading is overwhelming (see Vol. III. p. 124), yet all the editors rightly agree that it is impossible and that it is a primitive corruption of a text, which, however it is read, meant 'to us, their children.'

by raising up] It is at first sight plausible to interpret *ἀναστήσας*, in the light of iii. 26, as referring to the ministry, not to the Resurrection of Jesus. But the immediate context in vs. 34 ff. suggests the Resurrection. The crucial point is, what is the *ἐπαγγελία* which was fulfilled by 'raising up' Jesus? The answer might be that it was—in this passage—*δώσω ὑμῖν τὰ ὅσια Δαυεὶδ τὰ πιστά*, and since that is interpreted as meaning the Resurrection, *ἀναστήσας* must refer to the Resurrection. But I think that this quotation is part of the argument for the Resurrection, not a definition of the promise. The promise is that implied in vs. 23, the Davidic kingship as the source of salvation for Israel. In this case *ἀναστήσας* is not exactly a reference to the Resurrection,

the first Psalm, 'Thou art my son, it is I who have begotten Ps. ii. 7.
 34 thee to-day.' And that he raised him from the dead, destined
 to return no more to corruption, he said thus, 'I will give Is. lv. 3.
 35 you the holy things of David which are faithful,' because he

but to the whole career of Jesus, including the Resurrection and the Glorification. (Cf. also iii. 26 f.)

The main interest of this speech is that it is perhaps the earliest clear statement of the Messianic claims of Jesus as the Davidic king rather than as the Son of Man. In Peter's speech in x. 34 ff. Jesus is clearly regarded as the Son of Man who is to judge the living and the dead (see esp. x. 42). There is nothing about the Davidic Messiah, and judging the living and the dead was not a function of the Davidic Messiah in any writing of this period. In Peter's speech in iii. 12 ff. there is nothing about a Davidic Messiah who will restore the fortunes of Israel, but vss. 19-20 seem to refer to a 'Son of Man' eschatology, though they are not very clear. Peter's speech in ii. 14 ff. does indeed imply the Davidic descent of Jesus, but his Messianic mission seems to be to pour out the Spirit, so as to cleanse the baptized from their sins. This is neither the doctrine of the Davidic Messiah nor of the 'Son of Man' eschatology.

The importance of these facts is missed if emphasis be laid mainly on the difference between these speeches. The real point is twofold: (a) It is, in general, the earlier views about Jesus which are given first in Acts. This seems to point to an historical basis in the Lucan presentation, in spite of editorial colour, sketchiness of statement, and many unhistorical details. (b) However different these concepts of the Messiah may have been originally, and however separate their origin, they came together in Christian doctrine. They are very skilfully combined in Luke's writing, so that, though these speeches seem so alike, nevertheless each adds a new point. This is due to the fact that Acts partly registered, partly brought about, this Christian synthesis of originally distinct ideas.

first Psalm] See Detached Note in

Vol. III. pp. 263-265, where it is shown that Hebrew and Latin Psalters in the third century treated the first two of our Psalms as one. There is no evidence that Greek mss. of the Psalter did not divide these two psalms, though Justin Martyr quotes them both as one. The present division of the Psalms elsewhere sometimes combines two separate poems or divides a continuous poem into two.

it is I] The *ἐγώ* seems emphatic in the Greek rather than the *σήμερον*.

who have begotten thee to-day] At the Resurrection? Or at the Baptism? Or at the Birth? See note on x. 38, and cf. the Western text of Luke iii. 22. The Western text continues the quotation: "Ask of me and I will give thee Gentiles (*ἔθνη*) for thine inheritance, and for thy possession the ends of the earth."

34. I will give you the holy things of David which are faithful] τὰ ὁσία τὰ πιστά is as unintelligible in Greek as in English. The A.V. gives the phrase a meaning, but destroys the argument, by taking refuge in the Hebrew original, Is. lv. 3, and renders 'I will give you the sure mercies of David.' But the point of the argument turns on the Greek word *ὁσία*, and on its unintelligibility. When the Rabbis found a phrase which could not be explained by any ordinary method in its own context they interpreted it by 'analogy,' that is, they found the same word in some other place where its meaning was clear, and interpreted the obscure passage in the light of the intelligible one. Here *ὁσία* is unintelligible; therefore the writer takes another passage in which the adjective *ὁσιος* is used substantively, Ps. xvi. 10, "Thou wilt not give thy holy one—*ὁσιον*—to see corruption," and introduces it by *διότι*, to show that this is the justification for his interpretation, and that by perfectly correct Rabbinical reasoning τὰ ὁσία means the Resurrection. Moreover the two quotations are not only

Ps. xvi. 10. says also in another place, 'Thou wilt not give thy Holy One to see corruption.' For David in his own generation, having served the will of God, fell asleep, and was added to his fathers and saw corruption, but he whom God raised up did not see corruption. Therefore be it known to you, my brethren, that through this man forgiveness of sins is announced to you,

alike in using *δσος*, but both—in Acts—use the same verb (*δσσω . . . δσσεις*), and in the first case *δσσω* is Luke's emendation for the *διαθήσονται* of the LXX. It is important to notice that the whole argument is based on the LXX, and disappears if the speech be not in Greek. It is also noteworthy that the pronoun *υμιν* seems to be a main point in the argument, as it is later developed (see note on vs. 36). For here, just as in ii. 29, the promise not to see corruption must be turned from David himself to another. The passage from Isaiah, as rewritten in Acts, says explicitly that the *δσα* vouchsafed by God to David are to be given to 'you' rather than to David.

36. in his own generation, etc.] Another rendering is "having served his own generation, by the will of God fell asleep," which is adopted by B. Weiss and others, but it is scarcely possible to accept the A.V. "after he had served his generation by the will of God, fell asleep." The combination of two datives after *υπερετήσας* is improbable and unnecessary. Of the two possible renderings the one given above seems best to suit the natural way of reading the Greek. The words are perhaps merely the fulfilment of vs. 22 *ποιήσει πάντα τὰ θελήματά μου*.

The general argument of vs. 36 ff. is that the psalm refers, according to Christian hypothesis, either to the author David or to the Messiah (cf. viii. 34). Verse 36 is to show that it does not refer to David, since the latter belonged only to his own generation, was buried, and saw corruption, and his tomb remains to this day. Cf. ii. 29. At the risk of explaining *obscurum per obscurius* it is perhaps possible to bring into contrast with this passage the very dubious line

from Isaiah liii., quoted in viii. 33, *τὴν γενεάν αὐτοῦ τίς διηγήσεται; ὅτι αἰρεται ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἡ ζώνη αὐτοῦ*. If these words are interpreted as a reference to the permanent exaltation of the Messiah by his survival of death, the question is a rhetorical one: he belongs to no single generation. David, on the contrary, is described in the present passage as belonging definitely to his own generation because he did not survive death. He was added to the generations before him. His life was not taken from the earth. "It is possible to speak boldly of David that he died and was buried" (ii. 29).

was added to his fathers] See Judges ii. 10 and the phrase, common in the books of Kings, 'and he slept with his fathers.' The use of *γενεά* in the earlier part of the verse makes this phrase particularly suitable here, as it is in Judges ii. 10 *καὶ γε πᾶσα ἡ γενεὰ ἐκείνη προσετέθη πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας αὐτῶν*.

38. forgiveness] Forgiveness of sins was the complement to salvation because all ills came from sin, so that the 'taking away' (*ἀφεσις*) of sins removed the cause of ills. The position of Acts on the forgiveness of sins seems to be between the Jewish position and that of the Church of the second century in the Empire. Jewish doctrine was that repentance, which is always in the power of the sinner, secures forgiveness and salvation (see Vol. I. pp. 71 ff.). If the Parable of the Prodigal Son be rightly attributed to Jesus, this was certainly his teaching, and there is nothing in the synoptic gospels which points to any other conclusion.

But in the Church in the second century the dominant doctrine was that man could be saved only by a change of nature, which was conferred

39 and from all things from which you could not be acquitted by the law of Moses, by him everyone who believes is acquitted.
40 Beware, then, lest there come on you what was spoken in the

on him sacramentally in baptism by the power of the Name. Whether Paul took this view or not is open to question. There are passages in the epistles such as Rom. vi. 3 which point in that direction, but his emphasis on Faith is difficult to harmonize with them. (See K. Lake, *Earlier Epistles of St. Paul*, pp. 383 ff.) Later on the Church regarded Faith as the necessary precedent condition rendering possible the sacramental regeneration of Baptism, which changed the nature of the convert, so that he 'became' a child of God. The classical evidence for this view is in the main in the fourth gospel; cf. John iii. 3 ff. and i. 12 (ἐξουσίαν γενέσθαι τέκνα θεοῦ).

Acts nowhere gives a clear exposition of its teaching on this subject. But in general it seems very close to the Johannine position. The writer believed that the exalted Jesus had given the Spirit to the Apostles, and they in turn could give it to others by the power of the Name of Jesus. In this way forgiveness of sins could be obtained by the believers.

This much seems clear. But on two points there is room for considerable difference of opinion. (a) How far did this 'forgiveness' imply the real change of nature which the Johannine doctrine suggests? (b) How far can we distinguish between the efficacy of sacramental baptism and that of the Name? With regard to (a) there seems no evidence; perhaps the writer and his circle did not think in terms of 'nature.' With regard to (b) it is largely a question of emphasis and proportion. In later Christianity the Name is part, and only part, of the sacrament. In Acts it seems rather that the Name was the outstanding feature. It worked miracles in Baptism, but also independently and Baptism is one way of using the Name, rather than the Name part of Baptism.

How far did this belief in the forgiveness of sins as the essential work of Jesus take the place of the eschatological expectation? Later on it

probably did so, but in Acts it rather belongs to the eschatological expectation. It is the opportunity for that national purification which was to come before the end, and was—at least in part—the work of the Messiah (see further H. Windisch, *Taufe und Sünde*, pp. 34 ff.). It is even possible that the restoration of the Davidic glories of Israel, which seems to be part of the background of Paul's speech in Pisidian Antioch, was held to depend on national repentance and on the forgiveness of sins. Cf. iii. 19.

39. and from . . . acquitted] This seems the only possible translation of the B-text, but the Western text smoothed out the roughness of the Greek and wrote "through him forgiveness of sins is announced to you, and repentance from all those things from which you could not be acquitted by the law of Moses; by him therefore every one who believes is acquitted."

Critics advocate two interpretations: (i.) the ὡν οὐκ ἠδυνήθητε etc. means that by the Law of Moses acquittal of some things was possible, but not of others, and Paul was announcing this possible method of going beyond what the Law could do; (ii.) ὡν etc. merely qualify πάντων, 'forgiveness for everything—which the Law never offered.' The former view is possible, but the latter seems more natural. Nor can I resist the belief that this verse is an attempt to express Pauline doctrine. Whatever hypothesis be adopted, it is incredible that the author of Acts was ignorant of the main outlines of Paul's teaching, and it was surely a part of his message that salvation is open to everyone who believes, in a way which was not given by the Law, even though he may have been unfair to Judaism in so presenting it.

40. spoken in the Prophets] From the LXX of Habakkuk i. 5. The minor prophets formed a single book, hence Amos, Habbakuk, and perhaps Joel (see Vol. III. p. 16) are quoted as 'the prophet' or 'the prophets.' See also on xv. 15.

Hab. i. 5. Prophets, 'See, ye despisers, and wonder and vanish away, for 41
I work a work in your days, a work which ye will not believe if
one relate it to you.' " And as they went out they asked that 42
these things might be spoken to them on the next Sabbath.
And when the synagogue had broken up many of the Jews and 43
worshipping proselytes followed Paul and Barnabas, who spoke
to them and urged them to remain in the grace of God.

And on the next Sabbath almost the whole city was gathered 44

41. wonder] θαυμάσατε. The LXX reads θαυμασία θαυμάσατε, but the writer here avoids the Hebraism, just as in xiii. 35 he reads δώσω instead of διαθήσομαι with διαθήκην from Is. lv. 3 (cf. Heb. viii. 8-10).

vanish away] The corresponding Hebrew text of Habakkuk means 'be astonished.' The Greek ἀφανίσθητε is in form a passive, 'be made to vanish,' but the verb ἀφανίζω is used of disfiguring, making away with, and otherwise destroying utterly (so as to be invisible). It occurs in the LXX with such meanings, but some of the corresponding Hebrew words mean both 'destroy' and 'appal.'

42 f. The textual correctness of these verses and their interpretation make up a complex problem. The B-text is translated above. The difficulty felt by commentators is that ἐξιόντων αὐτῶν is a doublet of λυθείσης τῆς συναγωγῆς. This is so, but it is possible to exaggerate the difficulty. The picture called to my mind is that as they were going out some of the congregation desired to hear Paul again, and that when the meeting was dispersed, some of them made Paul's acquaintance without waiting for the next Sabbath. Therefore it scarcely seems necessary to regard vs. 42 as an interpolation as Spitta does, or to reject vs. 43 with Wendt. But doubtless the passage is awkward. Therefore the Western text reads, "And they stopped speaking, and as they were going out they asked that these things might be told them the next Sabbath," and the Antiochian text reads, "And as they were going out from the synagogue of the Jews, the Gentiles asked that these things might be told them the next Sabbath."

If the text must be emended, the best suggestion is that of Hort, who proposed (W.H. ii. App. pp. 95 f.) to read ἀξιούντων for ἐξιόντων, to omit ἡξιούν or παρεκάλουν, and to have no break at the end of vs. 42.

42. things] ῥήματα might be rendered 'sayings,' but the translation given is probably right. Cf. note on x. 37.

next] μεταξύ in this sense is common in Josephus (see Krenkel, *Josephus und Lucas*, p. 216, and Holtzmann, *ZWTh.*, 1877, pp. 547 f.), and is also found in Barnabas xiii. 5; 1 Clem. xlv. 2; the Western reading in xxiii. 25; and elsewhere.

43. worshipping proselytes] The phrase σεβόμενοι προσήλυτοι is only found here, and its meaning is very doubtful. See Addit. Note 8.

God] θεοῦ, or possibly 'Lord' (κυρίου), which Ropes and von Soden prefer. The evidence is about equal (see note in Vol. III. p. 127).

44. The Western text reads, "And it came about that the word of God went through the whole city; and on the next Sabbath almost the whole city was gathered together to hear Paul."

next] This must be the meaning, but the text is doubtful. The oldest authorities (NBD) read ἐρχομένῳ, which Blass and others say cannot mean anything except 'future'; they therefore accept the reading of the inferior mss., ἐχόμενῳ. It must be admitted that the evidence of D is of little importance here. ἐχόμενος in the sense of 'next' is found in Acts xx. 15, xxi. 26, Luke xiii. 33, and Mark i. 38. In each case D changes the word to ἐρχομένη, ἐπιούση, ἐρχομένη, and ἐγγύς. But Josephus uses ἐρχόμενος in this

45 together to hear the word of God. And when the Jews saw the crowds they were filled with jealousy and contradicted what was
 46 said by Paul, blaspheming. But Paul and Barnabas were bold and said, "It was necessary that the word of God should first be spoken to you; since you push it away and do not judge yourselves worthy of the life of the Age to come, lo, we turn to
 47 the Gentiles. For thus the Lord has commanded us, 'I have Is. xlix. 6.
 placed thee as a light of the Gentiles for thee to be for salvation to
 48 the ends of the earth.'" And when the Gentiles heard they were glad and glorified the word of God, and all who were appointed

sense in *Antiq.* vi. 9. 1 τῇ δὲ ἐρχομένῃ πάλιν ἐλθόν, and in *Antiq.* vi. 11. 9 τῇ δὲ ἐρχομένῃ νεομηνία δ' ἦν. See Wettstein *ad loc.*

45. The Western text (D) completely rewrites the passage: "And when he (Paul) made a long discourse about the Lord, and the Jews saw the crowd, they were filled with jealousy, and contradicted the words spoken by Paul, contradicting and blaspheming." There is unfortunately no other Western witness at this point, and the roughness of the text may suggest that it has been partly conflated with the B-text.

blaspheming] βλασφημοῦντες might mean 'speaking evil of him,' i.e. of Paul. But the analogy of xxvi. 11 weighs strongly against this interpretation.

46. were bold] I doubt the correctness of this translation. As in other places I think παρησιασάμενοι suggests abnormal eloquence and emotion, not merely boldness. See note on ix. 27.

push it away] Cf. vii. 27, 39, Rom. xi. 1 f., and 1 Tim. i. 19.

life of the Age to come] Not 'eternal' life, which is a metaphysical concept entirely foreign to Acts. It refers to the Jewish belief in the 'Age to come,' which would be divinely established after the End. (See Vol. I. pp. 133 ff. and 271 ff.) It is characteristic that Luke uses the phrase twice in rapid succession (cf. vs. 48) but not elsewhere in Acts, and in the Gospel only when it was found in his source.

we turn to the Gentiles] The

suggestion can scarcely be that Paul had not preached to Gentiles already, but rather that he would continue to do so, without troubling about the Synagogue. Far too much attention is paid to Gal. ii. 7-9 as though it means that Paul and Barnabas were never to preach to the Jews. As the epistles themselves amply prove, the main intention is merely that Paul and Barnabas were to undertake a mission to the heathen. If Acts be believed, it is clear that they carried this out by going into heathen territory, and used their right, as Jews, of admission to the Synagogue to address the Gentile attendants who were present. It was the obviously quickest and best method of approach; though it is also obvious why the Jews were not pleased to see those whom they had hoped fully to convert led astray to a sect of which they strongly disapproved.

47. I have placed, etc.] Is. xlix. 6. The passage referred in the original to Israel, the Servant of the Lord.

48. glorified] To glorify God is a common phrase, but to glorify the word of God is not found elsewhere. Perhaps for this reason the Western text reads ἐδέξαντο (received) instead of ἐδόξαζον. With this reading (ἀκούοντα τὰ ἔθνη ἔχαιρον καὶ ἐδέξαντο τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ) compare viii. 14, xi. 1, xvii. 11, and also Luke viii. 13 (Luke's version of the Parable of the Sower) ὅταν ἀκούσωσιν μετὰ χαρᾶς δέχονται τὸν λόγον. But the B-text sounds characteristically Lucan enough to be genuine.

to the life of the Age to come believed. And the word of the 49 Lord was carried about through the whole district, but the Jews 50 incited the God-fearing women of position and the chief men of the city, and raised persecution against Paul and Barnabas and turned them out of their neighbourhood. But they shook off the 51 dust of their feet against them and came to Iconium, and the 52 disciples were filled with joy and with Holy Spirit.

And it came to pass that they went in together into the syna- 14 gogue and spoke in such a way that a great number both of Jews

appointed to the life of the Age to come] The phrase is common in Rabbinical literature (see Strack ii. p. 726). It is noticeable that the belief in predestination, so strong though usually unformulated in early Christian thought, makes the writer say that 'those who were appointed to life believed,' rather than 'those who believed were appointed to life.' The verb *τεταγμένοι* perhaps means explicitly 'inscribed,' 'enrolled.' It is so used in the papyri and once quite definitely in Theodotion (Dan. vi. 13 (12)) for the Aramaic ܬܪܬܝܢ; see J. A. Montgomery, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, xlv. (1927) p. 73. For this idea Luke supplies a parallel in Luke x. 20 τὰ ὀνόματα ὑμῶν ἐγγράφεται ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, cf. Philipp. iv. 3; Rev. xiii. 8, etc., 'the book of life.'

49. district] Ramsay thinks that this word (*χώρα*) means *regio* in the technical sense of an official division of a province. It may be so; but the word is quite an ordinary one, and need no more imply a reference to Roman organization than the word 'district' need in English.

50. God-fearing] See Addit. Note 8. women] Wettstein quotes in illustration Strabo vii. p. 296 τὸ δὲ δὴ καὶ θεοσεβεῖς νομίζουσιν καὶ καπινοβάτας τοὺς ἐρήμους γυναικῶν σφοδρὰ ἐναντιοῦνται ταῖς κοιναῖς ὑπολήψεσιν, ἅπαντες γὰρ τῆς δεισιδαιμονίας ἀρχηγοὺς ὄντας τὰς γυναικας· αὗται δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀνδρας προκαλοῦνται πρὸς τὰς ἐπὶ πλέον θεραπείας τῶν θεῶν, καὶ ἑορτάς, καὶ ποτνιασμούς.

of position] Or *εὐσχήμων* may mean rich, for Phrynichus says that it was so used, and warns elegant writers against it. In Mark xv. 43 Joseph

of Arimathaea is called *εὐσχήμων*, and Matthew replaces the word by *πλούσιος*.

chief men] For the use of *πρώτος* of the leading citizens cf. Josephus, *Vita* 34 (τοὺς πολλοὺς τοῦ δήμου πρώτους ἀνδρας), and examples in Wettstein.

51. shook off the dust] If this natural expression requires explanation it may be found in the belief that land outside the Holy Land was unclean, so that a traveller was careful not to bring dust with him from abroad into Palestine. Thus to 'shake off the dust' against anyone was equivalent to calling him a heathen (Strack i. p. 571). But probably, like other gestures of contempt, its meaning was intelligible rather than definite. See Addit. Note 24.

Iconium] The modern Konia, always important because it is at the junction of several roads. It was originally a Phrygian city (Xenophon, *Anab.* i. 2. 19), and at the time of Justin Martyr one of the accused, Hierax, says that he came from Iconium of Phrygia. See further Addit. Note 18.

1. together] *κατὰ τὸ αὐτό* is probably a Lucan variant for *ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό*, which is common in the earlier chapters and seems as a rule to mean 'together.' It is found in this sense in P. Eleph 1. 5.

But it possibly may mean, as Chrysostom and other commentators have thought, 'in the same way,' presumably with a reference to the way in which they had done in Pisidian Antioch. The only passage which Wettstein quotes (Aelian, *V.H.* xiv. 8)

- 2 and Greeks believed. But the Jews who did not believe incited and irritated the souls of the Gentiles against the brethren.
- 3 So they stayed a long time, being bold in reliance on the Lord,

is susceptible of either meaning. Of Kypke's more numerous examples most are susceptible of either meaning, and few plainly indicate identity of time or place (as he understands them) rather than an identity of manner. For the last-named force cf. in the LXX Exod. xxvi. 24 (where, however, the Hebrew has *וְיָמָא*), and for the meaning 'at one time' cf. Aristeas 104. Elsewhere Aristeas uses *κατὰ τὰ αὐτά* (cf. Luke vi. 23, 26, xvii. 30) to mean 'in the same way.' In xvii. 2 it is said that at Thessalonica Paul entered the synagogue *κατὰ δὲ τὸ εἶωθός τῳ Παύλῳ*.

2-7. The Western reviser not unnaturally found considerable difficulties in this passage and rewrote it. His version is certainly much clearer, but it is hard to believe that if it were original the obscure and difficult B-text could ever have arisen. It is easier to think that this is one of the passages which escaped final revision (see Additional Note 1). The Western text reads: "But the chiefs of the synagogue and the rulers (i.e. of the Iconians, following the Harclean margin) raised persecution [against the righteous] and rendered the minds of the Gentiles hostile to the brethren. *But the Lord soon gave peace.* So they stayed a long time, speaking boldly in reliance on the Lord who witnessed to the word of his grace, giving signs and wonders to be done by their hands; and the populace of the city was divided, and some were with the Jews and others were with the apostles, *cleaving to them for the sake of the word of God.* And the Jews with the Gentiles again raised persecution a second time, and they stoned them, and turned them out of the city, and they fled and came to Lycaonia, to the cities called Lystra and Derbe, and the whole neighbourhood, and were preaching there, *and the whole population was moved by the teaching.* And Paul and Barnabas were staying in Lystra." The text of this passage is not quite certain in all details (see

Vol. III. pp. 128 ff.), but the original Western text was probably not seriously different from that thus translated. The words italicized represent the chief additions and changes, and all seem to be comments calculated to remedy the difficulty of the B-text.

2. the Jews] It is hard to see any difficulty in this, or why the Western text (according to the Harclean margin) expanded it to 'the chiefs of the synagogue and the rulers,' unless the reviser thought that Jews alone would not have had enough influence and was influenced by other passages in Acts in which the *ἀρχισυνάγωγος* or the *ἀρχοντες* (*τῆς συναγωγῆς*) are introduced. The reading of D is surely impossible; 'the chiefs of the synagogue and the rulers of the synagogue' is a meaningless tautology. Either the Harclean margin is the original Western text, or this had only one of these phrases as a gloss on 'the Jews who did not believe,' and the later variants represent attempts at conflation.

did not believe] *ἀπειθήσαντες*, literally disobedey, has become the regular word for 'not believe,' and is used as the opposite of *πιστεύω* (as here) in 1 Peter ii. 7 f., John iii. 36, and as the verb for the noun *ἀπιστία* in Hebrews iii. 18 f.

irritated] *ἐκάκωσαν*: cf. Ps. cvi. 32 (cv. in LXX) *ἐκαώθη Μωυσῆς δι' αὐτοῦς*. It is also found in this sense in Josephus, *Antiq.* xvi. 1. 2; xvi. 7. 3; xvi. 8. 6, and P Tebt 407. But elsewhere *κακῶς* is used in the sense of to injure (cf. xii. 1, xviii. 10), which is the classical meaning of the verb.

brethren] Several further details of the trial of Paul at Iconium are given in the *Acta Pauli*, but they are entirely without historical value.

3. a long time] The difficulty is to see why the persecution mentioned in the previous verse resulted in their staying a long time; yet that is the natural implication of the *μέν οὖν*. The story would read perfectly well if vs. 3

who testified to the word of his grace, granting signs and wonders to be done by their hands. And the population of the city was 4 divided, and some were with the Jews and some were with the apostles. But when a movement, both of Gentiles and Jews 5 with their leaders, was made to ill-treat and stone them, they 6 perceived it and took refuge in the cities of Lycaonia, Lystra

were read before vs. 2. But there is no evidence for this change, and the Western text implies that the difficulty was present when the reviser was at work.

who testified, etc.] A comparison with xx. 24 (διαμαρτύρασθαι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς χάριτος τοῦ θεοῦ) and xx. 32 (τῷ κυρίῳ καὶ τῷ λόγῳ τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ) illustrates Luke's tendency to repeat a phrase not exactly but with variation.

5. movement] ὁρμή may mean an actual hostile attack, but it also signifies mental motion, as frequently in Epictetus and in James iii. 4—something between our words 'impulse' and 'plan.' The latter meaning is confirmed by the context, especially by συνιδόντες (cf. Field, *Notes on the Translation of the N.T.*, ad loc.). The Harclean margin, which probably represents the original Western text, emphasizes that this was the second attack.

leaders] ἄρχοντες: this word is sometimes a technical term for the magistrates of a city (see on xvi. 19). It is also a definite office in Jewish communities, as Greek inscriptions show (Juster, *Les Juifs dans l'Empire Romain*, i. pp. 443 ff.). But in Luke and Acts it is used loosely of the Jewish leaders, and is sometimes apparently a substitute for ἀρχισυνάγωγος (Lk. viii. 41, cf. 49 and Matt. ix. 18), and more often (at Jerusalem) for the ἀρχιερεῖς or all the members of the Sanhedrin (Acts iii. 17, xiii. 27, etc.). The position of the word here suggests that the ἄρχοντες were Jewish, or both Jewish and Gentile. Ramsay, thinking that they were the city magistrates, has supposed that the subsequent return to Iconium and Antioch (verse 21) was made possible by the retirement from office of these officials at the close of their annual term.

ill-treat and stone] Not a climax, but the author, like other Greek writers, tends to associate the strong but vague ὕβρις or ὕβριζω with some more definite word to explain the form which the ill-treatment took.

6. they perceived] συνιδόντες (cf. xii. 12, note) is often used of information not gathered easily by the senses and of obscure situations which men become aware of. In colloquial English 'realized' would express this better than 'perceived.' But Zahn still advocates a meaning like 'consider,' 'weigh the situation.'

took refuge] The obvious suggestion of this phrase is that the visit to Lystra and Derbe was a change of plan, and when circumstances permitted they returned to Iconium.

Lycaonia] Possibly meaning *Lycaonia Galatica*, the district which had been given to the province when the rest of Lycaonia was formed into the kingdom of Antiochus, commonly called *Lycaonia Antiochiana*, in A.D. 41 (see *Earlier Epistles*, p. 312). It was part at least of the Tetrarchy or Added Territory (προσειλημμένη) spoken of by Pliny, *N.H.* v. 25, and by Ptolemy, *Geogr.* v. 4. See further Addit. Note 18.

Lystra] The site was found by Sterrett in 1885, who found an inscription at Khatyn Serai which not only identified the site, but also proved that Augustus had made it a *colonia*. Since then coins have been found proving the same fact, and an inscription at Pisidian Antioch on a statue of Concord put up in honour of Antioch by the 'colonia Lystra' (see J. R. S. Sterrett, *The Wolfe Expedition to Asia Minor*, Boston, 1888, and W. M. Ramsay, *CRE.* pp. 47 ff.). It is curious that both here and in chapter xvi. Lystra has in Greek a singular accusative Λύστραν

7 and Derbe, and the surrounding country, and they were preaching there.

8 And a man used to sit in Lystra impotent in his feet, lame
9 from his mother's womb, who had never walked. He heard Paul
speaking, who gazed at him, and seeing that he had faith to be
10 healed said with a loud voice, "Stand upright on your feet," and
11 he leaped and walked. But the crowd, seeing what Paul had

and a plural dative *Αύστροις* (so also in 2 Tim. iii. 11). The two cases come so closely together in both chapters in Acts that this may merely mean that this is customary, or, as grammarians say, that the word is heteroclitic, not metaplastic; it is perhaps only an accident that the singular accusative comes each time in an introductory and summarizing narrative, the plural dative in a 'story' which must come from a 'tradition,' if not from a source.

Derbe] Not yet completely identified. Ramsay thinks it was at Gudelissin, Sterrett at Bossola or Zosta, 3 miles E.S.E. from Gudelissin. (See Sterrett, *op. cit.* p. 23, and Ramsay, *CRE.* pp. 54 ff.) It was granted the use of the imperial name by Claudius, who gave the same privilege to Iconium, so that the two cities were officially called Claudio-Derbe and Claud-Iconium.

country] Either the neighbourhood of the cities with no further connotation (cf. Luke iv. 14) or the 'country-side,' without cities or municipal organization (see Ramsay, *The Bearing of Recent Discovery*, p. 39 n.).

8-20. PAUL AND BARNABAS AT LYSTRA. The story contains four episodes: (1) the miracle of healing the lame man (vss. 8-10); (2) the identification of the apostles with Hermes and Zeus, and the attempt to offer sacrifice to them (vss. 11-14); (3) Paul's speech (vss. 15-18); (4) the revulsion of feeling in Lystra caused by Jews from Iconium and Antioch, and the consequent flight of the apostles to Derbe. The fullest modern discussion of these incidents is by A. Bludau, *Katholik*, 3. F. xxxvi. (1907), pp. 81-113 and 161-183.

8-10. THE MIRACLE AT LYSTRA. Cf. the story of Peter's miracle at the

Beautiful Gate in iii. 2-8. The number of phrases which recur suggest (a) that this is an instance in which the writer is conscious of the parallelism between Peter and Paul; (b) that there is a certain vocabulary which belongs to stories of this kind; (c) that the writer in telling one story is influenced by his recollection of another. Attention may be called to the following phrases common to both narratives. The man in each case is *χωλός ἐκ κοιλίας μητρός*, the apostle cures each *ἀνέντισας*, and in each case the man leaps up and walks—in iii. 8 *ἐξαλλόμενος ἔστη καὶ περιπατεῖ*, in xiv. 10 *ἤλατο καὶ περιπατεῖ*. The Western reviser makes the parallelism even closer. He adds the proper formula of healing, *ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ* (cf. iii. 6), and says that cure was instantaneous, *εὐθέως παραχρῆμα* (cf. iii. 7). The most remarkable difference between the narratives is that the miracle of Lystra introduces the element of faith, which is absent in the miracle of the Beautiful Gate, but it is the miracle of the Beautiful Gate which is abnormal in this respect, as is seen by a comparison with the miracles of the gospel (cf. Luke v. 20; vii. 50; viii. 48; xvii. 19; xviii. 42), and it is noticeable that Peter's speech after the miracle specially emphasizes faith.

9. speaking] D adds 'being in fear.' This is difficult to understand, and in the African text is in a better position at the end of vs. 8. Can it mean that he was a 'God-fearer'? (See Ramsay, *PTRC.* p. 116.)

11-14. THE IDENTIFICATION OF PAUL AND BARNABAS WITH HERMES AND ZEUS. On the hypothesis that the Lystrans were among the Galatians to whom Paul sent his epistle, Gal. iv.

done, raised their voice, saying in Lycaonian, "The gods have taken human form and come down to us." And they called ¹² Barnabas Zeus and Paul Hermes, because he was the leader of

14 ὡς ἀγγέλον θεοῦ ἐδέξασθαι με is an interesting comment on the identification of Paul with Hermes. There is also a notable parallel in the story of Baucis and Philemon who were visited by Zeus and Hermes in this neighbourhood (Ovid, *Metam.* viii. 626 ff.). If the populace had been talking Greek a conscious reference to this story would be probable, but since they were talking Lycaonian it is very unlikely that they used the names Zeus and Hermes, or even that the temple in which they wished to sacrifice was really that of Zeus. Probably these Greek names represent native Lycaonian gods, whose names are now lost. It is true that Prof. W. M. Calder (*Expositor*, July 1910, pp. 1 ff.) has pointed out two Greek inscriptions in the neighbourhood of Lystra, of which one refers to 'priests' of Zeus, and the other is on a statue of Hermes with a sun-dial dedicated to Zeus. He argues that this supports the combination of Zeus and Hermes in the mouth of the Lycaonians; but these inscriptions are Greek, not Lycaonian, and belong to the third century A.D. (See Calder, *Classical Review*, 1910, pp. 76 ff.; *Expos.*, 1910, pp. 148 ff., and cf. *Expository Times*, xxxvii. p. 528, August 1926.)

The three serious problems of the episode therefore remain unsolved: (a) What were the Lycaonian gods who are here Graecized into Zeus and Hermes? (b) Did the Lycaonians themselves thus 'Graecize' because Paul and Barnabas were (to them) Greeks? (c) Is the name of the temple part of this 'Graecizing,' or was there really a Greek temple to Zeus just outside of Lystra? It is a pity that no serious research has been made by archaeologists at Lystra. The ruins of the temple may well be in existence.

11. in Lycaonian] Little definite seems to be known of this language. (See Conder, *Palestine Exploration Fund*, 1888, iv. pp. 250 f.) Presumably the population was bilingual and understood Greek, but preferred to

speak Lycaonian. Chrysostom explains that the apostles did not understand what was said, and therefore did not more speedily check the preparations for offering sacrifice to them.

12. Barnabas . . . and Paul] The order is the same as at the beginning of the narrative in xiii. 2 and in xiii. 7. But in xiii. 13 the missionaries are called οἱ περὶ Παῦλον, in xiii. 43, 46 and 50 the order is Paul and Barnabas; in xiv. 20, however, the phrase used is that Paul went out with Barnabas (ἐξῆλθεν σὺν τῷ Βαρνάβᾳ), and it is doubtful whether this implies that Paul or Barnabas was the leader. Probably no great emphasis can be put on these variations, but they may indicate that sometimes one, sometimes the other apostle was prominent. Speaking generally it is clear that Barnabas was originally the leader, and was gradually superseded by Paul. The reason was doubtless that given here, that Paul was the chief speaker.

the leader of the speaking] Blass, Ramsay, and Preuschen followed Berger in the statement that the Fleury palimpsest (h) omits these words. Berger accidentally omitted a whole line, which however is certainly in the ms., teste F. C. Burkitt who examined the point. Nor is it clear why Ramsay thinks that the words are a gloss. For the phrase itself Iamblichus, *De mysteriis Aegypt.* 1, gives a striking parallel by saying that Hermes is θεὸς ὁ τῶν λόγων ἡγεμῶν, and for the well-known fact that Hermes was the god of oratory Wettstein *ad loc.* gives half a column of references (see also Bludau, *Katholik*, 1907, pp. 108 f.). Blass points out that there was no other resemblance to Hermes in the traditional picture of Paul preserved in the *Acta Theclae* 3 (ἄνδρα μικρὸν τῷ μεγέθει, ψιλὸν τῇ κεφαλῇ, ἀγκύλον ταῖς κνήμας, εὐεκτικόν, σύνοφρον, μικρῶς ἐπιβρίνον), but he fails to note that the description continues ποτὲ μὲν ἐφαίνετο ὡς ἄνθρωπος, ποτὲ δὲ ἀγγέλου πρόσωπον εἶχεν.

13 the speaking. And the priest of the Zeus, which is before the city, brought bulls and garlands to the portals and wished to offer 14 sacrifice with the crowd. But when the apostles Barnabas and Paul heard it they tore their clothes and rushed into the crowd, 15 shouting and saying, "Men, what is this you are doing? We

13. the Zeus, which is before the city] The Western text is *οἱ δὲ ἱερεῖς τοῦ θντος Διὸς πρὸ πόλεως . . . ἤθελον ἐπιθύειν*, which is either original or represents a correction based on exact knowledge of the probable situation. A college of priests is more probable than a single priest; *τοῦ θντος Διὸς* (the local Zeus, cf. note on v. 17) is a characteristically Lucan idiom; and the phrase *Διὸς πρὸ πόλεως* rather than *πρὸ τῆς πόλεως* is justified as correct and equivalent to an adjective by epigraphic evidence. Cf. *CIG.* 2963 *της μεγαλης θεας* [*Ἀρτεμιδος προ πολ[εως] ἱερεῖς*, and *Bull. corr. hell.* i. 136 *η γεραια του προπολεως και επιφανεστατου θεων Διουσιου*. The latter illustrates the adjectival force of *πρὸ πόλεως* which is synonymous with the adjective *προπόλιος*. (Cf. the inscription at Claudopolis to *Δι προστιω* cited by Ramsay, *CRE.* p. 51, who even proposes in the inscriptions and in D to read *προπόλεως* as one word. This is not impossible, for there is nothing to show how the words were divided either in the inscriptions or in the ms., but there is no evidence for any such adjective.) See also W. M. Calder, *Classical Review*, xxiv. (1910) pp. 67-81, and Wikenhauser, *Apostelgesch.* pp. 362 ff., where the epigraphic evidence is fully given. In Aeschylus, *Septem adv. Theb.* 164, the ms. reads *μάκαιρ' ἀνασσ' ὄγκα πρὸ πόλεως*, referring to Athena who had an altar and statue *ὑπαιθρῳ* near one of the gates of Thebes (Pausanias ix. 12. 2), but the editors question whether the text in this passage is trustworthy.

garlands] Or woollen fillets. For the custom of thus decorating victims Wettstein *ad loc.* quotes many passages. The most striking is perhaps Lucian, *De sacrificiis* 12.

the portals] *πυλῶνας*: compare x. 17, and also Luke xvi. 20 *Λάζαρος ἐβέβηλτο πρὸς τὸν πυλῶνα αὐτοῦ*. The

most obvious place for a beggar was near a great gate which was much used, such as was the Beautiful Gate of the Temple (iii. 2). The *πυλῶν* referred to in this story is not specified. In the following note the view is taken that it means the gate of the city. It is also possible that it was the portico of the temple of Zeus. This would make the parallelism to chapter iii. even more striking. The Peshitto has an interesting periphrasis "they rushed out of the house they were in." Cf. also the noteworthy if erroneous comment of Ephrem, "adduxerunt taurum ad sacrificium usque ad portas domi eorum ubi ingressi erant."

14. rushed into the crowd] The reconstruction of the whole incident is that the lame man was sitting at the gate of Lystra, opposite the temple. When the man was healed the crowd recognized Barnabas and Paul as gods, and the priests of the temple accepting this view came out and proposed a sacrifice, for which they provided the animals, doubtless 'on the usual terms,' and brought them to the gate. When Paul and Barnabas saw this they recognized for the first time what the unintelligible Lycaonian shouts had meant and they rushed from the gate into the crowd, which was between the gate and the temple. It is, however, to be noted that this reconstruction must not claim too much support from the *ἐκ ἐξεπήδησαν*. In Hellenistic Greek the force of compounds is usually weak and *ἐκπηδᾶν* means to 'start up' rather than implies definite motion 'out' (cf. *ἐξάλλομαι* in iii. 8). There is a striking parallel in Judith xiv. 16 f. *ἐξεπήδησεν εἰς τὸν λαὸν κράζων . . . τοὺς χιτῶνας αὐτῶν διέρρηξεν*.

15-18. PAUL'S SPEECH AT LYSTRA. The great importance of this speech is that for the first time we have an address to a strictly heathen audience which did not accept the Jewish doctrine of God. In the earlier chapters

too are human beings of like feelings with you, bringing you good news that you should turn from these vain things to a living God, who made the sky and the earth and the sea and all that is in them, who in past generations allowed all the heathen to go in their own way. Yet he did not leave himself without witness, for he did good, giving you from the sky rain and seasons of fruit-bearing, filling your hearts with food and gladness." And

Peter's speeches are all made to professed Jews. At Antioch of Pisidia Paul speaks to Jews and to God-fearers who had accepted the Jewish theology, though not the whole of the Jewish Law. In none of these speeches is there any indication that the Christians were teaching a new doctrine about God. But in Lystra a purely heathen audience is met, and a characteristically Jewish teaching about God is presented. There is but one God, and man must give up idolatry and worship the creator, the evidence for whose existence is the ordered and beneficent course of nature. The past ignorance of men is said to have been overlooked, and this suggests that the writer intended to go on to describe a new message as to the future. But this is omitted. Presumably it would have been the same eschatological teaching as is found in the speech at Athens in chapter xvii. 30 ff. For the general accuracy of these two speeches as really representing Paul's message to the heathen see 1 Thess. i. 9 f. αὐτοὶ γὰρ περὶ ἡμῶν ἀπαγγέλλουσιν ὅποیان εἰσοδὸν ἔσχομεν πρὸς ὑμᾶς, καὶ πῶς ἐπεστρέψατε πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἀπὸ τῶν εἰδώλων δουλεῦν θεῷ ζῶντι καὶ ἀληθινῷ καὶ ἀναμένειν τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν ὃν ἡγείρεν ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν, Ἰησοῦν τὸν ῥυόμενον ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῆς ὀργῆς τῆς ἐρχομένης.

There may be reason to fancy that the style of the speech is more literary than the context. The author may have felt himself in a setting where poetical phrases (cf. οὐρανόθεν in vs. 17 as at xxvi. 13, and παρῳχημένας in vs. 16) were appropriate, just as he did at the speeches in Athens and before Agrippa. Note also the idiomatic litotes οὐκ ἀμάρτυρον, and the compounds ἀγαθοουργῶν and καρπο-

φόρους. Like the speech at Athens this one begins with a description of the creator in Biblical phraseology. The final words are claimed by Torrey, *Composition and Date of Acts*, p. 38, as a mistranslation from the Aramaic, but see the reply of Cadbury, *American Journal of Theology*, xxiv., 1920, p. 444 note, where it is suggested that the Greek Psalter has influenced this passage.

15. like feelings] As compared with the ἀπαθelia of God? See M. Pohlenz, *Vom Zorne Gottes*, 1909.

a living God] Or possibly 'the living God,' for the article is regularly omitted in this phrase which originally was a metonymy for Jehovah, though free use is made of its actual meaning in polemic against idols (cf. xvii. 25, 28).

16. allowed] Cf. Rom. i. 18 ff. But there is a real difference. The whole point of Paul's argument is that the heathen have no excuse. Their ignorance is the necessary punishment of their refusal to see the facts. The point of the speech in Acts is that men had been ignorant, and God had overlooked their sin of idolatry because of their ignorance, but now the truth had been told them and they must repent.

17. yet] καίτοι or the variants καίτοιγε, καίγε are synonyms used more commonly in concessive participial clauses. Here the following indicative suggests that we have a new sentence with adversative connective. It is striking evidence of common origin that the nearest grammatical parallel in Acts is in a passage expressing a like thought in the speech at Athens (xvii. 27). There, however, the particle is followed in more regular fashion by the participle.

by saying this they barely restrained the crowd from offering
 19 sacrifice to them. And there came Jews from Antioch and
 Iconium and persuaded the crowd, and stoned Paul and dragged
 20 him out of the city, thinking that he was dead. But when the
 disciples surrounded him, he arose and went into the city; and
 21 on the next day he went out with Barnabas to Derbe. And when
 they had brought the good news to that city and made many
 disciples they returned to Lystra and to Iconium and to Antioch,
 22 fortifying the souls of the disciples, exhorting them to remain

18. *sacrifice to them*] The margin of the Harclean adds 'but to go home,' which is preserved also in a corrupt form in the African Latin. (Cf. the Western text of v. 18 and John vii. 53.)

19. *And there came*] The suddenness of this transition may have been felt by the Western reviser, who added a connecting clause, "and when they stayed there and taught, there came against them Jews from Iconium and from Antioch, who openly disputed the word of God; these persuaded those men not to believe their teaching, saying that they were not telling the truth at all, but were liars at every point." But it is possible that this represents a perverted tradition as to the Judaistic controversy in Galatia. The author not only usually attributes Paul's troubles to the Jews, but often, as here, represents them as coming from a distance. Antioch, for example, was over a hundred miles away. Yet the existence of a close connexion between these cities is shown in the erection of a statue in Antioch by the citizens of Lystra (see note on vs. 6).

stoned] Cf. 2 Cor. xi. 24 f. ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων . . . ἀπαξ ἐλιθάσθην, and 2 Tim. iii. 11 (ὁλὰ μοι ἐγένετο ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ, ἐν Ἰκονίᾳ, ἐν Λύστροις, which is more explicit as to the localities, but not as to the details of Paul's afflictions. It is remarkable that neither Acts nor 2 Timothy suggest any misfortune in Derbe.

20. *surrounded*] The Western text suggests that this means that the disciples rallied and prevented any further attack, for it reads "then the disciples surrounded him, and when

at evening the mob went away, he got up." But this reconstruction of the Western text rests wholly on h, and in it *populus* may be a mistake for Paulus, as it is in vss. 9 and 12.

Derbe] See note on vs. 6.

21. *brought the good news*] Critics who think that a discrimination of sources is possible in this narrative point out that this verse seems to continue the narrative of vs. 7. They conclude that the episode in Lystra comes from a separate source (see especially Spitta, pp. 170 ff.). Undoubtedly the episode at Lystra is inserted into the narrative which is resumed in this verse, but how else could it have been told? It might be said that the mention of Derbe in vs. 6 is clumsy, as Paul did not go there until after he had been to Lystra, but the meaning of that verse is to indicate the general field of Paul's preaching after he left Iconium. After stating this the narrative goes on to give some of the details of what happened in that field.

22. *to remain in the faith*] ἐμμένειν τῇ πίστει. For the use of ἐμμένειν cf. xi. 23 προσμένειν τῷ κυρίῳ and xiii. 43 προσμένειν τῇ χάριτι τοῦ θεοῦ. ἡ πίστις seems here clearly to mean 'Christianity.' This usage is frequent in later Christian literature, and in the Pauline and Catholic epistles is far the most probable explanation of many passages in which modern Protestant exegesis has been too much influenced by the Lutheran tradition. Other passages in Acts which can most naturally be interpreted thus (making ἡ πίστις equivalent to ἡ ὁδός) are xiii. 8, xv. 9, xxiv. 24. Apart

in the faith, saying that through many afflictions we must enter into the Kingdom of God. And they chose elders for them in 23 each church, and prayed with fasting, and committed them to the Lord on whom they had believed. And they passed through 24 Pisidia and came to Pamphylia, and spoke in Perga the word, and 25 went down to Attalia, and thence sailed away to Antioch, from 26

from Luke xviii. 8, which is doubtful, *πίστις* is not found in this sense in the synoptic gospels, and it is very curious that though *πιστεύειν* is a markedly Johannine word, *πίστις* is not found in the fourth gospel, and only once in the Johannine epistles (1 John v. 4), where it perhaps has the later meaning. Cf. Additional Note 30.

we] This 'first person' must be understood as a generalization. The sentence obviously depends on a *λέγοντες* implied in the *παρακαλοῦντες*, and is a 'speech,' though a very short one, rather than a 'we-passage' in the sense of narrative in the first person.

the Kingdom of God] The eschatological sense is obviously intended: the persecution in Lystra and Derbe was interpreted as part of the 'Woes' which precede the End. Cf. Rev. i. 9.

23. chose] *χειροτονεῖν* means originally 'to elect by show of hands,' and in later usage 'to appoint.' Cf. Acts x. 41, which speaks of the witnesses of the resurrection as *προκεχειροτονημένοι* by God—a phrase which excludes the possibility of the original meaning. In the other passage where the word is found in the N.T. (2 Cor. viii. 19), *χειροτονηθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν συνέκδημος ἡμῶν*, it is capable of either meaning. The implication of the phrase (especially when the *αὐτοῖς* following it is considered) is that the apostles appointed converts whom they thought best fitted to be the presbyters of each church. The same is the natural meaning of Titus i. 5. In all these passages the idea of choice by the church has to be inserted before it can be found. The same theory is supported by 1 Clement xlv. f., which, though not very clear as to the procedure of the next generation, is quite unambiguous in ascribing the first presbyters to the appointment of the apostles.

elders] *πρεσβύτερος* was a title used in Egypt for civil and religious office-bearers (Deissmann, *Bibelst.* pp. 153 ff. and *Neue Bibelst.* pp. 60 ff.). It was also commonly used to translate *ἐπίσκοπος*, who with the high priests and the scribes composed the Sanhedrin, called in the N.T. the *συνέδριον*, or *πρεσβυτέριον* or *γερονσία*. According to Strack (ii. p. 631) the *πρεσβύτεροι* were the non-legal members of the council. As a Christian official title the word is frequent in Acts, and is used at least once in the Pastoral epistles (Titus i. 5, cf. 1 Tim. v. 17 and 19) but not in the undoubted Pauline letters. *ἐπίσκοπος* is used in Philipp. i. 1 apparently as a synonym of *πρεσβύτερος*, but here it need not be an official title, and the same word is found in 1 Tim. iii. 2 and Tit. i. 7. In the Titus passage it is clearly synonymous with the *πρεσβύτερος* who has been previously mentioned, and neither there nor in 1 Tim. is it clear that *ἐπίσκοπος* is a title rather than the description of an office. For the later history of these words and the complicated problems which they involve see F. J. A. Hort, *The Christian Ecclesia*; the Appendix on the Ministry in Lightfoot's *Commentary on Philip-pians*; J. Réville, *Les Origines de l'Épiscopat*; Sohm's *Kirchenrecht*, and Harnack, *Kirchenverfassung*.

prayed with fasting] Cf. xiii. 3.

the Lord] Jesus, rather than God, seems the more probable meaning in this passage.

24. Pisidia] Either the name of the old kingdom or of a 'region' of the province of Galatia. The difference between the two interpretations is here unimportant. See Addit. Note 18.

Pamphylia] See note on xiii. 13.

25. Attalia] The chief port of Pamphylia, now called Adalia, at the mouth of the Catarractes.

which they had been commended to the grace of God to the work which they had fulfilled.

- 27 And when they had arrived and had assembled the church they reported what God had done with them, and that he had
 28 opened a door of faith to the Gentiles. And they stayed no
 5 little time with the disciples. And men came down from

xiv. 27-xv. 2. This short paragraph may be the true end of the narrative of the first missionary journey, but it reads somewhat more as though it were the editor's summary marking the division and serving as the conjunction between the probably Antiochian narrative in chapters xiii. and xiv., and the probably Jerusalem narrative in chapter xv.

27. what] Literally 'how many things,' but *ὅσα* in New Testament Greek seems to be little more than a relative.

with them] *μετά* with the genitive was used in Biblical Greek with *ποιεῖν* as a synonym for the dative. Cf. Luke i. 72 (*ποιῆσαι* ἔλεος *μετά* τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν), Tobit xii. 6, xiii. 6, Judith viii. 26 (1 Macc. x. 27). This is doubtless due originally to Semitic idiom, but it is also found in P Amh 135, 15 (2nd cent. A.D.), in *Hermas*, *Mand.* v. 2. 1 and *Simil.* v. 1. 1, and in the Byzantine papyrus BGU. 798. 6f. (*εὐχαριστοῦμεν . . . τῇ ἡμῶν δεσποίνῃ εἰς πάντα τὰ καλὰ ἃ ἐποίησεν μετά τῶν δούλων αὐτῆς*). The same idiom is found in xv. 4, and perhaps in the Western text of xvi. 40, where, however, D reads *ἐποίησεν ἐν αὐτοῖς*, though d has *fecit cum eis*. (See also Vol. III. p. 138, and cf. Torrey, *Composition and Date of Acts*, p. 38.)

1-5. The most obscure point in the actual wording of this paragraph is the meaning of *ἐξαΐαν* in vs. 2. Does this imply that 'the envoys from Jerusalem' is its subject? (See note *ad loc.*) This was the assumption of the Western reviser, who therefore rewrote the whole story as follows (for Greek text and notes on doubtful points see Vol. III. pp. 138 ff.): "And some who came down from Jerusalem were teaching the brethren 'unless you are circumcised and walk in the custom

of Moses, you cannot be saved.' And when no small strife and discussion arose between them and Paul and Barnabas, for Paul said emphatically (*δυσχυριζόμενος*) that the converts should stay as they were when converted, those who had come from Jerusalem ordered (*παρήγγειλαν*) Paul and Barnabas themselves and some others to go up to the apostles and elders at Jerusalem to be judged before them about this question. So then they were sent on their way . . . [as in the ordinary text to the end of vs. 5]. But those who had enjoined on them to go up to the elders, arose and said that they must circumcise them, and command them to observe the law of Moses."

The grammar of this sentence is defective, but there is no doubt as to its meaning. The representatives of Jerusalem were in control: Paul and Barnabas obeyed their orders, and went to be judged at Jerusalem.

In the final judgement on the textual question, if such ever be reached, this passage will certainly play a considerable part. It cannot be dissociated from Gal. ii. 2 ff. in which Paul protests so vigorously that he went to Jerusalem 'by revelations,' and seems to be rebutting throughout the suggestion that he had acted in subjection to the authority of the apostles in Jerusalem. There is a choice between two possibilities: (i.) that the story reached Luke in the form in which it was current in Jerusalem, and that a reviser, familiar with Galatians, toned down the suggestion that Paul acted under the orders of the delegates from Jerusalem, thus producing the B-text; or (ii.) that Luke wrote it in the guarded form of the B-text, and some reviser from Jerusalem emended it in

Judaea and were teaching the brethren, "Unless you are circumcised according to the custom of Moses you cannot be saved." And when there was no small disturbance and discussion by Paul and Barnabas with them, they arranged for

the interests of his own local tradition, thus producing the Western text. The time has scarcely come for any decision between these possibilities. On the one hand it might seem very improbable that the Western reviser was anti-Pauline, or unacquainted with Galatians. It is more likely that the maker of the B-text was influenced by the epistle and emended the narrative of Acts. On the other hand it is arguable that the Western reviser may have had the same point of view as the Clementine *Homilies* which magnify the office of James. In any case he seems to have had a local interest in Jerusalem (see especially iii. 2 note). My own tentative opinion is that the intrinsic superiority of the B-text indicates that the Western text is in the main a paraphrastic recension based on a text resembling the B-text but not identical with it. The B-text itself is not the original text but is a revision. It is not paraphrastic like the Western text, but it is none the less a recension. The work of the next textual editor of Acts will be to investigate the difference between the B-text and the text presupposed by the Western paraphrase. It would not be surprising if he found that the difference varied considerably, and that in chapter xv. the B-text has been edited rather more than in most places. The alternative would be to accept the Western text as original, and to regard the B-text as a 'scholarly' revision. The present edition has not attempted to deal fully with this problem, because the first step was to fix clearly the nature of the Western text and establish the facts.

1. the custom of Moses] i.e. according to the Law. The Western text makes this an addition to the requirement of circumcision, instead of a definition of it, and the *Didascalia* goes still further: "except you are circumcised, and walk

in the custom of Moses, and are purified from foods and all other things."

On the relation of this dispute to that recorded in Galatians see Addit. Note 16.

2. arranged] *ἔταξαν*. What is the subject? (i.) Strict grammar would make it *οἱ κατελθόντες ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰ.* This is possible and grammatically most natural. Nor is it really difficult. The story of Peter's visit to Samaria to inspect the work of Philip, and of Barnabas to Antioch to inspect the work of the Cyprians and Cyrenians who had founded the Gentile church there, show that whatever the facts may have been, Luke regarded the church at Jerusalem as having some authority over younger communities. His point is not that Jerusalem had no authority, but that it always decided in favour of the Gentile mission. Moreover, Galatians suggests that Paul's opponents actually did claim that he had acted in *ὑποταγῇ* to the 'false brethren.' Therefore, in an account which may well be that of Jerusalem, it is not strange to find a cognate word (*ἔταξαν*) in a description of the relation of the delegates from Jerusalem to Paul and Barnabas.

The Western text takes this view and makes it definite (see note on vss. 1-5); Chrysostom is unfortunately ambiguous.

(ii.) Most modern commentators think that the subject of *ἔταξαν* must be supplied from *τοὺς ἀδελφούς*. This implies that the brethren at Antioch appointed Paul and Barnabas as their delegates, and may be supported by a comparison with xi. 30, and perhaps xiii. 1-3. Moreover, in verse 24 the attitude of these emissaries from Jerusalem is so repudiated that it is unlikely that Luke regarded them as representative of Jerusalem authority, whatever his source may have done.

Paul and Barnabas and some others of them to go up to the apostles and elders at Jerusalem about this question.

3 So then they were sent on their way by the church and travelled through Phoenicia and Samaria narrating the conversion of the
4 Gentiles, and caused great joy to all the brethren. And when they arrived at Jerusalem they were received by the church and the apostles and the elders, and reported all that God
5 had done with them. And some arose of the party of the Pharisees who were converts, saying that it is necessary to

some others] including Titus; cf. Gal. ii. 1. No one has ever yet found a good answer to the riddle why Titus who looms so large in the epistles is not mentioned in Acts. Hence the ingenious but improbable conjectures that Titus wrote Acts, or the traditional view that Luke is the brother (of Titus) 'whose praise is in the Gospel' (2 Cor. viii. 18) and that Luke's excessive modesty suppressed his brother's name as well as his own.

apostles and elders] Pauline nomenclature included James among the apostles, if Gal. i. 19 (*ἕτερον δὲ τῶν ἀποστόλων οὐκ εἶδον, εἰ μὴ Ἰάκωβον τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ κυρίου*) means that (except for Peter) James was the only apostle whom Paul saw. But Luke probably reckoned him among the elders, and it is possible, though I think not probable, that Gal. i. 19 means that he saw no apostles but only James, who was not an apostle.

xv. 3-29. THE COUNCIL AT JERUSALEM. For the relation of this episode to the 'Famine relief visit,' and the possibility that this is the Jerusalem tradition of the same event, see Addit. Note 16.

3. So then] This *οἱ μὲν οὖν* clearly marks the beginning of the story. What has gone before is structurally rather the end of the previous narrative, though it is surely editorial and is intended to lead up to the following narrative. If we had not vss. 1-2 no one would doubt but that the journey described in vss. 3 ff. was a joyful

progress from one Christian community to another, throughout Phoenicia and Samaria, with no controversy until Jerusalem was reached, and I think that this may have been the general tenor of the Jerusalem narrative (see Additional Note 16), though the style of vss. 3f. rather suggests that the editor is responsible for much of the wording.

Phoenicia] The implication is that the region of Tyre and Sidon contained Christian churches. Acts contains no hint as to when they were converted. This is another instance of how unsafe it would be to regard Acts as giving a complete history of the beginnings of evangelization.

4. with them] Cf. xiv. 27.

5. party] *αἵρεσις* means a 'party'; not a heresy, and not even a 'sect.' A Pharisee was in no sense separated from other Jews by his difference of practice or opinion in the way in which a Protestant is separated from Catholics, or a nonconformist from members of an established church, but rather in the same way as in politics a Conservative is separated from Liberals, or in the English church Anglo-Catholics are separated from Evangelicals. The use of the word in the sense of heresy is probably not to be found before the middle of the second century. In Titus iii. 10 *αἰρετικός* means 'partisan' more probably than 'heretical.'

converts] This gives—in this passage—the sense of *πεπιστευκότες* better than the more literal 'who had believed.'

circumcise them and enjoin the observation of the law of Moses.

And the apostles and elders were assembled to see about this subject. And when there had been much discussion Peter arose and said to them, "Brethren, you know that in the days of the beginning God made choice of you that by my mouth the heathen should hear the word of the good news and believe, and God 8

circumcise them] αὐτοὺς is very awkward. Hence the Antiochian text inserted into the previous verse, 'and that he had opened a door of faith for the Gentiles,' from xiv. 27, thus providing an antecedent for αὐτοὺς, and Blass points out that the phrase is really much more appropriate here than in xiv. 27. But the question may be raised whether the Antiochian text interpreted the passage correctly: it obviously took αὐτοὺς to mean the heathen converts in general. This is certainly a possibility, and may be the meaning of the editor. Lekebusch, however, in his *Composition und Entstehung d. Apostelgeschichte*, p. 114, suggests that αὐτοὺς refers to the 'some others' who went with Paul and Barnabas. The attractive point of this is that Galatians tells us that Titus, a Gentile, was Paul's companion, and that pressure was put on him to be circumcised. Was this the meaning of the source, even if not of the editor?

6. the apostles and elders] Later, without any break, there is mention of πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος (vs. 12, see note on iv. 32) and ὅλη ἡ ἐκκλησία (vs. 22). It is characteristic of Luke to mention thus belatedly further details of a situation. But for the purpose of reconciling this account with Gal. ii. some scholars prefer to regard this verse as the private conference with οἱ δοκοῦντες of Gal. ii. 2, and vs. 7 ff. as a public conference. As far as πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος is concerned, it is not impossible that it implies no larger company than the apostles and elders. In Luke xxiii. 1 and Acts xxiii. 7 it is used of the Jewish πρεσβυτέριον or Sanhedrin.

subject] λόγου, which like ῥῆμα almost loses the meaning of 'speech'

or 'word.' The evolution of thought is obvious, word—story—episode.

7. arose] The Western text adds ἐν πνεύματι. It was an inspired utterance. But there is nothing in the context to suggest that the audience felt that it was more than an ordinary speech.

in the days] The Greek idiom is 'from the days,' but this is not English.

of the beginning] ἀρχαίων scarcely means ancient here; it is the adjective of ἀρχή, cf. xxi. 16, where ἀρχαῖος μαθητῆς surely means 'an original disciple.' These phrases show that Luke recognized that the history of the church had covered a longer time than his relatively few and rapid narratives might suggest.

made choice] What is the object of ἐξελέξατο? A possible solution is perhaps to regard διὰ στόματός μου as a 'sense' construction = ἐμέ, modified by the necessities of the following ἀκοῦσαι τὰ ἔθνη. But this is very harsh, and the passage is one of Torrey's best arguments. He thinks that ἐν ὑμῖν represents an Aramaic ܝܢܝܢ and the translator did not realize that the ܝ only indicated the direct object. But the theory of an Aramaic original is not necessary, for an exact parallel is provided by 2 Esdras xix. 7 (= Neh. ix. 7) ἐξελέξω ἐν 'Αβραάμ = 'thou didst choose Abraham.' This parallel seems sufficient to justify the translation given above. (See Torrey, p. 21, and note that his argument was anticipated by the 'Hebraists' of the seventeenth century and rejected by the grammarians. See Winer, § 32. 3a, and Buttmann, p. 138 (Thayer's translation, p. 159).)

good news] The noun εὐαγγέλιον occurs in xx. 24, but except for these

who knows the heart bore witness to them by giving the Holy Spirit
 9 to them, even as also to us, and he made no difference between
 10 us and them purifying their hearts by the faith. Therefore why
 do you now tempt God to put on the neck of the disciples a yoke

two speeches of Peter and Paul to Christian audiences not again in Acts or in Luke. Contrast the frequent verb *εὐαγγελίζομαι*. This marks either the author's fidelity to his sources even in speeches (Harnack, *Constitution and Law of the Church in the First Two Centuries*, p. 289) or his choice of suitable words for his characters in their speeches.

8. who knows the heart] Cf. i. 24. These are the only instances of the word in the N.T. It is curious that in the African text the prayer in i. 24 is attributed to Peter. Note also the relation between this word and *καθαρίσας τὰς καρδίας αὐτῶν* in vs. 9, and the corresponding, though negative, phrase in x. 34, *οὐκ ἔστι προσωπολήπτης ὁ θεός*.

to them] *αὐτοῖς* may be dependent on *ἐμαρτύρησεν* (cf. x. 43, xiii. 22, etc.) or it may depend on *δοῦς*. The general run of the words connects it with *ἐμαρτύρησεν*, but the phrase *καθὼς καὶ ἡμῖν* seems to be parallel to *αὐτοῖς* and to be more naturally connected with *δοῦς*. Either construction is possible, and as the sense is the same in each case the point is of little importance. The reference to the story of Cornelius is unmistakable, and is confirmed by verbal similarities, e.g. *καθαρίζω* is found in Acts only in x. 15, xi. 9, and xv. 9. *διακρίνω* is found only in x. 20, xi. 2, 12, and xv. 9, and in this verse *καθὼς καὶ ἡμῖν* seems to refer to x. 47 (*καθὼς καὶ ἡμεῖς*) and xi. 17 (*καθὼς καὶ ἡμῖν*).

8-9. giving . . . purifying] These phrases illustrate the difficulty of rendering the aorist participle. The rendering given might be taken to imply a process of continuous giving and purifying—an idea which is not in the Greek. On the other hand, to render it 'having given . . . having purified' would imply a sequence in time which would be equally wrong. A striking parallel to the combination of the Spirit and purification is the possibly correct Lucan text of the

Lord's prayer which reads 'Send thy Holy Spirit and make us pure' instead of 'Thy Kingdom come.' See Streeter, *The Four Gospels*, p. 277.

9. hearts] The belief that the heart of man is the source of thought, volition, and desire is common in the O.T. Cf. Eccclus. xxxviii. 10 *ἀπόστησον πλημμελειαν . . . καὶ ἀπὸ πάσης ἁμαρτίας καθάρισον καρδίαν*.

the faith] 'Faith' without 'the' would be a possible rendering, but I think that *ἡ πίστις* in Acts is much nearer 'the faith' in the later Catholic sense, than to 'faith' in a Pauline or Lutheran sense. Cf. xiv. 22.

10-11. This passage is in some ways the most 'Pauline' in Acts. It implies (a) the belief that the Jewish Law had been found intolerable, though whether Paul himself really thought so is a different question (see Addit. Note 17); (b) that Jesus had given his disciples the special privilege of 'salvation.' It is the last reference to Peter in Acts.

10. now] In distinction to 'the days of the beginning.'

tempt God] Cf. v. 9. The phrase is borrowed from the O.T. (cf. Exod. xvii. 2; Deut. vi. 16, etc.). It seems to mean acting against the declared will of God, and so tempting him to inflict punishment. Thus in Is. vii. 12 the meaning of Ahaz is that he will not ask for further signs to decide a question on which he believes that God's will is clear—to do so would be to 'tempt the Lord' (cf. Matt. iv. 7). In the present passage God has sufficiently declared his will by giving the Spirit to the Gentiles, and to refuse the natural conclusions to be drawn from this fact is 'to tempt God.' Similarly in v. 9 the implication is that the declared will of God was that Ananias should give to the apostles what he had really received for his property, but he lied about it and so 'tempted God.'

yoke] *ὑγόν* (*hugon*) was commonly used by Jewish writers in the sense of

which neither our fathers nor we were able to bear? But through the grace of the Lord Jesus we believe that we shall be saved

'obligation.' Thus they spoke of the 'yoke of the Kingdom of Heaven,' of the 'yoke of the commandments,' or simply of the 'yoke,' with ellipse of 'God' or of 'the Kingdom,' to express the religious obligations of Israelites. Similarly 'the yoke of flesh and blood' or 'the yoke of the government' and analogous phrases were used to describe the obligations of service or servitude. A curious by-product of this use was that, inasmuch as those who recited the 'Shema' (Hear, O Israel, etc.) were said to take up the yoke of the Kingdom, by an inversion of this usage, 'to take up the yoke' meant 'to recite the Shema.' (See Strack, i. pp. 608 ff.)

Here, however, the figure suggests a burden (cf. *βάρος*, vs. 28) and is not the more favourable stereotyped Jewish metaphor by which yoke means religious duty. In Ps. Sol. vii. 8 (Syriac omits) 'thy yoke' is parallel to *μάστιγα παιδείας σου*, and in Ps. Sol. xvii. 32 it is used of slavery (cf. *Didache* vi. 2; 1 Clem. xvi. 17), but Matt. xi. 29 f. may be comparable with the rabbinic usage, though even there *φορτίον ἐλαφρόν* is parallel to *ζυγὸς χρηστός*. Cf. also *ζυγὼν δουλείας* as a description of Judaism in Gal. v. 1. The figure is so easily applied to various kinds of burdens and restrictions that the present passage (with *ἐπὶ τὸν τράχηλον*) may quite well be treated as an independent and slightly different usage.

we are able to bear] The question may legitimately be raised whether this is a fair statement. The following propositions may reasonably be defended. (a) Some Jews in the first century doubtless felt that the Law was a burden. But the majority found their 'delight in the Law of the Lord.' See Vol. I, pp. 35-81 and C. G. Montefiore, *Judaism and St. Paul and The Old Testament and After*. (b) Jesus showed no desire to abolish or even to emend the Law, but was impatient with much of the current interpretation of it. (c) Paul objected not to any details of the Law, but to the whole concept of salvation by a

code of conduct. (d) The Catholic Church introduced a distinction between the 'primary' and 'secondary' Law (*ὁ νόμος* and *ἡ δευτέρωσις* = Mishna), of which only the former was binding on Christians. The classical statements of this doctrine are found in the *Didascalia* and the *Apostolic Constitutions*. (e) A different method was suggested in the Epistle of Barnabas, which accepted the Law but allegorized all precepts concerning food and ceremony.

11. we believe that we shall be saved] The aorist infinitive is used in this sense with verbs which impart a future meaning, cf. *ἐπηγγείλατο δοῦναι* (he promised that he would give) in vii. 5, *προκατήγγειλε παθεῖν* (he predicted that he would suffer) in iii. 18, and *ᾤμωσε καθίσαι* (he swore that he should sit) in ii. 30. The infinitive itself is timeless, and the phrase might be rendered 'we believe in salvation' were it not that this would imply merely an intellectual assent to a theory, whereas the Greek implies the expectation of an event. (See Blass *ad loc.*) An alternative view is that since elsewhere in Luke-Acts *πιστεῖν* is often quite independent, or expresses its object clause with *ὅτι*, one is perhaps justified in conjecturing that the infinitive here is rather in the loose 'exegetical construction of result' (or purpose) of which grammarians speak occasionally. Compare for example *ἐπιθεῖναι* in the preceding verse and *λαβεῖν* in verse 14. In that case we should render 'we believe so as to be saved,' or 'unto salvation.' This interpretation may explain the variant in *BD*—*πιστεύσομεν σωθῆναι*.

The 'salvation' referred to was thought of eschatologically, and there is certainly no reason to read into the *πιστεύομεν* the Pauline doctrine of a mystical union with Christ through faith. Other examples of the combination of *πιστεῖν* and *σῶσθαι* are at Luke viii. 12 (contrast Mark iv. 15), Acts xvi. 31, and in connexion with cures, Mark v. 34 and parallels, Mark x. 52 and parallels, Luke xvii. 19, Acts xiv. 9 (where we have the infinitive as here, *πίστ· τοῦ σωθῆναι*).

12 even as they also." And the whole meeting was silent, and they heard Barnabas and Paul explain all the signs and wonders that 13 God had wrought among the heathen by them. And after they stopped speaking James replied saying, "Brethren, listen to me. 14 Symeon explained how God first made provision to take a people

even as they also] καθ' ὃν τρόπον κἀκεῖνοι is ambiguous in two ways: (a) Does ἐκεῖνοι mean the Gentiles or Jewish Christians and their ancestors? (b) Is the verb to be supplied 'saved' or 'believe'? Doubtless the general meaning is that salvation is open to all who believe, Jew and Gentile alike; but the exact way in which Peter represents this meaning is obscure.

12. was silent] The aorist is probably inceptive, and perhaps the idiomatic translation would be 'the meeting came to order.' The Western text reads "and when the elders assented (συνκαταθεμένων, cf. Luke xxiii. 51 and the Western text of iv. 18) to what was said by Peter, the whole gathering was silent."

Barnabas and Paul] Only here and in xiv. 14 and xv. 25 is this order used since xiii. 7. If there is any reason for this exception it may be the greater prestige that Barnabas enjoyed at Jerusalem as a primitive Jerusalem disciple.

all the] This is the force of ὅσα in later Greek. It was rapidly losing its force, and is sometimes hardly more than a simple relative. Cf. vs. 4.

signs and wonders] See note on ii. 43.

13. stopped speaking] ἐσέγησαν, the same verb that is rendered above 'was silent,' for in English a meeting 'is silent,' and an orator 'stops speaking.'

James] Presumably the Lord's brother, cf. xii. 17, but see Addit. Note 6.

replied] Perhaps ἀπεκρίθη here as in iii. 12 (ἀπεκρίνατο) merely means 'began to speak' (see Blass' note on iii. 12), but I suspect that it had a stronger meaning (cf. the Latin *responsa* for legal decisions) and that for this reason it was removed from the Western text (see Vol. III. p. 143).

listen to me] Cf. James ii. 5.

ἀκούσατέ μου is not found elsewhere in the N.T.

14. Symeon] It seems obvious that this Symeon is Peter; yet this name is given to him only in 2 Peter i. 1, and it apparently never occurred to Chrysostom that the allusion here is to the speech which Peter had just made. He explains it as a reference to 'Symeon,' and to the *Nunc dimittis* (Luke ii. 29-32), though—according to some MSS.—he adds that others think that this Symeon may have been another man of the same name (Chrysostom, *Hom.* xxxiii.). I have found no other trace of this extraordinary theory, but it can scarcely have been Chrysostom's original invention. The choice of this particular form of Peter's name is probably due to the author's sensitiveness to the appropriateness of words to occasions, especially in the speeches. It was fitting that Peter should be addressed by a Palestinian Jew by his Jewish name and even in its most Jewish spelling. On this trait in the speeches see above on 'good news,' vs. 7. Cadbury, *The Making of Luke-Acts*, pp. 227 f., and Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, p. 316 note. In 2 Peter i. 1 as well as here the Semitizing form is regarded by R. Knopf, in Meyer's Commentary on 2 Peter, as "an intentional archaism of the author who wishes thereby to give a name of foreign sound to the great authority cited."

first] Not 'for the first time,' which would be in Hellenistic Greek πρώτως as at xi. 26.

made provision] ἐπεσκεψάτο is often translated by 'visited.' See Matt. xxv. 36, 43. Its real meaning is more 'to make provision for.' It is used in Luke i. 68, 78 and vii. 16, especially of the providential action of God for his people. So here it means that God made provision for the call of the Gentiles.

Amos ix.
11 f.

from the Gentiles for his name. And with this agree the words 15 of the Prophets as it is written: 'After this I will return and will 16 rebuild the tent of David which has fallen and will rebuild that of it which is destroyed, and will put it up again, in order that the 17 rest of men may seek the Lord, and all the Gentiles on whom my name has been called upon them, saith the Lord, making these 18

to take] The author's free use of infinitives in lyrical passages (e.g. Canticles of Luke) and speeches is well illustrated here. See also vss. 7, 10, 11. We must simply admit the difficulty of translating them and of finding satisfactory parallels to the constructions which they thus give to the verbs which they accompany.

15. the Prophets] i.e. the roll of the Twelve Prophets. Cf. vii. 42, xiii. 40 f., and see Cadbury, *The Making of Luke-Acts*, p. 326.

16 f. The quotation is from Amos ix. 11 f. in the LXX with small variations. The important point is that the argument depends on variants found in the Greek and apparently based on misreading of the original Hebrew. Amos said, "In that day will I raise up the tent of David that is fallen, and close up its breaches, and I will raise up his ruins, and will build them as in the days of old, that they (the Israelites) may inherit (יִרְשׁוּ) what remains of Edom (אֶת שְׁאֵרֵי אֶדוֹם) and of the other nations over which my name is named. A saying of Jahweh who doeth this." But the LXX read יִרְשׁוּ אֶת אֶדוֹם (omitting אֶת), and translated it ἐκστρέψουσιν, and read אֶדוֹם אֶת אֶדוֹם, which they took as the subject of the verb instead of the object and translated it 'men' instead of 'Edom,' thus producing a prophecy of the conversion of the heathen out of a promise that Israel should possess their lands. It is incredible that a Jewish Christian could have thus used the LXX in defiance of the Hebrew, or that an Aramaic source should have done so. Either the whole source of this chapter was Greek, or the speeches at least are due to a Greek editor. This is the most decisive evidence against Torrey's theory of a continuous Aramaic source, and is scarcely answered by his antici-

pation of this criticism (Torrey, pp. 38 f.). It is possible that the narrative was Aramaic but the speeches inserted by the translator; but the awkward fact remains, that the Aramaic evidence is perhaps more marked in the speeches than elsewhere. The fact is that a theory of an Aramaic source cannot explain a preference for the LXX as a basis for argument, and a theory of purely Greek composition has difficulty in explaining individual phrases.

16. destroyed] For the reading κατεστρεμμένα (NB) we may add the support of Codex Alexandrinus in Amos ix. 11, since that manuscript usually agrees with the form of N.T. quotations from the O.T.

17. on whom . . . upon them] In English we should of course say 'on whom' without 'upon them,' but the Hebrew doubles the construction, and since the Greek, to which it is also foreign, has literally reproduced this idiom, it seems better to do so in English.

saith the Lord, etc.] This is the B-text. It seems to be a combination of the last words of Amos ix. 12 ('saith the Lord who doeth this') with a comment by James. The Western text felt the awkwardness of this combination, and probably emended it to "'saith the Lord"—known to him from the beginning of the world is his work," though some of the details are obscure (see Vol. III. p. 144). Possibly the B-text merely illustrates the tendency of the author to round out his Biblical quotations in Biblical style (cf. the changes in Acts ii. 17a, vii. 43c, d). For the thought (not the Greek wording) of the addition see Isaiah xlv. 21 (so W.H.) and Acts iii. 21. But ἀπ' αἰῶνος may be a confused memory of the καθὼς αἰήμεται τοῦ αἰῶνος in Amos ix. 11. In free scripture quotation (and that

19 things known from the beginning of the world.' Wherefore I
 20 decree to stop annoying the Gentiles who turn to God, but to write
 to them to abstain from the contaminations of idols and from
 21 fornication [and strangled meat] and from blood. For Moses from

verse of Amos has been freely quoted in vs. 16) Luke and presumably others often transfer a phrase from one part of a quotation to another. The Hebrew parallelism lent itself to such transfer of phrases.

19. I decree] In the context this seems the probable meaning. It is the definite sentence of a judge, and the ἐγώ implies that he is acting by an authority which is personal. For κρίνω cf. Luke vi. 37, xix. 22, xxii. 30; Acts iii. 13, xiii. 27, xvi. 4, xx. 16, xxi. 25, xxiii. 3, etc. It must, however, be admitted that the translation of 'decree' does not leave room for the possibility that κρίνω means no more than recommend, for it is certainly used with a less formal sense in Acts xiii. 46, xvi. 15, and xxvi. 8 (cf. Hort, *Christian Ecclesia*, p. 80). It may be suggested that there is room for a more complete study than has yet been made of the meaning of κρίνω in the Pauline Epistles. The Western text, however, represented by Irenaeus and Ephrem (see Vol. III. pp. 145 and 426), seems to have interpreted κρίνω as 'decree' and therefore softened it by reading διὸ ἐγὼ τὸ κατ' ἐμὲ κρίνω. Perhaps the reviser felt that Peter, not James, had settled the matter. Certainly it is remarkable that in chapter i. he edits the text so as to make Peter more prominent, that in this chapter he inserts the statement that Peter's speech was inspired and that the elders all agree with him, and that he softens phrases which imply the authority of James (cf. note on vs. 13).

stop annoying] An alternative translation which has often been suggested is 'put additional burdens,' and it has been argued that the παρά in παρενοχλεῖν implies the sense of 'extra.' There are two reasons for rejecting this interpretation. (i.) παρενοχλεῖν is a common Hellenistic double compound in which παρά has no special force. It is used, for instance, of the attitude of the lions towards

Daniel in the Greek of Dan. vi. 18. (ii.) No one was suggesting any extra burden on the converts; the question was whether the usual Jewish law with regard to proselytes should be enforced or whether they should be treated as pious heathen subject only to the Noachian regulations. Note that the force of the present infinitive with μή is 'stop annoying' rather than 'do not annoy.' Cf. notes on i. 4 and xv. 38.

20. For the text of this verse and of vs. 29 see Vol. III. pp. 144 f. and 265 ff., and for its meaning see Addit. Note 16.

contaminations] The substantive ἀλισγημα seems a *hapax legomenon*, but the verb is in the LXX and is used of food. In the mss. of Aristeas 142 the form συναλισγο(ύ)μενοι appears—a context where ritual dietary defilement is suitable. That it implies ritual rather than moral pollution may indicate the author's interpretation of the decrees.

21. For Moses, etc.] The reasoning is obscure, and the explanations offered by commentators are numerous and unsatisfactory. It is clear that γάρ gives a reason either for the κρίνω μὴ παρενοχλεῖν or for the 'decrees.' But the fact that Moses has advocates in every city seems to be no reason for either one or the other. Commentators have therefore been usually divided between such explanations as that the legitimate claims of Jewish propaganda were sufficiently taken care of by the Jewish preachers and the services in the synagogues, so that it was not necessary to παρενοχλεῖν the converts, or that, since there were so many missionaries on the Jewish side, a *modus vivendi* was necessary, which the decrees provided. Neither line of explanation seems to be really satisfactory.

A much more satisfactory suggestion has been made by J. H. Ropes in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, xv., 1896, pp. 75-81. He argues that

the generations of the beginning has had in every city those who preach him, for he is read in the synagogues on every Sabbath." Then it was voted by the apostles and elders with the whole church to choose men from among them and send them to Antioch with Paul and Barnabas, namely Judas called Barsabbas and Silas,

James was maintaining that it was God's intention to call a nation for himself from the Gentiles. In support of this James quotes Amos ix. 11. But it might have been argued against James that this prophecy only means the restoration of the ancient kingdom of David, and indeed the contention would be correct. Therefore, to prove that the prophecy means more, James puts in the argument that the Jews have synagogues all over the world, and thus 'the nations which are called by my name' covers not only the old kingdom of David, but the whole civilized world. In connexion with this it should be noted that the word *κηρύσσειν* is much more adequately expounded by this explanation than by any other. Its natural meaning is proclaiming something which is previously unknown to those who hear the proclamation. The point is that inasmuch as the synagogues were open to the pious heathen, the reading of Moses was a *κήρυγμα* to them.

of the beginning] Apparently Luke, like the rabbis, had an exaggerated view of the antiquity of the institution of the synagogue. See Strack *ad loc.*

has had] With phrases such as *ἐκ γενεῶν* or *πάλαι* the present tense is used in Greek for action begun in the past and continuing in the present, but the English idiom is different. See Burton, *Moods and Tenses*, § 17.

22. it was voted] *ἔδοξε* is the technical term in Greek of all periods for 'voting' or 'passing' a measure in the assembly. It may be thought that this translation implies too much 'parliamentary' procedure, but 'voted' has become a common word; and *ἔδοξε* has about as much suggestion of parliamentary methods as 'voted' has in modern English. According to Dalman, *Aramäische Dialektproben*, p. 3, the same idiom is found in Aramaic.

to choose] *ἐκλεξαμένους* would have been put more elegantly into the dative, and this is the right reading in the parallel passage in vs. 25, but this idiom was probably becoming obsolete, and there are many exceptions to its use. (See Blass' note *ad loc.*) The close connexion of the word with *ἀνδρας* immediately following led the Latin translator in Codex Bezae to render *ἐκλεξαμένους* as though it were passive (*electos*), and the translators of the English version (A.V.) also render it by 'chosen men.' But there is no evidence in the N.T., and apparently none outside it, for the use of *ἐξελεξαμεν* in a passive sense. (See esp. Luke vi. 13, x. 42; Acts i. 2, 24, vi. 5; and cf. *ἐπιλεξαμενος* in xv. 40.)

Judas called Barsabbas] Cf. *Βαρσαβὰ τὸν βασιλέα* in *Test. XII. Patr.*, *Judah*, viii. 2. Barsabbas may merely mean 'born on the Sabbath.' But if it is really a family name, presumably he was the brother of the Joseph Barsabbas mentioned in i. 23. It is strange that though there are many variants in the spelling of Barsabbas in both verses, there is no trace of any attempt to identify Joseph with Judas—there are no early variants in the first name in either verse. To what is said in the note on i. 23 concerning the name *Βαρσαββᾶς* it may be added that names in *Σαββατ-* (*Σαμβαθ-*, etc.) appear to be quite common in Hellenistic Judaism. Evidence from Egypt (including, for example, a man who is called sometimes *Σαμβαθαῖος*, sometimes *Σαμβαραῖος*, sometimes hypocoristically *Σαμβᾶς*) may be found collected in L. Fuchs, *Die Juden Ägyptens*, 1924, pp. 140 f., 153, cf. 155 f., from Rome (including apparently *Σαβᾶς*, *-ατος*) in Nik. Müller and N. A. Bees, *Die Inschriften der jüdischen Katakombe am Monteverde zu Rom*, 1919, pp. 13 f., 40 f.

Silas] On the spelling of the name

23 leaders among the brethren, writing by them: "The apostles

see Vol. III. pp. 269 f. The name is given for several Semitic persons in Josephus, in Dittenberger, *Orientalis Graeci inscriptiones selectae*, 604, and in Cagnat, *Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes*, iii. 817. Prof. Burkitt points out that the Talmudic שולש, which is really the same as the Palmyrene שולש, is a diminutive meaning 'little Saul' or 'little Wolf.' This was seen by the Syriac version which treats the name as Semitic, not Greek. It is therefore not unlikely (cf. Gen. xlix. 27, 'Benjamin shall ravine as a wolf') that, like Paul, Silas thought himself a Benjamite. In modern times 'Wolf' would doubtless be their family name. (See Dalman's Grammar (1894), p. 124, and F. C. Burkitt, *Christian Beginnings*, p. 132.) Silas is at present generally identified with the Silvanus who appears in 1 Thess. i. 1 and in 2 Thess. i. 1 as the joint author of these epistles along with Paul and Timothy. According to 2 Cor. i. 19 he joined with Paul and Timothy in preaching in Corinth, and 1 Peter states in v. 12 that the epistle was written through (διὰ) Silvanus. It seems probable, though from the nature of the case not certain, that Silas and Silvanus are the same person. There has been much unprofitable discussion whether Σίλας is a contraction of a Latin name (Silvanus) and should be written Σιλᾶς, or a transliteration of a Semitic name (שולש) and should be Σίλας. Of these points it may fairly be said "nec constat, nec refert." Even less importance can be attached to efforts to identify Silas with Luke or with Titus (see P. W. Schmiedel's article in *Ency. Bibl.*). In the later traditions Silas and Silvanus appear as distinct persons, both being included in the lists of the Seventy, according to which Silas became bishop of Corinth, and Silvanus bishop of Thessalonica.

leaders] ἡγοῦμαι, except in the participle, means to 'consider,' to 'reckon' (2 Cor. ix. 5 and frequently in the Epistles). It is only found with this meaning ('to reckon') in Philipp. ii. 3 and 2 Pet. ii. 13 (contrast Luke xxii. 26; Acts vii. 10, xiv. 12; Hebr.

xiii. 7, 17, 24), but it is noticeable that the participle is not found in the Pauline Epistles except in the passage quoted. The participle ἡγούμενος means 'a leader' with almost the same meaning as ἡγεμονεύων (cf. Acts vii. 10), and often is virtually a substantive. The fact that ἀνὴρ is used with it here does not prevent our regarding it in this sense. Cf. Luke xxiv. 19 ἀνὴρ προφήτης and Acts iii. 14 ἀνδρα φονέα. Cf. also xv. 23 οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ἀδελφοί. There seems no evidence in support of Wendt's rendering 'who were in honour' if this implies that ἡγούμενος is taken as a passive. In later Greek ἡγούμενος became the title of the head of a monastery, and it now only means 'abbot.' Harnack ('Lehre d. zwölft Apostel,' *TU*. ii. 2, pp. 94 f.) thinks that the title was in early Christianity given especially to teachers. No doubt a teacher was an ἡγούμενος, but does it follow that an ἡγούμενος was a teacher? Vs. 32 says that Judas and Silas were prophets, and 1 Clement, in which ἡγούμενος is constantly used of civil rather than ecclesiastical leaders (see *Index Patrist.*), represents its wide range of meaning. Cf. also Eccles. xxx. 27 οἱ ἡγούμενοι ἐκκλησίας.

23. writing] γράψαντες is a nominative entirely outside the construction of the sentence, but its meaning is quite plain. It is natural that with impersonal verbs Greek as well as English should occasionally slip into the use of a nominative participle as though the verb were personal. Kypke, *Observationes ad loc.*, illustrated this nominative with the impersonal εἰδοῦς from Lucian, Isaeus, and Thucydides.

by them] διὰ χειρός is literally 'by the hand of,' but in English this would mean that Judas and Silas were the secretaries who penned the letter, and the Greek means that they were the messengers who carried it. διὰ χειρός is scarcely if at all more than 'by.' It is found four times in Acts (ii. 23, vii. 25, xi. 30, xv. 23, to which v. 12 and xiv. 3 may be added, but the phrase is there διὰ τῶν χειρῶν and the word 'hand' has more significance), but not elsewhere in the N.T. (but see Mark vi. 2 διὰ τῶν χειρῶν κτλ.). It may be a Semitic idiom, and it is significant

and the elders, brethren, to the brethren in Antioch and Syria and Cilicia from among the Gentiles, greeting. Inasmuch as ²⁴ we heard that some from us disturbed you by their words, perverting your souls, to whom we gave no instructions, we ²⁵ decided when we were assembled together to choose men and send them to you with our beloved Barnabas and Paul, men who ²⁶ have devoted their lives to the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. We have sent therefore Judas and Silas, orally reporting ²⁷ the same things themselves. For it was voted by the Holy ²⁸ Spirit and by us to put no further weight on you than these necessities, to abstain from things offered to idols and blood ²⁹

that it is not found in the second part of Acts; but it would be hard to prove that it is not an idiom of the koine Greek.

The apostles, etc.]. On this letter as a whole see Additional Note 16.

brethren] ἀδελφοί in apposition to 'apostles and elders' may be somewhat harsh, but there seems no reason to reject or emend it as Blass, Preuschen, and Schwartz, *Gött. Nachr.*, 1907, pp. 271 f., have thought. The reading of the Antiochian text 'and the brethren' is clearly an emendation, for the πρεσβύτεροι ἀδελφοί is found in the Western as well as in the B-text.

Syria and Cilicia] Acts xvi. 4, xxi. 25, and the Western text of xv. 41 imply a wider currency for the decrees. With the combination Antioch and Syria and Cilicia (i.e. a city and the connected double province) compare the expression in Acts i. 8, 'in Jerusalem and [in] all Judaea and Samaria.'

24. perverting] ἀρασκευάζοντες. Only here in the N.T. If 'upset' were not too colloquial it would perhaps be the best rendering. It means reversing what has been done, tearing down what has been built, or cancelling what has been agreed upon (Polybius ix. 31. 6).

25. together] ὁμοθυμαδόν, see note on v. 12.

to choose] ἐκλεξαμένους, see note on vs. 22. The Western text has an accusative, ἐκλεξαμένους, in this verse as well as in 22.

beloved] ἀγαπητός with or without ἀδελφός was apparently a term of

Christian epistolary intercourse. By using it in this letter and not elsewhere Luke is perhaps again showing his sense of suitable terminology. See note on good news (vs. 7).

26. devoted their lives] The English rendering 'hazarded' for παραδωκῶσι is indefensible; it means 'given up,' not 'risked,' cf. Gal. ii. 20. The fact that παραδοῦναι τὴν ψυχὴν is not usually applied to a man who is still alive doubtless influenced the Western reviser to add εἰς πάντα πειρασμόν. Note, however, that in Galatians, where Paul is speaking of the accomplished act of the Passion, he uses the aorist, but in the present passage the perfect is used. 'Men of devoted lives' would almost give the meaning.

to] The Greek idiom is ὑπέρ, but in English 'to' is necessary.

27. reporting] The present participle ἀπαγγέλλοντας may be regarded as an Hellenistic idiom and equivalent to the future participle of purpose, and rendered 'in order that they may themselves report,' etc.

28. these necessities] This rendering unfortunately obscures the difficulty of the Greek, τούτων τῶν ἐπάναγκες, which can hardly be right. ἐπάναγκες is used in Attic Greek as an adverb (see Blass' note) but not with the article. There are no traces of any other reading, but Clement of Alexandria, who writes in *Stromata* iv. 15. 97 ἐμήνησαν γὰρ ἐπάναγκες ἀπέχεσθαι δεῖν εἰδωλοθύτων καὶ αἵματος καὶ πνικτῶν καὶ πορρείας, ἐξ ὧν διατηροῦντας ἑαυτοὺς εὖ πράξειν. This quotation though

[and strangled meats] and fornication. And if you keep yourselves from them you will be doing right. Farewell."

30 So then they were dismissed and came down to Antioch, and

translated into *oratio obliqua* seems to show that Clement took ἐπανάγκες with ἀπέχεσθαι and not with τούτων. Moreover the *Didascalia* seems to have felt that somehow it ought to read πλὴν τούτων * τὸ ἐπανάγκες ἀπέχεσθαι, i.e. 'the necessary abstinence from,' etc. Is it possible that by a slip of the pen or of the mind the τό was attracted to the τούτων? G. F. Moore, quoted in Torrey, p. 39, suggests that τῶν is a dittography from τούτων. He would read μηδὲν πλέον ἐπιτίθεσθαι ὑμῖν βάρος πλὴν τούτων* ἐπανάγκες ἀπέχεσθαι κτλ., that is, 'to lay on you no more burden than this: it is necessary to abstain,' etc., but there is little if any evidence for ἐπανάγκες as an adjective or impersonal verb.

A slight variation of this suggestion is possible. If a colon be put after βάρος instead of after τούτων we could translate 'to put on you no further burden but perforce to abstain from these things,' etc. This is supported by the fact that Clement and the *Didascalia* took ἐπανάγκες with ἀπέχεσθαι, and that the word is used in this adverbial sense (cf. Latin *necessario*) both in literature and in papyri. In the latter, indeed, it is apparently used most often to strengthen an imperative.

A solution which is only slightly different supposes that the original reading, represented by Irenaeus and Tertullian, had neither τούτων nor τῶν, but the relative ὧν, and ran, 'to put no further weight upon you, except what you should necessarily abstain from—things offered to idols,' etc. (A. Klostermann, *Probleme im Aposteltexte*, 1883, pp. 132 ff.). Modern grammarians are, however, more willing than was the case a generation ago to admit that the infinitive can be used as a principal verb. In this case ἀπέχεσθαι could be rendered much as though it were the imperative ἀπέχεσθε (Radermacher, *Neutestamentliche Grammatik*², 1925, p. 180). Moreover, in Greek mss. of every age -αι and -ε are almost interchangeable spellings, and it is far from impossible that the verb here is really

imperative, and that the spelling ἀπέχεσθαι is partly due to a false assimilation to vs. 20.

29. The variants of the Western text are the same as those in vs. 20 (see note *ad loc.*), but here it adds φερόμενοι ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι (see further Addit. Note 16).

if you keep yourselves] ἐξ ὧν διατηροῦντες ἑαυτοὺς is strange Greek but can be paralleled in Ps. xii. 7 and in John xvii. 15 (τηρήσης αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ). D preferred the construction with ἀπό as in Ps. xii. (see Blass, *Gramm.* § 40. 3).

you will be doing right] An alternative rendering is 'you will prosper,' but in Ignatius, *Eph.* iv. 2, *Smyr.* xi. 3, and Justin, *Apol.* xxviii. 3, εὖ πράττειν can only mean 'do right,' and this undoubtedly suits the context better in this passage than 'prosper.' It should also be noted that there is a tendency in Hellenistic Greek to replace εὖ by καλῶς, and καλῶς ποιεῖν had become an epistolary formula for making a polite request. See note on x. 33. At the end of a letter a closing salutation is sometimes expressed by an imperative form of εὖ πράττειν. See Moulton and Milligan, *Vocabulary*, p. 534. A slightly different convention finishes a letter with a formula which runs with small variations 'if you do this, you will do rightly.' This is illustrated by Kypke *ad loc.* from Thucydides, Lysias, and Diogenes Laertius. Very probably this is the convention used here.

Farewell] ἔρρωσθε is the exact Greek equivalent of *valete*. See 2 Macc. ix. 20, xi. 21, 28 (cf. 38 ὑγιαίνετε).

xv. 30—xvi. 5. THE RETURN OF THE ANTIOCHIAN REPRESENTATIVES FROM JERUSALEM. Is this the continuation of the Jerusalem narratives which is the source of the rest of the chapter, or is it the resumption of the Antiochian source, or is it a piece of 'connective narrative' by the editor? I suspect the last is the truth, but there is no possibility of any proof. See note on xvi. 5—xviii. 22 on p. 185.

30. dismissed] ἀπολυθέντες is more

having assembled the community delivered the epistle. And³¹ when they read it they rejoiced at the comfort, and Judas³² and Silas themselves, being prophets, comforted the brethren at length orally and strengthened them, and having spent some³³ time they were dismissed in peace by the brethren to those who sent them. And Paul and Barnabas stayed at Antioch,³⁵

often used of the dismissal of an accused person. (Cf. Acts iii. 13, iv. 21, 23, v. 40, etc.) It is just possible that this meaning is present here, if the scene were conceived as a trial of the Antiochian missionaries, and doubtless it was so conceived by the Western reviser. But it is also used of those who are 'sent on their way' by the church (cf. xiii. 3 and xv. 33).

community] See note on iv. 32.

delivered] ἐπιδιδόναι is the technical term for handing over a letter in later Greek, but not in Attic. See Blass and Wettstein *ad loc.* ἀναδιδόναι is also used (cf. Acts xxiii. 33).

31. comfort] παράκλησις may mean 'comfort' (cf. Luke vi. 24) but more often 'exhortation.' Here it seems to be 'comfort,' and so Jerome interpreted it (*consolatione*), but the old European Latin (*gigas*) rendered it by *exhortationem*, and d has *orationem*; there is no African evidence. As it stands the word expresses the relief of the Antiochians at what was substantially a triumph for their view. But the suspicion comes into one's mind that the writer was thinking more of the next sentence (παρεκάλεσαν τοὺς ἀδελφοίς) than of the actual letter.

32. The phraseology of this verse repeats that of vs. 27. The letter says that Judas and Silas were sent καὶ αὐτοὺς διὰ λόγου ἀπαγγέλλοντας τὰ αὐτά, and vs. 32 therefore says that they καὶ αὐτοὶ διὰ λόγου πολλοῦ παρεκάλεσαν. It follows that the same meaning must be given to παρεκάλεσαν as to παρακλήσει, though 'comfort' is less usual with the verb than with the substantive. The words προφήται ὄντες are a parenthesis, not specially connected with καὶ αὐτοί, and the rendering is to be rejected which translates 'who also were themselves prophets' with reference to the prophets in Antioch mentioned in

xiii. 1, though this would be an attractive suggestion if the relation between vss. 27 and 32 were not so clear. For the connexion between prophets and παράκλησις cf. 1 Cor. xiv. 3 ὁ δὲ προφητεύων ἀνθρώποις λαλεῖ οἰκοδομῆν καὶ παράκλησιν καὶ παραμυθίαν.

33. spent some time] ποιεῖν, used in this sense with a word of time, has parallels in classical Greek as well as in other languages. But the curious part of the phrase is the use of χρόνον without τινά or a specifying adjective. Wettstein's parallels all refer to the use of ποιεῖν: none of them cover this absolute use of χρόνον. In later Greek χρόνος is used in the sense of a year, but I know no evidence which would make this usage probable in the N.T. Probably χρόνος generally connotes 'delay,' as in Rev. x. 6. Cf. χρονίζω and χρονοτριβεῖν (Acts xx. 16), and note ἐπέσχε χρόνον = 'tarried' in Acts xix. 22.

in peace] Referring to the formula of farewell, 'go in peace.' Cf. Mark v. 34; Luke vii. 50, viii. 48; Acts xvi. 36.

34. This verse is omitted in the B-text. In the Western text it reads, 'But Silas chose to remain (ἐπιμεῖναι αὐτοῦς = for them to remain, or is αὐτοῦς a mistake for αὐτοῦ?) and only Judas went.' In the Antiochian text it reads, 'But Silas chose to remain there (αὐτοῦ).' Either (i.) the verse has been omitted by accident in the B-text, or (ii.) Luke forgot to insert something of the kind, and it was added by a scribe who felt that it was needed, for obviously if Silas had gone to Jerusalem Paul could not have taken him from Antioch instead of Mark (cf. vs. 40), or (iii.) the Σίλας of vs. 40 is not the Σίλας of the preceding narrative.

35. stayed] According to Wellhausen, *Noten*, p. 7, in the Gött.

teaching and with many others telling the good news of the word of the Lord.

36 But after some days Paul said to Barnabas, "Come, let us return and visit the brethren in every city in which we preached
37 the word of the Lord to see how they are." And Barnabas
38 wished to take with them also John, called Mark, but Paul decided, in the case of one who had deserted them in Pamphylia
39 and not gone with them to their work, to stop taking him. And there was a quarrel so that they were separated from each other,
40 and Barnabas took Mark and sailed away to Cyprus. But Paul chose Silas and went forth commended to the grace of the Lord
41 by the brethren. And he travelled through Syria and Cilicia strengthening the churches.

3 1 And he arrived at Derbe and at Lystra, and behold, there was

Nachr., 1907, this resumes διέτριβον of xiv. 28.

36. after some days] This form of connecting (μετά with a note of time, or merely μετά ταῦτα) seems as characteristic of the second part of Acts as μέν οὖν is of the earlier part or of the editor (cf. xviii. 1, xxi. 15, xxiv. 1, 24, xxv. 1, xxviii. 11, 17).

Come] δὴ can only be rendered in some such way. Cf. note on Acts xiii. 2. This use of the participle with imperative or hortatory verbs, common in early Christian literature, is both ancient and popular.

visit] The context seems here to necessitate this rendering of ἐπισκεψόμεθα, but see the note on vs. 14.

in which] ἐν αὐς, a technically ungrammatical but obvious reference to πᾶσαν πόλιν, which is grammatically singular but in meaning plural.

38. deserted] Cf. xiii. 13.

to stop taking] This is the force of the present infinitive with μή, as contrasted with the aorist infinitive in vs. 37. It is impossible to bring out fully the emphatic position of τοῦτον at the end of the sentence. The Western text has lengthened but weakened the sentence (see Vol. III. p. 151).

39. quarrel] παροξυσμός, sometimes quoted as a medical term. But among the doctors it appears to mean 'the height of a fever.' Galatians ii.

13 describes a quarrel at this time with Barnabas. But according to the epistle the cause of trouble was because Peter was also in Antioch with Paul and Barnabas, and, after having been quite willing to mix freely with the converts from the heathen, had gone over to the Jewish side, as represented by James' emissaries. In Galatians the quarrel is mainly with Peter, but Barnabas is also involved. (See further, Additional Note 16.)

Cyprus] His own home.

40. Silas] See note on vs. 34.

41. Syria and Cilicia] There is no mention in Acts of any missionary enterprise in this district outside of Antioch, but this is surely implied by xv. 23, and by Paul's own statement in Gal. i. 21.

xv. 41-xvi. 1. The Western text reads "he passed through Syria and Cilicia, confirming the churches and delivering the commands of the (apostles and) elders, and when he had passed through these people (ἐθνη) he arrived at Derbe and Lystra." The intention is to emphasize the fact that Paul enforced the Apostolic decrees. It is also remarkable that codex Bezae calls them merely the 'commands of the Elders,' but this may be accidental.

1. arrived] Some words are strik-

a disciple there by name Timothy, son of a Jewish woman who believed, but of a Greek father, who had a good character among the brethren in Lystra and Iconium. Him Paul wished to come out with him, and he took and circumcised him because of the Jews who were in those places, for they all knew that his father

ingly limited to certain parts of Luke's writings. *καταντάω*, which is found here for the first time, occurs altogether nine times in the remaining chapters of Acts. Compare *διέρχονται* with the accusative of the region covered, a combination that occurs nine times in the accounts of Paul's missionary work.

a disciple there] Does *ἐκεῖ* refer to Derbe and Lystra, or to Lystra only? Modern commentators are almost unanimous in making it refer to Lystra, but Blass thinks that xx. 4 should be read so as to make Timothy come from Derbe (see the following note and the notes on xix. 29 and xx. 4).

Timothy] According to 2 Tim. i. 5 his mother's name was Eunice and his grandmother's was Lois. They were both Christians, and probably both had been Jews, though their names are Greek. According to Jewish law Eunice cannot have made a legal marriage with a Gentile, and her children, as in the case of all illegitimate children, followed their mother's nationality and were Jews. For the same reason the children of a Jew and a Gentile woman were Gentiles. (See Strack, ii. p. 741.) It is perhaps legitimate to conclude from the tense of *ὑπῆρχε* that Timothy's father was dead. Probably this accounts for the addition of *viduae* in some Latin texts, though it might be due to the confusion of *indeae* and *viduae*. This is true even of the Latin translation of Origen's Commentary on Romans x. 39, p. 686 (on Rom. xvi. 21), which reads "de Timotheo plenissime refertur in Actibus Apostolorum quod fuerit Derbaeus civis, filius mulieris viduae fidelis, ex patre gentili." But it is more probable that it really carries back at least to Rufinus, and probably to Origen, the tradition that Timothy's mother was a widow and (see previous note) that his city was Derbe.

2. Lystra and Iconium] Lystra and

Derbe is the usual grouping, but Paul was going northwards, and Iconium was the next city after Lystra in this direction. The expression has more force if Blass be right in thinking that Timothy came from Derbe. In this case it means that he took Timothy from Derbe to Lystra and Iconium, and there found that it was advisable to circumcise him.

3. circumcised] Presumably in Iconium. It would seem from this incident that Paul recognized the law as binding on Jews, but the relation of this incident to Paul's statements in Galatians is very obscure. On the one hand it is true that Paul says in Gal. v. 11, "If I still preach circumcision, why am I persecuted?" which suggests that Paul's opponents said that he had favoured circumcision. The circumcision of Timothy would give them an excuse for this attitude. But of course Paul is denying that he really preaches circumcision, and it is very hard to reconcile this circumcision of the 'Galatian' Jew Timothy with Gal. v. 2 ff., "Behold, I, Paul, say to you that if you practise circumcision (*περιτέμνησθε*), Christ will be of no advantage to you. And again I testify to every man that is being circumcised that he is under obligation to perform the whole law. You have been annulled from Christ, you who seek righteousness in the law, you have fallen from grace." How could Paul say this if he had just circumcised a Galatian? The whole passage, including the delivery of the decrees, seems to be editorial, and rouses the suspicion that it is a confused and perhaps erroneous memory of the story of Titus (Gal. ii. 3). Cf. Vol. II. pp. 293 and 320, and see Additional Note 16.

those places] i.e. the cities of Derbe, Lystra, and Iconium, and the adjacent district. Iconium was the border town between Lycaonia and

4 was a Greek. And as they passed through the cities they delivered to them for observance the decrees which had been decided on by the apostles and elders who were in Jerusalem.

5 So then the churches were strengthened in the faith and increased in number daily.

Phrygia, and it is not clear to which district Acts gives it, but Acts xiv. 6 implies that it was not Lycaonian. (See Lake, *Earlier Epistles*, p. 315, and Addit. Note 18.)

4. the cities] Luke's tendency to vary his phraseology may be invoked in favour of the suggestion that verse 6 repeats this statement, so that τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν = τὰς πόλεις which in turn have been previously described as Derbe, Lystra, and Iconium. Similarly in xix. 1 it is possible that διελθόντα τὰ ἀνωτερικὰ μέρη is intended as an alternative description of τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν καὶ Φρυγίαν in xviii. 23. See, however, Additional Note 18.

decrees] δόγματα, the decisions which ἐδόξε to the apostles and elders. The same word is used of imperial decrees in Luke ii. 1 and Acts xvii. 7. Whatever may have been the facts Luke obviously wishes to represent Paul as the delegate of the apostles in Jerusalem in a manner which is incompatible with the Epistle to the Galatians.

xvi. 5-xviii. 22. THE 'SECOND MISSIONARY JOURNEY' OF PAUL. This is the traditional nomenclature; but it may well be doubted whether the author intended to distinguish a 'second' and 'third' journey. There is no clear separation or junction of 'panels' at xviii. 22, such as is usually found when the writer is consciously moving from one topic to another. On the other hand it is very clear that xvi. 6 begins a new section. In the mind of the author this is certainly the description of a different journey from that of chapters xiii. and xiv., and having finished the story of the Council he is moving on to another topic.

The 'So then' (μὲν οὖν) is the characteristic phrase of the editor in finishing

one scene and passing to another. It indicates that to him this verse closes the episode of which the narrative began in xv. 1. It is probable that this narrative was taken from a Jerusalem source (see Additional Note 16). If so, it is plausible to suggest that the story of Timothy's circumcision belongs to this, not to the Antiochian or to a Pauline source. The negative side of this result is, however, more secure than the positive; it is more probable that the story of Timothy is not Antiochian or Pauline than that it is definitely from the Jerusalem source. The whole narrative xv. 30-xvi. 5 seems to be very summary and redactorial in character. Luke covers his traces too well for certainty to be attainable, but I suspect that the use of the real 'journey-source' begins with xvi. 6, and that xv. 30-xvi. 5 is 'connecting-narrative' into which the story of Timothy has been put by the editor. If so, it is important to notice that διελθόν δέ cannot be the beginning of a narrative, any more than it can be fitted on to xvi. 5. We plunge into the middle of a story. Where is the beginning? Schwartz's theory is that the original included the missionary journey of xiii. f., probably down to xiv. 20, the arrival of Paul at Derbe, and that it continued with xvi. 6ff. Luke cut it in two because he was obliged to have two missionary journeys, since he had two visits to Jerusalem. But there are considerable difficulties in this theory, especially with regard to Barnabas. (See Additional Note 18.)

5. strengthened] Note the author's variation of phrase between ἐκκλησίαι ἐστερεοῦντο here and ἐπιστηρίζων τὰς ἐκκλησίας a few lines before. The likeness of sound between the verbs perhaps gave the impression that they were synonyms and etymological cognates.

And they passed through Phrygia and Galatian country, 6 prevented by the Holy Spirit from speaking the word in Asia. And when they came opposite Mysia they tried to go into 7 Bithynia, and the spirit of Jesus did not permit them. And 8 they passed by Mysia and came down to Troas. And a vision 9 appeared in the night to Paul: a Macedonian was standing and entreating him and saying, "Cross over into Macedonia and help us." And when he saw the vision, immediately we sought to 10 depart into Macedonia, concluding that God had called us to bring the good news to them. Putting out therefore from Troas 11 we made a straight run to Samothrace, and on the next day to

6. they] Obviously this means Paul and his companions, but the construction is very clumsy, since the 'churches' was the subject of the previous sentence. It suggests that the preceding paragraph is editorial, and that the transition to the main source has been left too obvious.

passed through] διήλθον is not confined to the meaning of a missionary journey, but it is often used in that sense, and a contrast seems implied with Asia where they were prevented from preaching. There is no textual reason for emending διήλθον to διελθόντες, the Antiochian reading; and the following participle καλωθέντες must be explanatory of διήλθον. This does not mean that the aorist participle is in itself retrospective. The aorist participle is in itself 'timeless,' but the context generally gives a 'time-factor' to the statement made. (See the discussion in Askwith's *The Epistle to the Galatians*, pp. 14 ff. and 26 ff.) Thus it is impossible to translate the passage without doing violence to the Greek, unless we recognize that the phrase means that Paul first contemplated preaching in Asia, and, being prevented from doing this, passed through τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν—whatever that may mean. See Additional Note 18.

9. Macedonian] The question has been raised how Paul knew that he was a Macedonian; but to ask this is contrary to the psychology of dreams. Ramsay's belief that the Macedonian was Luke is unsupported by evidence,

and in the next verse the use of the first person, if the writer be identified with Luke, shows that he was already in Paul's company (see Ramsay, *PTRC.* pp. 200 ff.). Reitzenstein (*Hellenistische Wundererzählungen*, p. 53) points out that there is a parallel to this story in Philostratus, *Apollonius of Tyana*, iv. 34 ff. But he seems to attach too little weight to the fact that the reason why 'dreams' are introduced into 'Aretalogical' writings is because they often do have a real significance. A modern psychologist would interpret the dreams differently, but he would not doubt that the dream was really dreamed.

10. we sought] The beginning of the first long 'we-passage,' continuing to the arrest of Paul and Silas in Philippi (xvi. 17, see also note).

concluding] συμβιβάζειν. See note on xix. 33.

11. we made a straight run to Samothrace] That is to say, they found a favourable wind, probably from the north-east, enabling them to make Samothrace, which from its height (over 5000 feet) is the great landmark in this corner of the Levant. Sailing from Troas, Imbros, which is nearer, is much less visible, and is partly indistinguishable from Samothrace which towers above it. From Troas to Samothrace would be a good day's sail with a favourable wind. On another occasion Paul took five days for the journey from Philippi to Troas (xx. 6).

12 Neapolis, and thence to Philippi, which is a first city of the district

Neapolis] The modern Cavalla (Καβάλλα), the main port of the Macedonian tobacco industry, of which the chief fields are to the east, between it and the ancient Aenos, or the modern Dedeagatch. There is a roadstead rather than a harbour at Dedeagatch, but Cavalla is the only real port on the south coast of Macedonia except Salonica, and for sailing boats it is far safer than Salonica. It was therefore made the terminus of the *Via Egnatia*, which is still plainly visible.

12. thence] Behind Cavalla, immediately to the north, is a curious line of hills, rising rather steeply from the town, and descending again at once to the level of the great central plain of Macedonia, then as now extremely fertile. To the west is the high mountain of Pangaïos (6000 feet) on which there used to be gold and silver mines, and there is no convenient road to the south of this mountain to Erissois (Acanthus), so that the only feasible route is to go over the hills to the plain and, if going westward, leave Pangaïos to the south. This leads to Philippi, then a prosperous city, though now only a cemetery remains.

Philippi] Originally a small town called Krenides (so Strabo, *Geogr.* vii., fragm. 41 οἱ δὲ Φίλιπποι Κρηνίδες ἐκαλοῦντο πρότερον, κατοικία μικρά). It is uncertain whether Krenides, like the neighbouring towns of Galepsus, Oesyne, and Scape Hyle, belonged at an early period to the Thasians (Herod. vi. 46), who mined gold and silver in the region (Thucyd. iv. 107; Diodorus xvi. 8. 6), but it was certainly in their possession when taken by Philip of Macedon (Diod. xvi. 3. 7) about A.D. 360. The town was increased by Philip (Diod. xvi. 8. 6), given his name, and fortified to defend his frontier against the neighbouring Thracians (Appian, *B.C.* iv. 105). Under Philip the gold mines of the place, hitherto slight and unknown, were greatly developed (Diod. xvi. 8. 6-7), and the gold coins of Philip, the *Philippæi*, became everywhere known. According to Strabo the town was enlarged after the defeat of

Brutus and Cassius by Antony and Octavian in 42 B.C., probably by an addition of colonists (Kornemann, Pauly-Wissowa, art. 'Coloniae,' iv. 530). Hence perhaps the title Colonia Julia of *CIL*. iii. 386. Its importance was greatly enhanced after the battle of Actium when along with Actium and several other towns in Macedonia it received a settlement of Italian colonists who had favoured Antony and had been obliged to surrender their land to the veterans of Octavian.

From this foundation may be derived the additional title of Augusta. See the narrative of Dio Cassius, *Hist.* li. 4, in which, after describing the meeting of Augustus with his veterans at Brindisi, he continues: καὶ αὐτῶν ὁ Καῖσαρ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις χρήματα ἔδωκε, τοῖς δὲ διὰ παντὸς αὐτῷ συστρατεύσασιν καὶ γῆν προσκατένειμε. τοὺς γὰρ δῆμους τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ τοὺς τὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου φρονήσαντας ἐξοικίσας, τοῖς μὲν στρατιώταις τὰς τε πόλεις καὶ τὰ χωρία αὐτῶν ἐχαρίσατο· ἐκέλευεν δὲ δὴ τοῖς μὲν πλείοσι τὸ τε Δυρράχιον καὶ τοὺς Φιλίππους ἄλλα τε ἐποικεῖν ἀντέδωκε· τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς ἀργύριον ἀντὶ τῆς χώρας, τὸ μὲν ἐνεῖμει, τὸ δ' ὑπέσχετο. συχνὰ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἐκ τῆς νίκης ἐκτίσατο, πολλῶ δὲ ἐτι πλείω ἀνῆλθε.

The full name of the town, Col(onia) Jul(ia) Aug(usta) Philip(pensis), is found on coins (Eckhel, ii. 76) and in one inscription (*Annual of the Brit. School*, Athens, 1918-1919, p. 95; *Revue Archéologique*, 1921, p. 450, No. 4). The grant of 'Italic right' by which the colonists enjoyed the same rights and privileges as if their land were part of Italy was probably contemporaneous with the Italian settlement after Actium. (See v. Premerstein, art. 'Ius Italicum,' Pauly-Wissowa, x. 1239; *Digest*, l. 15. 6 (Celsus); l. 15. 8. 8 (Paulus).) The town continued to exist into the Middle Ages, being mentioned in the *Itinerary of Antonine* (Cuntz, *Itin. Prov.* pp. 48 and 50) and the *Tabula of Peutinger*.

The decay of Philippi, now entirely deserted, is probably due largely to malaria, and its position has been taken by Drama, in the hills to the north of the plain.

a first city] The Western text

of Macedonia, a colony. Now, we had been staying at this city

interpreted this as meaning 'the capital of Macedonia.' This produced the Latin rendering *caput*. The Greek κεφαλὴ may be retranslation from the Latin, but is more probably merely a characteristic example of Western exegetical paraphrase. Since Philippi was not the capital of Macedonia or of any part of it, this is unlikely to be the meaning. The analogy of such passages as xxviii. 17 (τοὺς ὄντας τῶν Ἰουδαίων πρώτους, cf. also xxv. 2 and xxviii. 7) suggests that πρῶτος had acquired the meaning of 'leading.'

It is true, however, that in Asia, Bithynia, and in Macedonia itself the term πρῶτη was used as a definite title. In Bithynia, Nicaea and Nicomedia disputed with each other the titles of πρῶτη and μητρόπολις, and it appears that Nicaea was πρῶτη and Nicomedia both πρῶτη and μητρόπολις (Dio Chrys. *Orat.* xxxviii. 39 ἀν δὲ τὸ μὲν τῆς μητροπόλεως ὑμῖν ὄνομα ἐξαίρετον ἦ, τὸ δὲ τῶν πρωτείων κοινὸν ἦ, τί κατὰ τοῦτο ἐλαττοῦσθε;). The rivalry of the various cities of Asia for these titles excited the derision of Dio Chrysostom (*Orat.* xxxiv. 48 εἴτε Αἰγαῖοι πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἴτε Ἀπαμείς πρὸς Ἀντιοχείς εἴτε ἐπὶ τῶν πορρωτέρω Σμυρναῖοι πρὸς Ἐφεσίους ἐρίζουσιν, περὶ ὄνου σκιᾶς, φασί, διαφέρονται. τὸ γὰρ προσεσθᾶναι τε καὶ κρατεῖν ἄλλων ἐστίν: cf. Dio Cassius, lii. 37. 10 ἐπωνυμίας τινὰς κενὰς) and of Aristides (ed. Dindorf, i. p. 771 φέρε δὴ καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐπέλωσιν τὰς περὶ τοῦ πρωτείου νῦν ἀμιλλωμένας). In the cases of Ephesus, Smyrna, and Pergamum the rivalry grew so great that Antoninus Pius was led to state by decree the honorary titles of each. His answer to an Ephesian complaint regarding an omission of these titles by the Smyrnaeans is extant (Dittenberger, *Sylloge*³, 849). The title of Ephesus thus confirmed was πρῶτη καὶ μεγίστη μητρόπολις τῆς Ἀσίας (Dittenberger, *Sylloge*³, 867). In Macedonia, Thessalonica was known as πρῶτη Μακεδόνων (*CIG.* 1967) and μητρόπολις (Strabo, vii. fg. 21), but is termed so on coins dating only from the time of Decius, A.D. 249 (Eckhel, *D.N.* ii. p. 80). Beroea, the meeting-

place of the Macedonian κοινόν, possessed the title μητρόπολις in the time of Nerva (see Marquardt, *Staatsverw.*² i. pp. 319-320; Kornemann, Pauly-Wissowa, *Suppl.* iv. col. 930 f., article 'Κοινόν').

This evidence all dates from the imperial period (see Marquardt, *op. cit.* i. pp. 343-346) and is mostly later than the first century A.D., but is probably valid for that period also. πρῶτη therefore was an honorary title given to or claimed by many of the more important cities in the eastern provinces. But as a definite title it has been found so far only in the cases of cities which were members of a κοινόν in their particular province, and were not Roman colonies at the time. Nicomedia was first termed a colony under Diocletian, and Tralles though reinforced by Roman colonists did not possess colonial status (Kornemann, Pauly-Wissowa, iv. 550, article 'Coloniae'). Thessalonica does not appear as a colony until Valerian (Marquardt, *op. cit.* i. 320). Ramsay (*Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, ii. p. 429, and *St. Paul the Traveller and Roman Citizen*, pp. 206 f.) argues that Philippi claimed for itself the title of πρῶτη, and was, although technically not the capital, at least the most important city of that part of Macedonia. Philippi, however, was a Roman colony. There is no evidence that it was a member of the Macedonian κοινόν, and no evidence except this passage in Acts that it possessed or claimed the title of πρῶτη. The absence of the article before πρῶτη is no indication that this was a definite title, because, as Blass has pointed out, this was customary with ordinals (see his note on Acts xii. 10; and cf. xx. 18. xxiii. 23). It is more probable, therefore, that the meaning of πρῶτη in this passage is simply 'a leading city.' It may be added that if the reading πρῶτης be accepted instead of πρῶτη, the whole discussion of the primacy of Philippi is beside the point (see following note).

the district of Macedonia] Textually it is doubtful whether we should read τῆς μερίδος Μακ. or μερίδος τῆς Μακ. or τῆς μερίδος τῆς Μακ. I think

13 for some days; and on the Sabbath day we went outside the gate

that probably the original B-text was τῆς μερίδος Μακεδονίας, and that codex Vaticanus accidentally transposed the τῆς. The Western text interpreted μερίδος as meaning 'province,' and, treating it as pleonastic, omitted it. But in any case Μακεδονίας is more probably dependent on μερίδος than in apposition to it. It is also very unlikely that μερίδος means *provincia*. Rather it has its technical sense, an actual subdivision of the province. This geographical use of *μερίς*, denied by Hort (*Notes*, ii. App. 96), is sufficiently proved by papyri and late writers (see Ramsay, *Expositor*, Oct. 1897, p. 320, and cf. also the inscription, *Revue Archéologique*, 1900, p. 489, No. 130, quoted below).

The interpretation of the word μερίδος in the sense of subdivision is probably the cause of the reading *primae partis* in the old Languedoc Latin version, which presupposes πρώτης for πρώτη, a plausible correction on account of the article τῆς. This suggestion, made by Field (*Notes on the Translation of the New Testament*, p. 124), has been rejected in Vol. III. pp. 154 f. on account of its slight manuscript authority. But it was accepted by Blass (*Philology of the Gospels*, pp. 67 f.), who explained it by reference to the division of Macedonia into four districts by Aemilius Paullus in 167 B.C. (Livy xlv. 17, 18 and 29). Coins are extant referring to Μακεδόνων πρώτης, etc. (see Eckhel, *D.N.* ii. p. 63, and Mommsen, *Gesch. d. röm. Munzwesens*, pp. 691 f.). It has been supposed that this division of Macedonia, which was primarily intended by the Romans to prevent the inhabitants of the country from taking combined action, did not continue after Macedonia became a regular province in 146 B.C. (see *The Expositor's Greek Testament*, ii. pp. 355 f.). There is, however, sufficient evidence that arrangements made by Aemilius Paullus, and in particular the division of Macedonia into districts, continued into the period of the Empire: (i.) A passage of Justinus, xxxiii. 2. 7, referring to the general internal régime in Macedonia, *Ita cum in ditione Romanorum cessisset, magi-*

stratibus per singulas civitates constitutis libera facta est legesque quibus adhuc utitur a Paulo accepit. (ii.) An inscription of Beroea, *Revue Archéologique*, 1900, p. 489, No. 130, in which, despite its broken state, it is evident that the κοινὸν Μακεδόνων, a συνέδριον πρώτης μερίδος, and a [συνέδριον] τετάρτης μερίδος are mentioned:

ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ ΤΟ ΚΟΙ-
ΝΟΝ ΚΑΙ
... ΔΙΕΠΟΝΤΟΣ ΤΗΝ ΕΠΑΡΧΕΙΑΝ . Α .
ΒΑΙΒΙΟΤ ΟΝΟΡΑΤΟΥ
... ΟΤ ΑΜΤΝΤΑ ΕΚ ΤΩΝ
ΙΔΙΩΝ ΙΕΡΩ
σαμένον ... ΣΤΝΕΑΡΙΟΥ ΠΡΩΤΗΣ
ΜΕΡΙΔΟΣ ΑΠΑ
... ΑΙΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΚΛΕΩΝΟΣ
ΤΕΤΑΡΤΗΣ ΜΕ

ρίδος

As the κοινὸν Μακεδόνων was probably called into life by Augustus, these μερίδες which the κοινὸν recognizes must have existed in the Imperial period. (See Geyer, Pauly-Wissowa, xiv.¹ col. 767, article 'Macedonia'; cf. Kornemann, Pauly-Wissowa, *Suppl.* iv. col. 930 f., article 'Κοινόν'; Demitsas, 'H Μακεδονία, Nos. 55, 60, 811, 812.)

From Livy's description (xlv. 29) of the boundaries of these divisions we find that Philippi was in the first district of Macedonia. Thus, if πρώτης μερίδος had better manuscript authority it would be the more satisfactory reading, since it corresponds to the actual geographical position of Philippi, and in contrast to the traditional text gives a precise meaning to the passage. Besides, there is no evidence that Philippi was given the title πρώτη (see previous note), and however much Amphipolis may have been overshadowed later by Philippi, the only Roman colony in the district, it was the actual capital of the first district of Macedonia (Livy xlv. 29. 9). On the other hand the reading *primae partis* may be late and refer merely to Diocletian's division of Macedonia in 386 B.C. into *Macedonia Prima* and *Macedonia Secunda* or *Salutaris*.

a colony] *κολωνία*, not the native Greek word ἀποικία but a translitera-

along the river, where we thought there was a place of prayer, and

tion into Greek of the Latin *colonia*. The problem of the magistrates in vss. 19 ff. would have been easier for us if the author had there also transliterated instead of translating Latin terms.

The Roman colonies were originally settlements of Roman citizens in captured territory as garrisons. Later on they were used in times of agrarian distress as a relief for the surplus population of Rome. Still later they were used to provide for the needs of veteran soldiers, directly or indirectly. Philippi is an example of the indirect provision. The rights of a colony were summed up as *libertas, immunitas*, and *Ius Italicum*. *Libertas*, represented on coins by the figure of Silenus or Marsyas (which Servius *ad Vergil. Aeneid.* iii. 20 explains as connected with the god Liber), meant the right to autonomous government; it was a basic right of all Roman colonies, whether on Italian or provincial soil, but a Roman colony differed from a *municipium*, and from a *civitas libera*, in having a definite Roman form of local administration, and in necessarily using Roman law in local as well as external matters (see Toutain, art. 'Municipium,' in Daremberg and Saglio). *Immunitas*, or freedom from tribute and taxation, was an additional right granted to many colonies on provincial soil, not however to all, since provincial land, even if owned by Roman citizens, was normally subject to tribute. (See list of *Coloniae Immunes* in Kornemann, Pauly-Wissowa, iv. col. 580.) A final privilege which really included all the others was the grant of *Ius Italicum*, by which the whole legal position of the colonists in respect of ownership, transfer of land, payment of taxes, local administration, and law, became the same as if they were upon Italian soil; as, in fact, by a legal fiction, they were. (See von Premerstein, Pauly-Wissowa, x., art. 'Ius Italicum.') It is probable that the Augustan veteran colonists in the provinces owned their land *ex iure Quiritium* as in Italy (see Frank, *Journal Rom. Stud.*, 1927), and the same right appears to have been given

to the colonists of Philippi, who were Roman citizens but had espoused the cause of Antony, and were deported to Macedonia to make room for settlements of Augustan veterans in Italy (see previous note). (On the rights and status of Roman colonies see Kornemann, Pauly-Wissowa, iv., art. 'Coloniae'; Toutain, *Mélanges de l'École*, 1896, pp. 315 ff.; 1898, pp. 140 ff.; Marquardt, *Staatsverwaltung*, i.² pp. 86 ff., 118 ff.; W. T. Arnold, *Roman Provincial Administration*, pp. 219 ff.)

Several other cities mentioned in Acts were also colonies, viz. Pisidian Antioch, Lystra, Troas, Ptolemais, Corinth, Syracuse, and Puteoli, and it has been supposed that the author's personal interest in Philippi is shown by his using this designation only here. But it is, of course, possible that the definitely Latin character of Philippi (see Harnack, *Mission und Ausbreitung*, 4th ed., p. 788, note 1) was more conspicuous than that of some other towns of the class. Besides, Paul's experiences here have to do with Roman law and Roman officials and Roman rights. When in a later incident (xxii. 25-29) the question of flogging a Roman citizen is raised again, we are again told the status of the authority involved: Claudius Lysias was a citizen by purchase.

13. the river] The little stream of the Gangites or Angites. The Greek — *παρὰ ποταμόν* — omits the article, either because it means 'a river' or because *παρὰ ποταμόν* has become one of the idiomatic anarthrous prepositional forms like *παρὰ θάλασσαν* (x. 32), *ἐν ἀγορᾷ* (Luke vii. 32), *ἐν ἀγρῷ* (Luke xv. 25). See the grammars of A. T. Robertson, p. 792, and J. H. Moulton, i. p. 82, note. The phrase *πρὸ πόλεως* of deities whose shrines lie outside the city may be compared. It is well attested in inscriptions and is in Codex Bezae at xiv. 13, though the other uncials read *πρὸ τῆς πόλεως*. (See note *ad loc.*)

we thought, etc.] The text seems irrevocably corrupt (see note, Vol. III. p. 155). The meaning is either 'we thought that there was a synagogue'

14 we sat down and talked to the women who had assembled. And a woman named Lydia, a purple-seller of the city of Thyatira,

or 'there was customarily a synagogue.' The latter would be the meaning of Blass' conjecture, adopted by Ropes; but I incline to prefer *ἐνομιζόμεν προσευχῇ εἶναι*.

place of prayer] *συναγωγή* and *προσευχή* are about synonymous, though theoretically 'a place of prayer' is not necessarily a synagogue (see note on i. 14, and Vol. I. p. 161, note).

There is no rabbinic evidence (according to Strack, ii. p. 742, and E. Schürer, *GJV*. ii.⁴ 519) that synagogues were built near rivers, though Blau, *Papyri und Talmud in gegenseitiger Beleuchtung*, 1913, p. 9, refers to the Mekilta as showing that it was customary; but Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 10. 23, states that in Halicarnassus the public was specially forbidden to interfere with the *πάτριον ἔθος* of the Jews to pray by the seashore, and the letter of Aristeeas (304 f.) tells how the makers of the LXX went down to the sea to wash their hands and pray before beginning to translate. That the Jewish ablutions required plenty of water is a natural reason for building synagogues near the water's edge. The *προσευχή* mentioned in P Tebt 86 (2nd cent. B.C.) was on the waterside.

These passages hardly amount to proof of a custom of having a synagogue by the river, and perhaps the belief that this was a Jewish custom is merely a Christian guess; cf. Tertullian, *De jejuni.* xvi. "Judaicum certe jejunium ubique celebratur, cum ommissis templis per omne littus quocunque in aperto aliquando iam precem ad coelum mittunt"; *Ad nationes* i. 13 "Judaici enim festi, Sabbata et coena pura, et judaici ritus lucernarum et jejunia cum azymis et orationes littorales." Moreover, we know from Egyptian papyri that the *ἄρχοντες* of the *προσευχή* of Theban Jews paid the metropolitan waterworks a handsome semi-annual water rate in A.D. 113 (P Lond 1177. 57, and cf. *Expos. Times*, xix. 41), so that presumably it was not so situated as to be able to take water directly out of the river. In Josephus, *loc. cit.*, τὰς *προσευχὰς*

ποιεῖσθαι πρὸς τῇ θαλάσῃ need not be understood of fixed places of prayer.

The present passage, therefore, probably means no more than it says—Paul and his companions had reason to think that there was a synagogue in that direction, or, with the alternative reading, the Jews in Philippi were, as a matter of fact, accustomed to go to a synagogue near the river. The writer describes a local, not a general custom. At Alexandria, Philo (*In Flacc.* 14, § 122, M. p. 534) tells how the Jews, having heard of the arrest of their arch enemy, "spent the night in hymns and songs, and at dawn pouring out through the city gates came to the nearby beaches—for they had been deprived of their *προσευχὰς*—and standing in the very open space lifted up their voices," etc.

sat down] This was the usual posture in teaching in the synagogue (Luke iv. 20) and elsewhere (Matt. v. 1, xxvi. 55; Mark ix. 35; Luke v. 3, and rabbinic passages cited by Strack-Billerbeck, *Kommentar*, i. p. 997, and Dalman, *Jesus-Jeshua*, Eng. trans. p. 45, note 9). But sometimes one stood to speak (Acts xiii. 16), as one did also to read the Scriptures (Luke iv. 16).

women] It is said that women were especially liable to become proselytes. Women have often been more addicted than men to frequenting places of worship. Cf. Schürer, *GJV*. iii.⁴ p. 168.

14. **Lydia.]** A well-known name, especially in Latin literature (cf. Horace, *Odes* i. 8, etc.). Here, however, it may be connected with the fact that Thyatira was a Lydian city. For Thyatira in connexion with dyes cf. *CIG.* 3496 ff., and for the existence of dyers-guilds see Liebenam, *Zur Geschichte und Organisation d. röm. Vereinswesens*, p. 117, and E. Ziebarth, *Das griechische Vereinswesen*, 1896, p. 102. Possible evidence of another Thyatiran representative in Macedonia is a stele found at Thessalonica in which ἡ *συνήθεια τῶν πορφυροβάφων* honour Μένιππον Ἀμ(μ)ίου τὸν καὶ Σεβήρον Θυατειρηνοῦ. See Wikenhauser, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, 1921, pp. 410 f.

worshipping God, was listening, and the Lord opened her heart to believe what was spoken by Paul. And when she and her family 15 were baptized she asked us, saying, "If you have judged me to be a believer in the Lord, come in and stay in my house." And she constrained us. And it happened that, while we were going into 16 the place of prayer, a slave girl who had an oracular spirit met

There was also a Jewish colony in Thyatira, which Ramsay conjectures may have influenced Lydia, but the suggestion that there was in the city a hybrid worship, half Jewish, half pagan, is a precarious conclusion to draw from the allusion to Jezebel in Rev. ii. 20, the meaning of which is quite unknown.

worshipping God] See Additional Note 8.

opened her heart] Cf. 2 Macc. i. 4 for *διανοίγειν τὴν καρδίαν* and the similar phrase (*διήνοιξε τὸν νοῦν*) in Luke xxiv. 45, and see Blass's note here.

believe] *προσέχειν*. See note on viii. 6.

15. a believer in the Lord] i.e. if you really look on me as a Christian. See Addit. Note 30.

house] Or, since *οἶκος* in the preceding sentence clearly means family, perhaps it should be rendered 'stay in my family.' Blass points out that *οἶκος*=family, *οἶκλα*=house in Attic Greek. But in the N.T. *οἶκος* and *οἶκλα* seem to be synonyms. Cf. vss. 31, 32, and 34.

constrained] Cf. 2 Kings ii. 17; Luke xxiv. 29.

16. while we were going] The picture is not quite clear. In combination with vs. 13 it may mean that Paul and his companions had walked out along the river looking for a synagogue; on the way they had met some women, and talking to them before they found the synagogue had converted Lydia. Then, as they were going into the synagogue itself, there followed the incident of the girl with a 'Python' spirit. Or the writer may mean to describe two distinct incidents on different days. It depends on whether in vs. 13 *καθίσαντες* means 'sat down in the synagogue'—the regular position of the speaker—cf.

Luke iv. 20, or 'sat down by the river,' and whether *συνελθούσαι* means that the women had assembled for the synagogue. Or possibly both the references to going to the synagogue belong to the same day; the narrative is dislocated because, though the episode of the slave girl really began before the conversion of Lydia, it culminated later, and therefore is put second in the story.

slave girl] *παιδίσκη*, as in xii. 13 of Rhoda.

oracular spirit] *πνεῦμα πύθωνα*. According to Plutarch, *De defect. orac.* ix. p. 414 E, soothsayers through whom the gods spoke were once called *εὐρυκλέας* and later *πύθωνας*, in allusion to the snake which embodied the god at Delphi. Plutarch and others call these soothsayers *ἐγγαστριμύθους* or ventriloquists, but this word seems to have changed its meaning. It came to mean a man who can make his voice appear to come from some other part of the room in which he is; but presumably the original meaning was that the speaker was 'pregnant' (*ἐν γαστρὶ*) with a god. Moreover, a ventriloquist knows what he is doing, but this Python was convinced that she was inspired, and when Paul exorcised the demon she was powerless to speak any more.

The LXX attests the use of *ἐγγαστριμύθος* for wizard or soothsayer (*ῥαῖς*), while *πύθων* occurs in *Clem. Hom.* ix. 16 (ed. Lagarde) *καὶ πύθωνες μαντεύονται, ἀλλ' ὑφ' ἡμῶν ὡς δαίμονες ὀρκιζόμενοι φυγαδεύονται*, and in the *Synopsis* (ed. Eberhard, p. 66. 14 ff.) *ἀνὴρ τις δαίμόνιον εἶχε, μαντεύμενος καὶ λέγων ὅσα ἐρωτοῦσαν αὐτὸν οἱ ἄνθρωποι· ὅστις δαίμων ἐκαλεῖτο πνεῦμα πύθωνος· τάχα δὲ λέγων οὗτος ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐκ τοῦ δαίμονος συνήγε κέρδη πολλὰ*. Possibly these passages, especially the latter (whose *πνεῦμα πύθωνος* agrees with

us. And she brought much profit to her owners by her divination.
 17 She followed Paul and us and cried out, saying, "These men are servants of the most high God, and announce to you a way of

the Antiochian text of Acts), and the definitions in the glossaries of Erotian, Hesychius, and Suidas, are not independent of Acts. They serve in any case as commentaries on our passage. Whether the word is really connected etymologically with *πῖθων*, serpent, or with *Πυθίας*, *Πυθώ*, and other words with *π* connected with Apollo or Delphi or their oracles, is doubtful. Jerome, *De nom. Hebr.* iii. 103, displays his Hebrew learning by deriving it from 'os abyssi' (פְּתִיחַת הַיָּם).

See the full discussion in Wikenhauser, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, 1921, pp. 401-407. Note that *πανρεύομαι*, used only here in the N.T., is also confined in the LXX to non-Jewish divination.

profit] *ἐργασίας*. It could be translated 'business,' but 'profit' seems to suit the context, and there is really not much difference between the two ideas. For instances of a similar use of the word see Moulton and Milligan, *Vocabulary*, and Blass *ad loc.*

17. us] The first person is not used again until xx. 6, when 'we sailed from Philippi' introduces a long section which continues to xxi. 15 when Jerusalem has been reached. After this the first person is dropped until xxvii. 1, when Paul's voyage to Rome begins.

Two observations may be made, though their exact significance is open to doubt. (i.) The 'we' ceases when the narrative does not concern a journey. (ii.) Both here and in xxi. 18 Paul is distinguished from the 'us.' Is this an indication by the writer that he proposes at this point to drop out of the story and leave the whole stage to Paul?

cried out] *ἔκραξε*, not *ἐκραξε*. She made a habit of it.

most high God] Cf. Luke viii. 28, but there Luke is following Mark v. 7 (the story of the 'Gadarene' swine, which is not a Jewish scene). But where the term is used by Luke with a Jewish background the expression is *ὁ ὑψιστος* without *ὁ θεός* (Luke i. 32, 35, 76, vi. 35; Acts vii. 48). This

may be another case of Luke's variation of synonym to suit different speakers or setting.

For attributing the term to pagan speakers he has considerable precedent not only in Hellenistic Greek, e.g. 1 Esdras ii. 3, which may be translated from the Semitic, but in the Hebrew use of *יהוה* for a single God spoken of in connexion with others than Hebrews, e.g. Num. xxiv. 16; Isaiah xiv. 14. Cf. Daniel iii. 26 *et al.* See Montgomery, *I.C.C. Daniel*, pp. 215 f. Not only is there evidence of the actual use of the corresponding Semitic word in pagan religion, but a considerable body of inscriptional evidence from many lands attests the use of *ὑψιστος θεός*. See article 'Hypsistos' in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*. In many cases it is either purely Jewish or due to Jewish influence. Whether it is used by purely pagan groups not subject to syncretism with Judaism is perhaps not yet clear, though the term has claimed a good deal of attention. See further Additonal Note 8.

a way of salvation] The Greek *ὁδὸς σωτηρίας* without any articles may, however, also be rendered 'the way of salvation.' The slave girl would perhaps speak of 'a way of salvation,' as though there might be many ways, but would not Luke tend to think of her remarks as more nearly monotheistic? (Cf. the use of *ὑψιστος*—has it the same meaning in Luke's mind as it had in that of the slave girl?) The alternatives in Greek are to use the article with both the noun and its dependent genitive or to use it with neither. When the article is used the English definite article is a safe translation, but it does not follow that when the article is not used in Greek we should use the English indefinite article. The same problem of translation—the words of a polytheist quoted by monotheists—is found also in xvii. 23 *ἀγνώστῳ θεῷ*, and in Mark xv. 39 (= Matt. xxvii. 54) *υἱὸς θεοῦ*—'a son of a god' or 'the son of the god.'

salvation." And she did this for many days. But Paul was 18 annoyed and turned round and said to the spirit, "I enjoin you in the name of Jesus Christ, to come out of her." And it came out of her that very hour. And her owners, seeing that their hope 19 of gain had departed, seized Paul and Silas, and dragged them to the Agora to the magistrates, and brought them to the praetors 20

18. for many days] ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας. Cf. note on δι' ἡμερῶν in i. 3. annoyed] διαπονηθείς. Cf. iv. 2.

I enjoin you] This is the first example of exorcism by the Name of Jesus in Acts, but there is in principle no difference between this and the healing miracles in the earlier chapters. In the opinion of that age, demons and disease were almost convertible terms.

that very hour] For the use of this phrase to express immediacy cf. xxii. 13. In this passage the Western text reads εὐθέως.

19. owners] The plural need not mean that she was owned by a syndicate or business organization. Plurality of ownership was common, especially where the owners were kindred or married, and it is possible that κύριοι here and in Luke xix. 33 (of the colt) means master and mistress. See A. Souter, *Expositor*, July 1914, pp. 94 f., January 1915, pp. 94 ff., and the note of Windisch on *Barnabas*, xix. 7.

Agora] 'The courthouse' rather than 'the market-place' would give the meaning, but the word is better transliterated than translated.

magistrates] ἀρχοντες is a general Greek name for the magistrates of a city. In the case of a Roman colony these were usually termed *duoviri* and *aediles*, but *quattuorviri* frequently appear instead of *duoviri*. There were also *quaestors*, *augurs*, and *pontiffs*. The main sources of our knowledge of the organization of colonies and municipia are the *Lex Rubria* of 49 B.C., Bruns, *Fontes Iuris Romani*⁷, p. 97; the *Lex Iulia Municipalis* of 45-44 B.C., *id.* p. 102; the *Lex Coloniae Genetivae*, *id.* p. 122, and the *Leges Salpensana* and *Malacitana*, *id.* pp. 142 ff.; the first two of these contain general provisions regarding the constitution and administration

of Italian municipal units, and the succeeding three the municipal constitutions of the colony of Urso, and of the Latin towns of Salpensana and of Malaca in Baetica (Southern Spain). (On these laws see Marquardt, *Staatsverwaltung*, i.² pp. 67 ff., 135 ff.; E. G. Hardy, *Three Spanish Charters*; Mommsen, *Gesamm. Schr.* i. pp. 194-382.) It appears that the magistrates, *duoviri*, *aediles*, and *quaestores*, were elected by the votes of the community (*Lex Iulia Municipalis*, 83; Marquardt, *op. cit.* p. 141), but variations in the method of appointment of magistrates are found from town to town (e.g. for Africa cf. Toutain, *Cités romaines de la Tunisie*, pp. 354 ff.), and as time passed the constitutions of towns tended to become aristocratic. The three Spanish charters, however, may be considered typical. *Duoviri*, *aediles*, and *decuriones* appear in the inscriptions of Philippi (*CIL.* iii. 633, 654, 7339, 14206¹⁵; *Revue Archéologique*, 1921, p. 450, No. 4). Resident foreigners or *incolae*, such as composed a large part of Paul's audience in Philippi, voted in Malaca with the citizens of the town, *Lex Malac.* 53, but in Roman colonies generally this was probably not permitted, or was permitted only in special circumstances, as for instance at Gighthis (*CIL.* viii. 30).

20. praetors] στρατηγός is not only the usual Greek equivalent for the Latin praetor but is also found for consuls, proconsuls, and consuls and praetors collectively (Dittenberger, *Syll.*³, Index, στρατηγός; also for *duoviri*, Cagnat, *IGRR.* iii. 1040, 1047 (Palmyra), and Libanius, i. p. 429 R. (Corinth)). In fact, in Greek usage the word may refer to any chief official, whether magistrate of a Greek city, prefect of an Egyptian nome, a

and said, "These men are disturbing our city, and they are Jews
 21 and are announcing customs which it is illegal for us to accept or
 22 to do, seeing we are Romans." And the crowd gathered against
 them, and the praetors tore off their clothes and commanded
 23 them to be beaten. And when they had laid many lashes on
 them they threw them into prison and enjoined on the jailer
 24 to keep them securely. And he having received so strict an

civil or military prefect under the Ptolemies, or a governor under the Seleucids, as well as having the primary sense of a military leader (see Dittenberger, *OGIS.*, Index, *στρατηγός*). The association of *στρατηγός* with *praetor* in the sense of *duovir* may be due to local custom which gave the *duovir* the title of *praetor* (cf. Cicero, *De lege agr.* ii. 34 "cum ceteris in coloniis *duoviri* appellatur, hi se praetores appellari volebant"). Praetors were the regular magistrates in some of the early Latin towns and citizen colonies. *Praetores duumviri* (e.g. Grumentum, *CIL.* x. 221, 226) and *praetores quattuorviri* (Nemausus, *CIL.* xii. 3215) are found elsewhere, but *duovir* is the term which appears on the inscriptions of Philippi (see note above).

The older editions of Meyer and Ramsay (*PTRC.* pp. 217 f.) suggest that the *στρατηγός* are not identical with the *ἄρχοντες*, whom they regard as an inferior class of magistrates who referred the case to the *duoviri*. But in a later article in the *JTS.* i. (1900) pp. 114 ff. on 'The Title of the Magistrates at Philippi' Ramsay suggests that the *στρατηγός* are identical with the *ἄρχοντες* mentioned immediately before, but doubts whether the author would have used both words. This is the most probable view, except that so far from Luke being unlikely to have used two words to describe the same magistrates, he is characteristically fond of varying his phraseology in just this manner. Probably therefore *ἄρχοντες* is merely a general term defined more closely by the following *στρατηγός*. It is as though we might say "he was brought before the magistrates, and his Honour remanded

him." No one would suppose that 'his Honour' was not included in 'the magistrates'; the phrase would merely define the rank of the magistrate in question. The argument for this identification of the *στρατηγός* and the *ἄρχοντες* is further supported by the fact that in Roman colonies the *duoviri* had jurisdiction in both civil and criminal processes (cf. *Lex Iulia Municipalis*, 119; *Lex Col. Genetivae*, 95, 96, 105; Marquardt, *Staatsverwaltung*, i.² pp. 154 f.; Hardy, *Three Spanish Charters*, pp. 17 ff.). Claims and complaints might be laid by citizens and by the *duoviri* themselves.

21. it is illegal] Though Judaism was tolerated and protected in the Empire, its adherents were not allowed to make proselytes of Romans. This was probably the cause of persecution of the Christians, who in the eyes of the Roman law were at the best Jews engaged in illegal proselytism. If they were not Jews they had no possible defence, for though Rome tolerated any national religion it did not permit the indiscriminate manufacture of new cults.

22. their clothes] Commentators generally interpret this as meaning that the praetors adopted the Old Testament custom of 'rending their garments' in horror (cf. Ramsay, *PTRC.* p. 219). It seems to me unlikely that they adopted this Jewish custom to express their horror at Jewish propaganda. It is more likely that the clothes were those of the apostles. Throughout the sentence *αὐτῶν . . . αὐτῶν . . . αὐτοῖς . . . αὐτοῦς* refer to the apostles. It is not necessary to think that the praetors did this with their own hands. See also Addit. Note 24.

injunction put them into the inner prison and fastened their feet into the stocks. And about midnight Paul and Silas were singing ²⁵

24. inner] From the use of ἀναγαγών in vs. 34 Blass concludes that the inner prison was underground, but this seems to put too much stress on ἀναγαγών. It does not necessarily mean 'to bring up from below' any more than does the phrase 'bring the matter up for decision' in legal English. Possibly ἐσωτέραν is an instance of that preference for the comparative rather than the superlative which has ultimately made the superlative obsolete in modern Greek. fastened] Almost 'shut,' which is the meaning of σφαιλίζω in modern Greek.

stocks] Lit. 'the wood.' This was a Roman instrument of torture, often mentioned in the *Acta* of martyrs. It was apparently made like the traditional village stocks, but had more than two holes for the legs so that they could be forced widely apart into a position which soon became intolerably painful. Cf. Eusebius, *H.E.* v. 1. 27 (the letter of the church of Vienne brought by Irenaeus to Rome).

25-26. R. Reitzenstein has pointed out in his *Hellenistische Wundererzählungen*, p. 121, that in chapters v., xii., and xvi. we have three stories of escapes from prison, and suggests that they, as well as the parallel narrative in *Acta Thomae*, are due to the influence of a Greek convention as to the way in which escape from prison was effected, combined with a widespread belief that magic could effect this result. His suggestion certainly ought to be taken seriously, but its importance can easily be overestimated. So far as the theory of a 'literary convention' is concerned, it merely means that there was an established way of telling certain stories, and that those telling that kind of story would be apt to add certain incidents even if there were no actual justification for them. Thus for instance, even if Paul and Silas had not sung in the prison, literary convention might have suggested that it was the proper thing for a prisoner to do. The associations

of this passage are literary or religious (the Dionysus cult) rather than magical. A likeness has long been recognized between this and the other scenes in Acts of release from prison (in v. and xii.) and the *Bacchae* of Euripides 443 ff.:

ἄς δ' αὖ σὺ Βάκχας εἶρξας, ἄς συνήρπασας
κἀδῆσας ἐν δεσμοῖσι πανδήμου στέγης,
φροῦδαί γ' ἐκείναι λελυμέναι πρὸς ὀργὰδας
σκιρτῶσι, Βρόμιον ἀνακαλούμεναι θεόν·
αὐτόματα δ' αὐταῖς δεσμά διεκίβητο ποδῶν
κλῆδες τ' ἀνήκαν θύρετρά· ἄνευ θνητῆς
χερός.

This parallel to the *Bacchae* was first suggested by Celsus (cf. Origen, *Contra Celsum*, ii. 34) and has been emphasized lately by various scholars—P. Fiebig, in *Άγγελος*, ii., 1926, p. 157; S. Lönborg, in *Eranos*, xxiv., 1926, pp. 73 ff.; G. Rudberg, in *Symbolae Osloenses*, iv., 1926, pp. 29-34. For other possible connexions of Acts with the *Bacchae* of Euripides see P. Fiebig, *loc. cit.*, below on xxvi. 14, and the article there cited by F. Smend, and on xxi. 39 with references to Rendel Harris. There may be some weight in this line of argument, but it seems to me to have been too much stressed. Doubtless there was a literary convention on many subjects, as there is now, and the problem of distinguishing convention from fact is not easy. It can, indeed, never be completely solved in any given case, and the whole question can be stated best by enumerating the various imperfectly known factors which compose it.

(i.) Escapes from prison were probably not infrequent, and in many cases were due to combinations of circumstances which the prisoner did not always understand.

(ii.) In describing the adventures of philosophers and magicians, there was a tendency to reproduce stock incidents. This is true of all literature, and calls for no detailed discussion. But it must be noted that the incident became a 'stock' one because it was believed to happen often.

(iii.) In deciding whether an incident really happened or not, general probability is in the end our only guide. Thus in Acts v. and xii. the intervention of angels appears improbable to those who do not believe in angels. But if the problem be turned round a little and we ask whether a prisoner who did believe in angels may not have thought that an angel had released him, the question takes a different aspect. Or again, it is certainly not impossible that the writer of Acts or his source may have introduced an angel to explain what was otherwise mysterious. Similarly an earthquake seems to us singularly unlikely to have loosened the stocks but not otherwise injured either prison or prisoners. If there were any evidence that an earthquake was often introduced into accounts of escapes from prison, I should think that the earthquake was a literary convention; but I know of no such evidence, and I am inclined to believe that the earthquake is history. Earthquakes are common enough in that district. It seems to me quite possible that the jailer, aware that he had with him two distinguished magicians and that they had been singing magic charms all night, released them in the belief that they were responsible for the earthquake. Naturally enough the direct and indirect result of the earthquake were confused in tradition.

(iv.) So far as magic is concerned, the belief that magicians could bring about release from prison was widespread, and it was recognized as a possibility which Celsus might suggest in this episode by Origen, *Contra Cels.* ii. 34, since the doors were opened and the fetters loosed upon the singing of a hymn, and *καὶ γόητὲς τινες ἐπωδαῖς δέσμονας λύουσι καὶ θύρας ἀνοίγουσιν*. (See A. Dieterich, *Abraxas*, 190; R. Reitzenstein, *Hell. Wundererz.* pp. 120 ff.; and *Pap. Osloenses*, Fasc. 1, ed. by S. Eitrem, Oslo, 1925, p. 112.)

But it is important to remember that Christians and Jews were in the main addicted not to magic but to religion, using the words in Frazer's sense. He maintains that the point of difference is that magic claims to control 'happenings' by the direct action of the magician, who knows what to do and what to say. Religion

claims to control 'happenings,' if at all, only by persuading supernatural beings to take action. 'Happenings' are not in the power of man, but of these superhuman beings. Obviously mixture has often taken place between magic and religion, and a common form is that in which magic is employed not directly in the 'happenings,' but on the superhuman beings who are compelled rather than persuaded. Christianity and Judaism have not been free from this mixture; it seems, for instance, to be illustrated in Acts by the use of the Name. In the main, however, both Christianity and Judaism are definitely religions, not forms of magic. In the first century and later, when magic was dominant, Christianity was always against it. Thus there arose a controversy between heathen magic and Christian religion, on the basis of the miracles which each could perform. Therefore the real significance of the miracles in Acts to which Dieterich and Reitzenstein can adduce parallels from magical papyri is not quite what is sometimes thought. They are not so much a proof of the influence of magic on Christianity, but rather of the struggle between religion and magic. Religion may use the same formula as magic, but it is not identical with it. It is, however, well to remember that neither is 'religion' in this—its ancient—sense the same as modern religion.

25. singing] Owing to the frequency with which singing is introduced into hagiographical literature it has been suggested, especially by R. Reitzenstein (*Hellenistische Wundererzählungen*, p. 121), that it is a literary convention, and that there is little historical fact behind this whole account. Doubtless 'singing in prison' is a common detail in hagiographical accounts, but it is also a common practice for political prisoners of all kinds and at all times. It is naturally introduced into literature; but it also often really happened. Cf. Tertullian, *Ad martyras* 2 "Nihil crux sentit in nervo cum animus in coelo est" (*nervus* is the Latin name for ξύλον, stocks), and especially Epictetus ii. 6. 26 f. *καὶ τὸτ' ἐσόμεθα ζηλωταὶ Σωκράτους, ὅταν ἐν φυλακῇ δυνώμεθα παῖδνας γράφειν*.

In each instance the decision,

praise to God as they prayed, and the prisoners were listening to them; and suddenly there was a great earthquake, so that the 26 foundations of the jail were shaken and at once all the doors were opened and the fetters of all were loosed. And the jailer woke up, 27 and seeing the doors of the prison open drew his sword and was going to kill himself, thinking that the prisoners had escaped. But 28 Paul called to him with a loud voice, saying, "Do yourself no harm, for we are all here." And he called for lights and rushed in, 29 and in his fright fell down before Paul and Silas and brought them 30 out, and said, "Sirs, what must I do to be saved?" And they 31

whether literary or historical, depends on the general character of the narrative. Preuschen quotes from *Test. XII. Patr.*, *Joseph*, viii. 5 (Recension β) καὶ ὡς ἤμην ἐν τοῖς δεσμοῖς ἡ Αλγυπτία συνέλχετο ἀπὸ τῆς λύπης. καὶ ἐπηκροῦτό μου πῶς ὕμνον κύριον ἐν οἴκῳ σκότους. This is a closer and more convincing parallel than any of Reitzenstein's, but the question of Christian influence in this recension of the Testaments has not yet been completely cleared up. For other resemblances in thought and wording between Acts xvi. 23-29 and the account of Joseph in the *Test. XII. Patr.* see Vol. II. pp. 77f. But the use of εἰσπηδάω (see vs. 29) in the two passages is less striking than was there implied, for while the verb is found only once again in the Greek Bible, it is common for violent acts in the Greek papyri (see Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, s.v.) and in Greek literature generally. Cf. xiv. 14 and note.

26. the foundations] Perhaps with an allusion to Ps. lxxxii. 5.

loosed] Ramsay (*PTRC*, p. 221) suggests that the earthquakes so shook the house that the staples of the prisoners' fetters were detached from the wall, "which was so shaken that spaces gaped between the stones." But if so, the roof would have collapsed, and in any case a fettered man could scarcely be described as freed merely if the staple which fastened him to the wall were detached.

27. woke up] ἐξυπνος γενόμενος. To the instances of ἐξυπνος commonly cited (1 Esdras iii. 3 and Joseph. *Antiq.* xi. 3. 2) should be added Enoch xiii. 9, *Test. XII. Patr.*, *Levi*, v. 7. It

is strange that an example of the adjective from a pagan writer has not yet been found. In all cases γινομαι is used, so that for once the use of γενόμενος with an adjective need not be regarded as a mannerism of Luke.

kill himself] Either as a point of military honour or perhaps to avoid the punishment due to a jailer who let prisoners escape, although under the circumstances he would have had a good defence, and could surely have recovered prisoners who, if Ramsay's view be accepted, were still dragging their fetters after them.

29. lights] The word φῶτα raises some questions of interest to the textual critic and the grammarian. The earliest versions without exception apparently render it as singular, as did the Authorized Version and indeed our own translation in proof. But though there are other variants in the passage no Greek evidence has φῶς. Did such a reading once occur? Is φῶτα translated as collectively equivalent to φῶς? Or was it taken (correctly?) to be a form of the accusative singular of φῶς, like ἐρῶτα, ἰδρῶτα, and all other third declension nouns which are masculine—including φῶτα from the poetic φῶς, 'man.' If not, we have here the plural found in other Hellenistic writings and meaning lamps or torches. Would the jailer call for more than one?

30. brought them out] The Western text adds 'having fastened up the others.'

to be saved] The implication in the jailer's mind probably was that

said, "Believe on the Lord Jesus, and you and your family will be
 32 saved." And they spoke the word of God to him with all who
 33 were in his house. And he took them at that hour of the night
 and bathed their stripes and was baptized at once, he and all
 34 his household, and brought them up into the house and pro-
 vided a meal for them, and rejoiced with all his house, having
 35 believed on God. And when it was day the praetors sent the

this earthquake justified the assertion of the 'Python' that Paul and Silas were announcing a 'way of salvation.' This may well be so, but doubt is raised by the fact that this is the traditional question which literary convention naturally put into the mouth of a future convert.

33. bathed their stripes] The Greek ἔλουσεν ἀπὸ τῶν πληγῶν could mean either that he bathed them because of their stripes or that he bathed them after their stripes. See Kypke, *ad loc.* But more probably we should regard it as a pregnant construction, 'he bathed them so that they were relieved from their stripes.' Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, p. 227, illustrates the construction λούομαι ἀπὸ from inscriptions concerning ceremonial ablutions. Cf. Hebrews x. 22.

baptized] As a rule there is some allusion to the further history of an apostolic convert in the legends of the saints. But there seems to be nothing about the jailer of Philippi except that two minuscules (see note, Vol. III. p. 156) say in vs. 27 that his name was Stephanas. Doubtless they mean the Stephanas referred to in 1 Cor. i. 16; his family was baptized by Paul and he is called the 'first-fruits of Achaia' in 1 Cor. xvi. 15. The only other allusion to Stephanas in legendary lives of apostles is in the list of the Seventy in Cod. Sinait. Syr. 10 (Th. Schermann, *Prophetarum Vitae*, p. 220). This identification of the jailer with Stephanas is not merely a scribal whim but goes back to some commentator, not Chrysostom so far as I can discover. It appears in Oecumenius, but Oecumenius in Acts takes over, unacknowledged and with the omission of the names of commentators,

an older catena on Acts (published by J. A. Cramer as *Catena in Acta SS. Apostolorum*, Oxford, 1838) which, however, gives no name for its note: "This is the Stephanas whom Paul mentions in the first letter to the Corinthians."

Other unconvincing attempts are made to find references in the epistles, especially in Philippians, to persons who are mentioned anonymously in Acts. Thus Renan suggests that Paul married Lydia and refers to her as γνήσιε σύζυγε in Philipp. iv. 3. Zahn goes further and, assuming that 'Lydia' is a nickname given to the woman of Thyatira in Lydia, identifies her either with Euodia or Syntyche in Philipp. iv. 2. He also thinks that whichever of these two was not Lydia was probably the wife of the jailer, whom he identifies with the Clement mentioned in the same passage (Zahn, *Komm.* pp. 581 ff.).

34. provided a meal] The expression παρατίθημι τράπεζαν is an old and idiomatic one like στρώννυμι κλίνην (see on ix. 34), with which it is often associated.

35 ff. In these verses there is no further reference in the B-text either to the jailer or to the earthquake. For this reason, and because of the intrinsic improbability of the earthquake episode, many critics regard vss. 25-34 as an insertion in an otherwise historical narrative. (See B. Weiss, *Einleitung*, § 50. 5; Spitta, pp. 217 ff., and especially Wendt's note in his commentary, ed. 9 (1913), p. 248. On the other side see Harnack, *Lukas d. Arzt*, pp. 80 f., and *App.* p. 179, and Ramsay, *PTRC.* pp. 220 ff.)

The maker of the Western text seems to have felt the lack of any

lictors, saying, "Let those men go." And the jailer reported ³⁶ the words to Paul, "The praetors have sent to let you go. Therefore come out now and go in peace." But Paul said to ³⁷ them, "They scourged us publicly, uncondemned, though we are Roman citizens, and put us in prison. And now they dismiss us secretly! Why, no! Let them come themselves and conduct us out." And the lictors reported these words to the praetors. ³⁸ And they were afraid when they heard that they were Roman

reference to the earthquake, and gave the story a different turn not only by small changes, but by two long additions: (i.) in vs. 35, "And when it was day the praetors assembled together (*ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ*) in the Agora, and when they remembered the earthquake which had taken place they were afraid, and sent the lictors to say 'Let go those men whom you received yesterday.'" (ii.) In vvs. 38 f. "The lictors reported to the praetors these words that had been said, and when they heard that they were Roman citizens they were afraid, and came with many friends to the prison, and asked them to go out, saying, 'We did not know your case, that you are righteous men, but leave this city, lest those who made an uproar against you make another riot.'" (For the details of this reading, which is imperfectly preserved, see Vol. III. pp. 160 f.)

35. lictors] The highest Roman officials were attended by 'lictors' who carried the *fascēs*. These were rods (*virgae*) bound together round an axe (*securis*) by a band of red colour, but the term was also used of the *fascēs* without an axe carried by the lictors of municipal officers. Cicero calls these *bacilli* in distinction from the true *fascēs* (*De lege agr.* ii. 34. 93, *Ad Att.* xi. 6. 2). The clearest attested example of these lictors is in the accounts of the Colonia Julia Genetiva, in which 600 sesterces are allowed to two lictors for the *duoviri*. The lictors at Philippi doubtless belonged to this class. (See Th. Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, ed. 3, vol. 1, pp. 355-356 and 373-393.)

Let those men go] The natural meaning is that the matter was not of enough importance to justify

further detention. It had been dealt with by summary methods. A public flogging and a night in the stocks was sufficient. The earthquake has nothing to do with it.

36. in peace] Ropes regards these words as a Western non-interpolation. If so they were doubtless inserted to indicate the Christianity of the jailer (cf. xv. 33).

37. uncondemned] The meaning is doubtful, and the context suggests 'untried' rather than 'uncondemned.' The *duoviri* had exercised their right of inflicting punishment by way of 'police discipline' or *coercitio*. But the word *ἀκατάκριτος* has not yet been found except here and at xxii. 25, where 'uncondemned' or 'untried' are equally possible in the context, though of course it may yet come to light in 'profane' Greek (as has *κατάκρισις*). It does not seem etymologically to come as near the meaning we expect of 'untried' (Latin *re incognita*) as the more frequent and classical *ἀκριτος*, but in the late Greek the meaning of prepositions in composition was greatly blurred, and it is possible that *ἀκατάκριτος* was vulgarly used as a synonym for *ἀκριτος*. The Western *āvaltiος* would mean 'not guilty,' 'innocent,' as at Matt. xii. 5, 7.

Roman citizens] If it be pressed the plural would imply that Silas as well as Paul was a citizen. Citizens were protected against flogging by the *Lex Valeria* and the *Lex Porcia*; the matter plays a large part in Cicero's Verrine orations, which, however, go to show that in the provinces the law did not prevent the occasional flogging of obscure Roman citizens. (See Mommsen, *Römisches Strafrecht*, pp. 31 f. and 47 f.)

39 citizens, and they came and requested them and brought them
40 out and asked them to leave the city. And they went out from
the prison and entered into Lydia's house, and they saw and
exhorted the brethren and departed.

71 And they took the road through Amphipolis and Apollonia

38. they were afraid] The obscure point in the story is why Paul and Silas did not claim their Roman citizenship before they were flogged. The obscurity deepens when it is remembered on the one hand that in Jerusalem Paul claimed his citizenship and the Roman officials immediately released him from all danger of flogging, and on the other hand that in 2 Cor. xi. 25 Paul himself says that he had been flogged three times—obviously by Roman officials, as he distinguishes these floggings from five others which he received from the Jews. It may be said that police administration was not always careful to consider nice points of law, and that they dealt with obscure citizens without much attention to the *Lex Porcia*, but it then becomes even more difficult to see why the *duoviri* were afraid; but cf. xxii. 29 ὁ χιλιάρχος δὲ ἐφοβήθη.

The historicity of this incident has been doubted by Th. Mommsen, 'Die Rechtsverhältnisse des Apostels Paulus,' *ZNTW*. ii. (1901) pp. 89 f. (= *Gesammelte Schriften*, iii., 1907, pp. 440 f.), and others, but beside the possibility that 2 Cor. xi. 25 refers to a beating at Philippi, we have in 1 Thess. ii. 2 a general reference προπαθόντες καὶ ὑβρισθέντες καθὼς οἶδατε ἐν Φιλιπποῖς.

There were no doubt serious penalties for the breaking of the law which protected Roman citizens. If officials were the culprits they could be deprived of office and disqualified from further office (Cicero, *In Verrem*, v. 66); if a municipality had offended it could be deprived of its privileges, as when the Rhodians put to death some Roman citizens (Suetonius, *Claudius*, xxv.). The last passage shows that to claim Roman citizenship falsely was punishable by death. The effectiveness of the cry 'Civis Romanus sum,' and the seriousness of

the violation of citizens' rights are of course rather rhetorically exaggerated by Cicero in *In Verrem*, v. 57. Cf. v. 66 and *Pro Rabirio* iv. 12, "Porcia lex virgas ab omnium civium Romanorum corpore amovit . . . Porcia lex libertatem civium lictori eripuit." See below on xxii. 25 and 29. It is curious that we seem to have no knowledge of the 'papers' or other means by which a claim to citizenship could be substantiated. See also Addit. Note 26.

39. leave the city] This does not seem to have been their original intention. It may mean that the *duoviri* did not care for the responsibility of protecting two unpopular citizens of Jewish birth from the hostility of the Greek and Roman crowd.

40. exhorted] The Western text reads: "they described what the Lord had done to them, exhorting them." The reading of D is ἐποίησεν κύριος αὐτοῖς, but d has fecit dominus cum eis, suggesting that the Western text repeated the formula of xiv. 27, xv. 4, ἐποίησε μετ' αὐτῶν. But there is no Greek evidence for this, and if D should be original it shows how less Semitic synonyms replace more Semitic ones as Acts progresses, whether this is due to the cessation of a written Aramaic source (Torrey) or to the author's own variation. Note how the language of the 'summaries' in Acts becomes less Biblical, for example in xvi. 5, xix. 20, compared with vi. 7, xii. 24. See also Additional Note 32 on the change from θεὸν φοβούμενοι to θεὸν σεβόμενοι.

1. took the road] διοδεύσαντες probably implies that they took the Via Egnatia, which would be the natural if not the only way from Philippi to Thessalonica; but Luke's use of διοδεύειν in Luke viii. 1 suggests that it may be merely a synonym for διέρχασθαι.

Amphipolis and Apollonia] Cities on the Via Egnatia, at which Paul

and came to Thessalonica, where was a synagogue of the Jews. And according to his custom Paul went in to them, and for three

may have broken his journey. This would give three stages: Philippi to Amphipolis, 33 Roman miles; Amphipolis to Apollonia, 30 miles, and Apollonia to Thessalonica, 37 miles. If this passage is taken to mean that the journey was really finished in three stages—which is its natural though not its necessary meaning—Paul must have used horses, and it is the best evidence which I know to settle the question whether Paul always went on foot (see note on *περιεῖναι* in xx. 13) or was in a position to hire horses. The Western text has the interesting variant, "Taking the road through Amphipolis they came down to Apollonia and from it to Thessalonica." Presumably this means that they made a rather longer stay than usual in Apollonia. (See Lake, *Earlier Epistles*, pp. 62 ff.)

Thessalonica] The modern city Salonica. Its ancient name was Therme, which was changed to Thessalonica by Cassander, the son-in-law of Philip of Macedonia, and named by him after his wife. Originally the capital of the second division of Macedonia it became the official headquarters of the Roman province.

synagogue of the Jews] There is no inscriptional evidence for the existence of a colony of Jews in Thessalonica, and the present large number of Jews in the city is due entirely to the expulsion of Jews from Spain in the time of Ferdinand and Isabella. They still speak and write (in Hebrew characters) an interesting dialect of Spanish.

2. three Sabbaths] This, not 'three weeks,' is the natural rendering of *τρία σάββατα*. In Hebrew *שבוע* for 'week' is not found in the O.T. (in Isaiah lxvi. 23, which is often quoted, it can quite well be translated Sabbath, and other examples are even more doubtful). But it is more frequent in the Mishna and Talmud (e.g. M. Nedarim viii. 1). In the LXX the usage varies somewhat. *Σάββατα* is regularly used in the books of the Law to mean 'the sabbath'

and the singular is not found. In the later books *τὸ σάββατον* is used and *σάββατα* means 'sabbath days.' The phrase *ἡ ἡμέρα τῶν σαββάτων* is found throughout the LXX but is increasingly frequent in the later books. There is no instance of *σάββατον* or *σάββατα* meaning 'week' or 'weeks,' but the genitive (usually singular) is used to express the days of the week in the titles of Pss. xxiii., xxxvii., xlvii., xci., xcii., and xciii. (*δευτέρα σαββάτου* = Monday, *ἡ ἡμέρα τοῦ προσάββατου* = Friday, and *τετράδι σαββάτων* = Wednesday). Similarly in the N.T. *σάββατον* or *σάββατα* with the meaning 'week' is used only in the genitive dependent on a numeral to indicate a day (only of Sunday, *μία (τῶν) σαββάτων* Mark xvi. 2 = Matt. xxviii. 1 = Luke xxiv. 1 = John xx. 1, Acts xx. 7; *πρώτη σαββάτου* Mark xvi. 9; *μία σαββάτου* 1 Cor. xvi. 2), and in the expression *δὲς τοῦ σαββάτου* (Luke xviii. 12). The origin of this idiom is obvious. The custom arose of describing the days of the week as 'the first, second,' etc., *τοῦ σαββάτου*. This must have originally meant the 'first, second,' etc. day after the Sabbath, though a different but natural method of speech was used for Friday, which was *προσάββατον* or later *παρασκευὴ τοῦ σαββάτου*. It might naturally have paved the way for the use of *σάββατον* = week, but the nearest approach to proof that the step was actually taken is the phrase *δὲς τοῦ σαββάτου* (Luke xviii. 12); nor did the tendency spread, for in later Greek *σάββατον* always means 'Saturday,' not 'week,' which is *ἑβδομάς*. Omitting the examples of this idiom the gospels differ curiously in their usage of the singular and plural, as the annexed table indicates:

	Mark	Matt.	Luke	John	Acts
<i>σάββατον</i>	2	2	2	5	4
<i>σαββάτου</i>	3	0	4	1	1
<i>σαββάτω</i>	0	2	7	6	1
<i>σάββατα</i>	0	0	0	0	1
<i>σαββάτων</i>	0	1	1	0	3
<i>σάββασι</i>	5	5	4	0	0

3 Sabbaths argued with them out of the scriptures, expounding them and setting forth that the Messiah must suffer and rise from

This shows that Mark is consistent in declining *σάββατον*, *σαββάτων*, *σάββασι*. John is consistent in using only the singular forms, but Luke and Matthew vary between *σαββάτω* and *σάββασι*. Apparently when Luke found *σάββασι* in Mark he changed it to *σαββάτω* when it really meant one special sabbath, but retained *σάββασι* when it meant on the sabbath day in general. Acts uses the singular, but twice has the plural genitive in the phrase *τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν σαββάτων* (Acts xiii. 14, xvi. 13). This is found also in Luke iv. 16, and in the cognate form *τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ σαββάτου* in Luke xiii. 14, 16, xiv. 5, but not in the other gospels, though it is common in the LXX. The present phrase *τρία σάββατα* is apparently the only example in the N.T. of a true plural (=three Sabbaths) as distinct from a plural with a singular meaning. It is this fact which led Zahn (*Einführung*, p. 152) to think that it might mean 'three weeks,' but, as was shown above, there is no evidence for this usage in the N.T. or in later Greek.

For the history of the seven-day week see E. Schürer, 'Die siebentägige Woche' in *ZNTW*. vi. pp. 1 ff. The point of importance is that the seven-day week has a double origin. It is partly due to the Jewish and possibly primitive Semitic custom of dividing into quarters a lunar month of 28 days, partly to the later astrological theory that each of the seven astral powers (sun, moon, and five planets) had its own day. The latter custom paved the way for the adoption of the 'week' in the Roman Empire, but one of the curiosities of history is that the astrological nomenclature, which the Greek Christians wholly avoided, and Latin Christians rejected for Saturday and Sunday, has completely triumphed in a translated form in the Teutonic and Scandinavian languages. Owing to this, the fact that Saturday is the Sabbath was no longer recognized in these languages, and it was possible for the curious custom of giving the name and attributes of the Sabbath to Sunday to creep in among

those who spoke these languages. (See also F. H. Colson, *The Week*.)

3. expounding them and setting forth] The context and the exact parallel in Luke xxiv. 32 *ὡς διήμουν ἡμῖν τὰς γραφάς* points to the peculiar use of *διανοίγω* here. Normally it takes as its object the mind, ears, or heart. *παρατιθέμενος* apparently means presenting evidence. That the evidence adduced is in writing is also in accordance with the usage of this verb in other writers. Possibly the phrase *ἀπὸ τῶν γραφῶν* should be taken with the participles that follow it rather than with *διελέετο* which precedes it. In that case we might translate "argued with them, giving interpretations and citations from the scriptures to the effect that the Messiah," etc. But Luke is accustomed to place clauses in ambiguous positions perhaps with the intention of not attaching them exclusively either to what precedes or to what follows. See Plummer, *I.C.C., St. Luke*, Index, s.v. "Amphibolous constructions."

the Messiah] The Greek has no article, and could be rendered 'a Messiah,' but the next phrase *οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Χριστός* must surely mean 'this is the Messiah,' and turns the balance in favour of the translation given. It should be noted that *ἐδεῖ* has a more definitely past reference than can be rendered by the ambiguity of English construction after 'said.'

suffer and rise] Since the Jews had never contemplated a 'suffering Messiah,' the crucifixion of Jesus was one of the chief obstacles to the conversion of Jews to Paul's message. (Cf. 1 Cor. i. 23; Acts iii. 18, xxvi. 23; Luke xxiv. 26 and 46.) But the Lucan writings seem to represent a slightly different attitude, and to suggest that the writer had found the resurrection rather than the crucifixion the main obstacle to belief. (Cf. this passage and Acts xxiii. 6 ff. and the combination of the two ideas in xxvi. 23.) It is probably true that 'a suffering God' was congenial to the Greek mind but not to the Jewish,

the dead, and that this is the Messiah, "the Jesus whom I announce to you." And some of them were persuaded and joined 4 Paul and Silas, a great number of the worshipping Greeks and not a few of the leading women. But the Jews were jealous, and 5 associating with themselves some bad men of the lower class collected a mob and disturbed the city, and stood before the house

while the reverse is true of a resurrection of the dead. The apotheosis of 'a suffering God' was an ascension, but hardly a resurrection.

whom I announce] For the change to direct discourse from indirect compare i. 4 f., xxiii. 22; Luke v. 14.

4. And some of them were persuaded] The narrative clearly means that Paul preached for three weeks in the synagogue and made many converts among the Gentiles. This led to trouble, and he had to leave the city. It gives us no warrant for the view that Paul preached for three weeks in the synagogue, and afterwards for a longer undefined period to the heathen population of Thessalonica. It may, however, be questioned whether the epistles do not imply a more prolonged stay. Cf. 1 Thess. ii. 1-2 and 9, "For yourselves, brethren, know our entering in unto you, that it has not been found vain: but having suffered before and been shamefully treated, as you know, at Philippi, we waxed bold in our God to speak unto you the gospel of God with much struggling"; "For you remember, brethren, our labour and travail: working night and day, that we might not burden any of you, we preached unto you the gospel of God," and Philipp. iv. 16, "For even in Thessalonica ye sent once and again unto my need."

worshipping Greeks] Does this mean a special class of Greeks, or merely 'those who were in the synagogue'? The Western text reads *σεβομένων καὶ Ἑλλήνων*, which can be rendered 'worshippers and Greeks,' and suggests that the Western reviser thought that the *σεβόμενοι* were Jews, but does not prove that he did so. d reads *coelicolarum*, which may point the other way.

The reading of the B-text seems the

more probable, but *σεβόμενοι* is not found elsewhere joined to Ἕλληνες (see Vol. III. p. 162; Lake, *Earlier Epistles*, p. 64; Ramsay, *PTRC*. pp. 226 f., and Addit. Note 8).

leading women] Or possibly 'wives of the leading men,' an interpretation which the Western text enforced by reading *γυναῖκες τῶν πρώτων οὐκ ὄλιγαι*.

5. were jealous] Cf. xiii. 45. The jealousy is not strange when it is remembered that the God-fearers among whom Paul had his chief success were probably looked on by the synagogue as prospective converts. There is in 1 Thess. ii. 15 f. a probable reference to this action of the Jews, "who drove us out, and do not please God, and are hostile to all men, and prevent us from speaking to the Gentiles."

lower class] To judge from the many examples collected by Wettstein the word *ἀγοραῖος* is contrasted with well-born, refined and educated, and is associated with the ill-bred coarse class, especially hucksters and artisans. The etymology of the word suits the reference to this working class, and the Greek scorn for the petty trading and labouring class had given the word its unfavourable meaning. Whether Luke himself shared this feeling is uncertain. In the Gospel he seems to show other sympathies. It is doubtful whether *ἀγοραῖος* retained any suggestion of loafing in the *ἀγορά*. Perhaps that is rather the meaning of *σπερμολόγος*. (See Eustathius as quoted on vs. 18.) But probably *σπερμολόγος* and *ἀγοραῖος* were more nearly equivalent in usage than in etymology. The use of the word in Plutarch, *Aemil. Paul.* 38 (*ἀνθρώπους ἀγενεῖς καὶ δεδουλευκότας, ἀγοραίους δὲ καὶ δυναμένους ὄχλον συναγαγεῖν*), suggests the possibility of rendering it by 'agitator,' but there

6 of Jason, and sought to bring them out to the people. And when they could not find them they dragged Jason and some brethren before the politarchs, shouting "These who have upset the 7 civilized world have come here too, and Jason has harboured

seems to be no other evidence for this meaning. In xix. 38 the word is of course used quite differently.

Jason] The name is common in the adjacent section of Thessaly and elsewhere. It was borne by Jews, sometimes as an alternative to Ἰησοῦς (Joshua). It is not clear that this Jason is to be regarded as a Christian. In vs. 6 we read 'Jason and some brethren,' not 'other brethren.' His introduction is rather abrupt. In like manner we are not clear whether Sosthenes and Alexander, who bear the brunt of the attack on Paul at Corinth and at Ephesus, are Christians. No Thessalonian converts are mentioned as such in the letters addressed to that church, but Acts mentions Aristarchus and Secundus as Thessalonians (xx. 4, xxvii. 2). Gaius also may have been one. (But see the notes on xix. 29 and xx. 4.) Later tradition (*A.S.S.* June v. p. 414) made Jason bishop of Thessalonica. There is obviously no reason for identifying him with the Jason mentioned in Romans xvi. 21, traditionally [the bishop of Tarsus (see the Menology for April 28), but the two are often confused in the later legends (see Th. Schermann, *Vitae fabulosae*, pp. 122, 140, 169, 174, 182, and 220). For the confusion between Jason and Mnason see *A.S.S.* July iii. p. 248. Jason and Sosipater are celebrated in the Greek Menology on April 28 (see *A.S.S.* Apr. iii. p. 547 c).

to bring them out] προαγαγεῖν, correctly explained in the Western text as ἐξαγαγεῖν, the obvious intention being to subject them to the violence of the crowd.

the people] Cf. the use of δῆμος in xix. 30 and 33, where it is clearly synonymous with ὄχλον in xix. 33 and 35. Ramsay (*PTRC*, p. 228) wishes to render δῆμον 'a public meeting,' but there is no justification in the context for this translation which introduces an element quite foreign to the general

tenor of the narrative. Possibly τὸν δῆμον means the ἀγοραῖοι whom the Jews had brought together.

6. brethren] ἀδελφούς, i.e. Christians.

politarchs] πολιτάρχης is mainly if not exclusively a Macedonian title for the non-Roman magistrates of a city. It is found in inscriptions ranging from the second century B.C. to the third century A.D. Fourteen belong to Macedonia (five to Thessalonica), two to Philippopolis in Thrace, one each to Bithynia, Bosphorus, and Egypt (P Oxy 745.4, c. A.D. 1). The volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum* containing Macedonian inscriptions was published in 1833, and contains few of these inscriptions, but they are conveniently collected in Demitsas, *Μακεδονία*, Athens, 1896, and by E. D. Burton in the *American Journal of Theology*, ii., 1898, pp. 598 ff. It would appear that Macedonian cities had several politarchs, the number varying with their importance. Amphipolis had five, Pella only two, Thessalonica had five in the time of Augustus, but afterwards six. The word is also found in the form πολιτάρχος.

who have upset, etc.] The modern equivalent would be 'these Bolsheviks.' The Western text gives a slightly different nuance—"these are they who have upset the civilized world, and they have come here too." The verb ἀναστατοῦν occurs also at xxi. 38, Gal. v. 12, and in the Greek translations of the O.T., but 'nowhere in profane authors.' It is, however, sufficiently attested in the papyri of driving from home, *BGU*. iv. 1079. 20 (A.D. 41), and figuratively, as here, in the boy's letter P Oxy i. 119. 10 (A.D. ii/iii) ἀναστατοῖ με. ἄρρον αὐτόν. Cf. P Par 574 (magical), 2244.

civilized world] τὴν οἰκουμένην, see note on xi. 28.

7. harboured] Possibly Jason provided the work which Paul says he did while in Thessalonica (1 Thess. ii. 9).

them. And these all act contrary to the decrees of Caesar, saying that there is another emperor, Jesus." And they disturbed the crowd and the politarchs when they heard this, and they took security from Jason and the others, and let them go.

But the brethren immediately sent away Paul and Silas by night to Bereoa, and when they arrived they went their way to the synagogue of the Jews. And these were more generous than those

saying that] Paul's own version of his preaching is that he urged the Thessalonians "to turn from idols to serve a living and real God, and to await his Son from heaven, him whom he raised from the dead—Jesus, who saves us from the wrath to come" (1 Thess. i. 9f.), which could easily be perverted into the preaching of another emperor.

emperor] βασιλέα. It seems better not to render it 'king,' which would imply the Latin *rex*, a title never used by the emperors. Cf. Luke xxiii. 1 εὐρομεν τοῦτον διαστρέφοντα τὸ ἔθνος ἡμῶν καὶ κωλύοντα φόρους Καίσαρι διδόναι καὶ λέγοντα ἑαυτὸν Χριστὸν βασιλέα εἶναι. But the translation is not wholly satisfactory. It implies a distinction between King and Emperor which was clearly felt by the Latin mind, but not by the Greek. To the Greek the King of Parthia and the Emperor of Rome were both βασιλεῖς. In translating a Greek document like Acts ought we to take account of purely Latin sentiment? For the emphatic position of Ἰησοῦν cf. Cadbury, *Making of Luke-Acts*, p. 218, where a collection is given of other examples from Acts and Hebrews.

9. took security] ἱκανὸν λαβεῖν is a literal rendering of the Roman legal term *satis accipere*, which is correctly used in the Old Latin and Vulgate, and means to take security or a bond which can be forfeited if the offence be repeated. Cf. the phrase in Mark xv. 15 ἱκανὸν ποιεῖν. If these were once Latinisms (cf. Moulton, *Prolegomena*, pp. 20f.), their occurrence in contemporary papyri and inscriptions shows their acceptance in the Greek. For ἱκανὸν λαμβάνειν Moulton and Milligan, *Vocabulary*, cite W. Dittenberger, *Orientalis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*,

484. 50 and 629. 101. It is not clear what was the exact bearing of the procedure in this case, but certainly the charge against Jason was that he had harboured seditious persons. There was, however, no clear proof of this, as the 'seditious persons' could not be found. Presumably, therefore, Jason's defence was a denial, and the bond was to be forfeited if he were found really to have been connected with Paul. This view seems to be supported by the speed and secrecy with which Paul was hurried out of Thessalonica. From 1 Thess. ii. 14 it would seem probable that after Paul's departure the matter was taken further, for the epistle speaks of a persecution of the Thessalonian Christians by their own countrymen.

10. Bereoa] A city about 50 miles west of Thessalonica, south of the Via Egnatia which went from Thessalonica through Pella to Dyrrachium on the coast of the Adriatic Sea. Its position doubtless led Cicero in speaking of another fugitive from Thessalonica to describe it as *oppidum devium* (*In Pison*. xxxvi. 89), for it was 'off the road' for anyone going to Rome, though a traveller to Athens would naturally pass through it. It has still the same name, but in Franco-Turkish transliterations it is spelt Verria, and so appears on most maps.

went their way] ἀπέησαν: see Blass's treatment of Greek words meaning to 'go' in his commentary, pp. 17f., and cf. his note on ἀπελθόν = 'went off' rather than 'went away' in v. 26.

11. generous] The Greek word has undergone exactly the same change as the Latin *generosus*, and had reached the modern meaning of 'generous' earlier than did the Latin, so that Cicero was driven to use Greek and

in Thessalonica, and they received the word with all eagerness, examining the scriptures every day to see if these things were

12 so. So then, many of them believed, and of the Greek women
13 of position and of men not a few. But when the Jews of
Thessalonica knew that in Berea also the word of God had been
announced by Paul, they came and made disturbance there also
14 and incited the crowd. Then the brethren at once sent Paul out

wrote to Atticus (xiii. 21. 7) "εὐγενέστερος est etiam quam pater." See Blass's note *ad loc.*

12. many] The only one whose name is known is Sopater, the son of Pyrrhus (xx. 4). The presence of a representative of Berea in this list of companions suggests that Paul's work at Berea had more permanent results than either Acts or the epistles otherwise reveal. For the companions on this journey appear to be delegates of the churches from which they come in the matter of the collection for Judaea. That Sopater, almost alone of the Christians named in Acts, is given his father's name may not be significant. It hardly proves his own good family, or that of his fellow-Christians at Thessalonica. See on εὐγενέστεροι, vs. 11.

of position] See note on xiii. 50. Beside the alternative meaning 'rich' there mentioned, the rendering by *d* as *non placentium* (by which must be meant *conplacentium* as in vs. 34) reminds us that εὐσχήμων often refers to character rather than position, as does εὐγενής in the preceding verse. On the other hand εὐσχήμων became a title of certain officials in Egyptian villages, as the papyri show.

The Western text reads "and of the Greeks and of those of good position many men and women," which gives the same meaning as the B-text, but is preferable grammar.

13. of Thessalonica] In the context οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης should probably be so rendered rather than 'from Thessalonica,' and be regarded as an example of the deterioration of prepositions in later Greek. But it can be explained as a somewhat loose construction which regards the episode from the point of view of Berea, and is influenced by the sense that the

Jews who raised trouble in Berea came 'from Thessalonica.' A similar phrase is τῶν ἀπὸ Ἰόππης in x. 23, where again the phrase which means 'men of Joppa' is perhaps influenced by the fact that the narrator is looking at the facts from the Caesarean end. The passage is important for the discussion of the meaning of οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας in Heb. xiii. 24.

14f. This passage is completely rewritten in the Western text: "The brethren therefore sent off Paul to go to the sea, but Silas and Timothy stayed there. And those who conducted Paul brought him as far as Athens, and he passed by Thessaly, for he was prevented from speaking the word to them, and they took instructions from Paul to Silas and Timothy to come to him quickly, and went away." The important part of this text, assuming that it is a paraphrase of the B-text, is that it takes εὐς ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν as fulfilled by Paul's arrival at Athens, and therefore has to explain why nothing happened on his journey through Thessaly. I do not think that Thessaly is a corruption of θάλασσα (see Vol. III. *ad loc.*): the Western text, if it be not original, seems deliberate exegesis, and, moreover, it retains the reference to θάλασσα. It is also valuable evidence that the Western reviser regarded παρελθόντες as meaning 'to pass through without preaching' in distinction to διελθόντες. The commentary of Ephrem is partly missing (see Vol. III. p. 432), but it seems to imply that Paul went back through Thessalonica. This is, however, probably a corruption of Thessaly.

The usual interpretation is that Paul was taken to some port on the coast, possibly Dium, and then went by boat. But there is much prob-

to go as far as to the sea, and Silas and Timothy stayed there. And those who conducted Paul brought him as far as Athens, ¹⁵ and departed with instructions to Silas and Timothy to come to him as soon as possible.

And while Paul was waiting for them in Athens his spirit was ¹⁶

ability in the Western reviser's view that *ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν θαλάσσαν* corresponds to *ὡς Ἀθηνῶν*; otherwise Paul's guide would have left him at Dium. Moreover it is contrary to Luke's custom to omit the port of departure. It is perhaps some confirmation of the suggestion that *ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν θαλάσσαν* really is fulfilled in *ὡς Ἀθηνῶν*, that elsewhere the author seems to repeat his geographical notes. Cf. xviii. 18 *ἔξῃκει εἰς τὴν Συρίαν*=22 *κατελθὼν εἰς Καισαρίαν*; 19 *κακείνους κατέλιπεν αὐτοῦ* (at Ephesus)=21 *ἀνήχθη ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐφέσου*; more doubtful instances are perhaps 23 *διερχόμενος καθεξῆς τὴν Γαλιτικὴν χώραν καὶ Φρυγίαν*=xix. 1 *διελθόντα τὰ ἀνωτερικὰ μέρη*; xvi. 4 *διεπορεύοντο τὰς πόλεις*=6 *διήλθον δὲ τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλιτικὴν χώραν*, and the double references to arrival at (or approach to) Jerusalem and Rome in xxi. 15, 17, xxviii. 14, 16. Cf. note on xvi. 4. It is possible that the original intention of 'going to the sea' was 'to go homewards.' The successful work in Corinth was the partly accidental outcome, not the original purpose, of leaving Macedonia.

14. as far as to] Of the two readings *ὡς ἐπὶ* (Antiochian) and *ὡς ἐπὶ* (Old Uncial) Ropes and Field, *Notes*, *ad loc.*, prefer the former. But the scale is turned in the other direction by the fact that "*πορεύεσθαι ὡς ἐπὶ* 'to go in the direction' of a place, whether the person arrives there or not, is an excellent Greek idiom" (Field, cf. also Radermacher, *Neutestamentliche Grammatik*, 2nd ed., pp. 26 f. note), though the idiom probably does not imply pretending to go without actually going, while *ὡς* with a preposition seems to be characteristic of Luke (Luke xxiv. 50 *ὡς πρὸς*, Acts xxi. 5 *ὡς ἔξω*, xxvi. 11 *ὡς καὶ εἰς*).

Timothy] The omission of all reference to Timothy up to this point

is strange, even if Timothy was a subordinate. In fact, even Silas is easily overlooked by the reader in spite of the plurals and his mention at verses 4 and 10.

15. to come to him] According to 1 Thess. i. 1 and iii. 1 f., as usually interpreted, Timothy and Silas joined Paul in Athens, though this is not mentioned in Acts (see note on xviii. 5).

16-34. PAUL IN ATHENS. Athens is the only place in which Paul preached without raising persecution. The story is almost wholly confined to the episode of Paul's preaching in the Agora and his speech before the Areopagus. Taken as a whole, it commends itself at once as a genuinely historical narrative. The Agora, the Stoics and Epicureans, and the Areopagus are all correct local details: the characterization of the city as full of idols and of the people as curious for novelty was made in other contemporary records. It has, however, been legitimately doubted whether the actual words of the speech of Paul are part of the original source or are rather the composition of the editor—a problem which would of course disappear if we accepted Harnack's view that the author of the source is himself the editor. Possibly no final decision can be reached, and the importance of the problem can easily be exaggerated, for it is indisputable that the speech is both similar to other speeches in Acts, which suggests that it is the work of the editor, and also is similar to what Paul probably would have said, which suggests that it was in the source.

The speech, like the other typical speech to the heathen, that at Lystra (Acts xiv. 15 ff.), is a plea for the Jewish doctrine of God, and for the specifically Christian emphasis on a

enraged within him when he saw that the city was full of idols.

¹⁷ So he argued in the synagogue with the Jews and the worshippers, and in the Agora every day with those who chanced

'Son of Man' doctrine of judgement. Its nearest parallels in the N.T. are Rom. i. 19 ff. and the short summary of Paul's preaching in 1 Thess. i. 9 f. Its structure is simple. (i.) An introduction, taking the inscription on an altar in Athens as a text—the 'Unknown God.' (ii.) A typically Jewish exposition of the folly of idol worship. (iii.) A statement of the 'natural' evidence for God, and further warning against idolatry. (iv.) The announcement of the judgement of the world by the Man whom God has appointed and guaranteed by raising him from the dead. Just as the speeches to the Jews are full of quotations from and references to the O.T., so this speech has a quotation from Aratus, and probably at least an allusion to Epimenides.

Beside the use of familiar quotations from the poets and the omission of O.T. quotations, some of the following are interesting evidences of the more secular style of this speech.

(a) The use of the neuters δ . . . τοῦτο *si vera lectio* (23) and τὸ θεῖον (29, *v.l.* in 27); (b) the use of γέ or infrequent compound particles of γέ (27 *bis*); (c) the paronomasia *ζῶν καὶ πνοήν* (25); (d) the frequent alliteration; (e) the accumulation of forms or derivatives of *πᾶς*, often in connexion with alliteration; (f) the repetition of the participle *ὑπάρχων* (24, 27, 29); (g) the idiomatic phrase *πίστιν παρέχω* (which is not Pauline *πίστις*). Possibly the context of the speech also has some choice or unusual words or forms. See Norden, *Agnostos Theos*, Δέξεις Ἀττικά. But *καινότερον* for 'news' is not exclusively literary (see *BGU*. vol. iii. 821. 4), as has been sometimes claimed for it. Nor are the many phrases claimed as local Athenian parlance probably—not to say verifiably—such. Likewise many words in this section formerly considered rare or biblical are probably natural. Some of them are already attested in inscriptions and papyri, as *ἀναστατών* (6), *πολιτάρχης* (6, 8), *καταγγελεύς* (18),

ὁρθοεσία (26), though not yet *ὄχλοποιέω* (5) or *κατείδωλος* (16).

There is no reason to suppose that this speech was consciously based on Stoic models. It is eminently Jewish, and the resemblance to Stoic doctrines is equally traceable in such writings as the Wisdom of Solomon and the *Oracula Sibyllina*. Just as there was a Koine Greek language which was adopted by Hellenistic Jews, so there was a Koine Greek philosophy which was also adopted.

16. enraged] *παρωξένητο*. Cf. *παροξυσμός* used in xv. 39 of the quarrel between Paul and Barnabas.

full of idols] The adjective *κατείδωλος* is regularly formed, though it is not found elsewhere, *κατά-* in composition meaning 'full of,' like *κατάδενδρος*, 'thickly wooded.' Secular writers do occasionally use *εἰδωλον* of images of gods, and would understand this compound even if they had not used it.

The abundance of statues in Athens, and in general the evidences of the Athenian religiosity, were remarked by other visitors. Cf. Livy xlv. 27; Pausanias i. 17. 1; Strabo ix. 1. 16; Sophocles, *Oed. Col.* 260 *τὰς γ' Ἀθήνας φασὶ θεοσεβεστάτας εἶναι*; Josephus, *Contra Ap. ii.* 11 *τοὺς δὲ εὐσεβεστάτους τῶν Ἑλλήνων*.

Though Paul probably did not do so, he could have seen the statue of John Hyrcanus in the temple of the Graces, and—if an ingenious though daring emendation of Curtius be accepted—an inscription in the shrine of Athena Ergane to the 'God of the Jews,' for Pausanias i. 24. 3 says that along with Athena and Hermes was *Σπονδαίων δαίμων*, and Curtius emends *σπονδαίων* to *Ἰουδαίων*, connecting the story with the other benefactions of Herod (see Curtius, *Stadtgeschichte von Athen*, pp. 260 f.).

17. the Agora] If Paul approached Athens from the north he would see the high hill of Lycabettos on his right, the Acropolis in front of him, and the Areopagus to his left. He

to be there. And some of the Epicurean and Stoic philosophers 18

would come in through the business section of the city, and walk up a shallow depression with an elevation on each side. On the right was the Theseion, on the left the gate of Athena Archegetis; it is, however, doubtful whether the gate of Athena was actually visible, and it would certainly be shut out by the Stoa of Attalos. Soon he would find himself entering the commercial agora, or market in the modern sense. Passing through this open space, along the whole length of the Stoa of Attalos, he would come to the line of Hermai, which stretched, with an opening in the middle, from the Stoa Poikile on his left to the Stoa Basileios on his right. Going through the Hermai he was in the Agora proper, amid a forest of statues with buildings on all sides. Immediately on his left hand, at the end of the Hermai, was the statue of Hermes Agoraios, and the Stoa Poikile—the traditional headquarters of Zeno and the ‘Stoics’ who took their name from it—stretched for two-thirds of the left-hand side of the Agora. In the further right-hand corner was the altar of ‘the Twelve Gods,’ and above it towered the cliff of the Acropolis. Next to it were the statues of Harmodios and Aristogeiton, the tyrannicides; then, forming the southern end of the Agora, came a cluster of buildings, the Tholos—an offshoot of the primitive Prytaneion—the council-chamber standing above the rest on the side of the Areopagus, and a group of the statues of national heroes at the back of the Tholos. Above the council-chamber, as Paul stood by the Hermai he must have seen the temple of Ares, built on the side of the Areopagus, which shut out the view straight in front of him, and above this in a cave on the side of the hill near the top was the altar of the Eumenides, the dark goddesses who avenge murder. Turning to his right hand Paul would have seen in an almost semicircular arrangement, starting from the council-chamber, the Metroon, the temple of the primitive Mother Goddess, the temple of Apollo Patroos, the ‘Hall of the Twelve Gods,’ and finally, at

the end of the Hermai on his right, the Stoa Basileios, in which the officials of the city and the council of the Areopagus used to meet. It is, however, impossible to give a plan of Athens showing exactly where these buildings were. Of the buildings in the Agora nothing remains above ground except the ruins of the Stoa of Attalos. Our knowledge of what Paul must have seen is derived from Pausanias. Even the position of the Stoa Basileios is still in dispute. (See Curtius, *Stadtgeschichte von Athen*, and Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*.)

who chanced to be there] This is the first place in which it is definitely stated that Paul preached to heathen who were not ‘worshipping,’ though this may be true of Lystra where the synagogue is not mentioned. In the other places where there is a detailed account of Paul’s work—Antioch of Pisidia, Iconium, Philippi, and Thessalonica—he approaches the heathen through the synagogue, and there is no evidence that he conducted any separate mission. In Athens, Corinth, and Ephesus he used the synagogue as a means of approach to the Jews and to Gentiles worshipping there, but also carried on a mission of direct approach to the heathen.

18. Epicurean] The school of philosophy founded by Epicurus (c. 300 B.C.). The centre of the school in Athens was ‘the Garden.’ The best general description of the system is that of Lucretius, *De rerum natura*, and in modern literature nothing takes the place of Zeller, but there are valuable discussions of the general system in Edwyn Bevan’s *Stoics and Sceptics*, Gilbert Murray’s *Five Stages of Greek Religion*, G. F. Moore’s *History of Religions*, vol. i., and P. Wendland’s *Hellenistisch-römische Kultur*.

Stoic] The school of Zeno (c. 300 B.C.), called Stoics because they frequented the Stoa Poikile. Both Stoics and Epicureans held a materialist theory of the universe.

The Epicurean system was based in the main on the Atomic theory of Democritus. According to this the universe consists of atoms, which are

took issue with him. And some said, "What does this cock-sparrow mean?" others, "He seems to be an announcer of foreign deities," because he was bringing the good news of

eternal, without origin and without end, constantly forming new combinations, which gradually break up and give rise to new ones. The combination is due to chance acting on the atoms which are eternally falling through infinite space.

The Stoic theory rested on the essential eternity and transient combinations not of atoms, but of the four elements, earth, water, air, and fire (see Additional Note 9 for their doctrine of spirit). In the sphere of ethics there was little practical difference between the Stoics and Epicureans. The Stoics held that life 'according to nature' (κατὰ φύσιν) was the ideal of conduct, and the Epicureans made happiness their goal, but 'nature' and 'happiness' were so construed that the practical life based on them was much the same. (See, in addition to Zeller, Dill, *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius*; E. Bevan, *Stoics and Sceptics*; Boissier, *La Fin du Paganisme*; Gilbert Murray, *Five Stages of Greek Religion*; P. Wendland, *Hellenistisch-römische Kultur*, and—in preference to any modern books—Cicero's *De natura deorum*; Seneca's philosophic works; Epictetus; Marcus Aurelius's treatise *To himself*; and the *Fragmenta* collected by von Arnim.)

And some said] There is much to be said for putting a full stop before these words (with Blass and E. Meyer). The sentences which follow refer to the Athenians in general (cf. vs. 21), not to the philosophers who are rather mentioned as a piece of local colour. Like others in Luke's writings—Philip's daughters, for example—they are left in the air. A false connexion of the sequel with the philosophers has given to the interpretation of σπερμολόγος too much stress on intellectual scorn for the 'dilettantism' of Paul, and to the interpretation of the scene before the Areopagus too much the suggestion of a kind of oral examination for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (see below on vs. 19).

It is unnecessary to exaggerate Paul's persecutions.

cock-sparrow] σπερμολόγος. The only important evidence as to the meaning seems to be the comment of Eustathius of Thessalonica on Homer, *Odyssey* v. 490. He says: Ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι ὥσπερ ἐνταῦθα τροπικῶς ἐρρήθη σπέρμα πυρός, οὕτω τέτραπται καὶ τὸ σπερμολογεῖν, ἐπὶ τῶν ἀλαζονευομένων ἀμεθόδως ἐπὶ μαθήμασιν ἐκ τινων παρακουσμάτων. καθὰ ἐμφαίνειν Εὐπολις λέγεται τὸν φυσικὸν Πρωταγόραν διακωμῶδῶν ἐν τῷ, ὅς ἀλαζονεύεται μὲν ἀλιτῆριος περὶ τῶν μετεώρων, τὰ δὲ χθαμὰθεν ἐσθίει. ὁ δὲ κυρίως φασὶ σπερμολόγος καὶ σπερμονόμος, εἰδὸς ἐστὶν ὀρνέου λωβώμενον τὰ σπέρματα. ἐξ οὗ οἱ Ἀττικοὶ σπερμολόγους ἐκάδουν τοὺς περὶ ἐμπόρια καὶ ἀγορὰς διατρίβοντας, διὰ τὸ ἀναλέγεσθαι τὰ ἐκ τῶν φορτίων φασὶν ἀπορρέοντα καὶ διαζῆν. ἐκ τούτων δέ, τὴν αὐτὴν ἐλάγχχανον κλήσιν, καὶ οἱ οὐδενὸς λόγον ἄξιον (Eustathius, *Commentary on the Odyssey*, ed. Lips., vol. i. p. 233, ed. Rom. p. 1547). From this it would seem that the word was used first of birds that pick up grain, then of men who picked up odds and ends in the market; it was then transferred to men who were zealous seekers of the second-rate at second hand, and finally to generally worthless persons. 'Cock-sparrow' keeps the original meaning and has something of the proper connotation, but is far from a perfect rendering, for it implies someone who is small and pert rather than an intellectual scavenger. Moreover, the etymological approach doubtless throws more darkness than light on the actual meaning of such a word. Its frequent occurrences (e.g. those cited in Wettstein) show that it had become a term of abuse—a class of words that most promptly forget their origin. Beside the older discussions of the word see especially E. Norden, *Agnostos Theos*, p. 333; E. Meyer, *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums*, iii. p. 91.

foreign deities] δαιμόνια is here used in the true Greek sense, without

Jesus and the resurrection. And they took him and brought him in before the Areopagus, saying, "Can we know what is this new

the connotation of evil. It is noteworthy that *δαιμόνια* in the bad sense is not found in Acts, and that in the rest of the N.T. it is not found in the Greek sense. The resemblance to the charge against Socrates almost exactly 450 years before occurs to the modern reader, and can scarcely have been overlooked by the author or by Theophilus. Compare Xen. *Mem.* i. 1. 1 ἔρερα δὲ καὶνὰ δαιμόνια εἰσφέρων; cf. Plato, *Apol.* 24 B. The plural in the case of Socrates was a generalization from the *δαιμόνιον* of which he spoke. Acts explains that in Paul's case it was his preaching not of the true God but of Jesus and the resurrection (though the Western text omits the explanation). Not only Socrates but also Anaxagoras and Protagoras were accused of introducing new gods, and Cicero mentions a criticism that Chrysippus the Stoic "magnam turbam congregat ignotorum deorum, atque ita ignotorum, ut eos ne coniectura quidem informare possimus, cum mens nostra quidvis videatur cogitatione posse depingere" (*De nat. deorum*, i. 15. 39).

Josephus, *C. Apion.* ii. 37, tells of a priestess who was executed on the charge *ὅτι ξένους ἐμίλει θεούς*. Whether the objection was the same at Athens or not, in Rome new conventicles of worshippers were frowned on because of political suspicion, e.g. in the advice of Maecenas to Augustus in Dio Cassius, lii. 36. 1 f., to hate and punish *τοὺς ἐνέχοντάς τι περὶ αὐτό* [i.e. τὸ θεῖον].

If the story of Socrates has coloured that of Paul, in the end perhaps the tables were turned and the story of Paul coloured that of Socrates. Origen at least, and probably Celsus, ignoring the known facts of the year 399 B.C., represents Socrates as tried by the Areopagus (*C. Cels.* iv. 67, v. 20 f.), though Keil (see on vs. 19) thinks Celsus was influenced by the fact that in his own time such matters fell within the jurisdiction of the Areopagus. Socrates was of course really tried before the court of the 'King Archon' before a special jury probably numbering 501.

More clear to many ancient readers than to modern ones would be the similarity in meaning between the charge of foreign (*ξένων*) deities, the strange (*ξενίζοντα*) words, the new (*καινή*) teaching, the love of novelty (*καινότερον*), and the worship of the unknown (*ἀγνώστῳ*) God. The adjectives would be felt to be nearly synonymous. Cf. Lucian, *Bis accus.* 11 ἀγνώστα ἐμοὶ καὶ ξένα ὄνματα. Paul's speech, then, like Stephen's, so far from being a denial of the charge, is more nearly an admission of it—using their own inscription as a text and justification.

Jesus and the resurrection] It has been suggested that the Greeks took *ἀνάστασις* as the name of a goddess, but this though ingenious is improbable. Cf. Chrysostom, *Hom. in Act.* xxxviii.

19. before the Areopagus] *ἐπὶ* = before; cf. xvi. 19 and xvii. 6. The Areopagus might mean the hill at the back of the Agora, north-west of the Acropolis. This was the traditional site for murder trials. Originally the whole trial doubtless took place on the hill; later only the ceremonial verdicts of the court were given there, and in Roman times the power of capital punishment was no longer in Greek hands. But the 'council of the Areopagus' — ἡ βουλὴ ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου — had come to be known familiarly as ὁ Ἀρείος πάγος, so that the Areopagus here is much more likely to mean the council than the place. (See Ramsay, *The Bearing of Recent Discovery*, pp. 102 ff.)

The seat of the council in the first century was before the Stoa Basileios, to which Euthyphron went (cf. Plato, *Euthyphro*, 2 A) and where Socrates was tried. According to Curtius the Areopagus in the first century was the chief police commission, and had power to control the erection of buildings and statues. Probably a subdivision was charged with the duty of keeping order in the Agora. (See Curtius, 'Paulus in Athen,' *SBA.*, 1893, reprinted in *Gesammelte*

20 teaching which is spoken by you? For you are bringing some
 strange things to our hearing, therefore we wish to know what
 21 this means." (Now all the Athenians and the resident foreigners

Abhandlungen, vol. ii. pp. 527-543.) Among the activities of the Agora none would be more important than those of controlling lecturers, who used the Stoa Poikile and the open space of the Agora for advocating their theories. Obviously there must have been some control over these lectures or the scene would soon have rivalled Babel, and it is extremely probable—though apparently there is no demonstrative evidence—that this control was exercised by the Areopagus. The nearest approach to proof of this is that it was the council which invited Cratippus the peripatetic philosopher to lecture in Athens (Ramsay, *PTRC.* p. 247). Paul may have been brought before them to see whether he was suitable to lecture, or on the general ground that he was creating a disturbance.

It would be, however, a mistake to regard the Areopagus as a kind of philosophical academy or as a board of moral and religious censors, or to suppose that its powers were limited to somewhat academic functions, or that it lived in reputation mainly on its past glory. One is too apt to think, as a parallel example, of the Jewish Sanhedrin shorn of its political powers after A.D. 70, but glorying in imaginative and restricted local functions such as the licensing of rabbis. Popular criticism has too often regarded this episode as a kind of application for a teacher's licence. But such a view is true neither to the actual position of the Areopagus nor to the apparent intention of the historian.

No quite satisfactory account of the Areopagus in the Roman period exists. The materials, literary and epigraphic, are strangely scanty. The best articles are those of W. S. Ferguson (*Klio*, ix., 1909, pp. 325-330) and of B. Keil ('Beiträge zur Geschichte des Areopags' in *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1919). The Areo-

pagus was certainly a very powerful body—the real government at Athens—though its membership was small and select, and Athens as a *civitas libera et foederata* enjoyed considerable local autonomy. The reputation of the Areopagus elsewhere was of course enhanced by its tradition, but in the period of Acts was also fully deserved, for it was the dominating factor in the current constitution of Athens. During the preceding century it had absorbed prerogatives that other branches of the government had previously held, and it became pre-eminent above both *βουλή* and *ἐκκλησία*. The control of religious matters was doubtless the one thing it had always retained even during the period of its least influence. But in the Roman period it had jurisdiction in criminal law of other kinds. Probably Cicero's famous words are not far from the truth when he says (*De natura deorum*, ii. 29. 74) "Atheniensium rem publicam consilio regi . . . Areopagi."

According to Acts, therefore, just as Paul is brought before the *στρατηγοί* at Philippi, the *πολιτάρχαι* at Thessalonica, the *ἀνθύπατος* at Corinth, so at Athens he faces the Areopagus. The local name for the supreme authority is in each case different and accurate. The wording of the charge against him also differs, perhaps to suit the different local situation. At Athens there are not the malicious Jewish prosecutors, and the matter scarcely ends like a trial with a clear-cut decision, but the account of trials in Acts is often blurred in this way. In any case Paul left the court without condemnation.

Ramsay, however, is confident that no formal trial is indicated (*PTRC.* pp. 243 ff.), while P. Corssen (*ZNTW.* xiv., 1913, pp. 317 f.) and Th. Birt, *Rheinisches Museum*, lxix., 1914, pp. 361 ff., though admitting that the court in the days of Paul had jurisdiction in cases of *ἀσέβεια*, have curiously little confidence in the historicity of the account in Acts.

had no leisure for anything but talking about or listening to the last new idea.) And Paul stood in the middle of the Areopagus ²² and said, "Men of Athens, I see you are in every way very

21. had no leisure] It is worth noting that this is one of the few 'asides' in the whole book. The subject was notorious (see next note).

last new idea] *καινότερον*. Many other examples of *νέον*, *νεώτερον*, *καινόν*, *καινότερον*, may be found in Wettstein *ad loc.*, and Norden, *Agnostos Theos*, pp. 333 f. Norden follows Harnack (*Acts of the Apostles*, Eng. trans. p. 108) in emphasizing the whole scene as true to the best tradition and indicative of the author's culture. He regards the characterization of the Athenians as the most cultured item (*Gebildetste*) in the whole New Testament, or at least the most Atticistic. He mentions especially the use of this comparative—not to be confused with the Hellenistic use of the comparative for the superlative—as a conscious 'Atticism.' To this claim it may be answered that *τι καινότερον* is found in the papyri (*BGU*. 821. 4 and 6), and that evidently some Atticists actually condemned the use of *νεώτερος* for *νέος* since the anti-Atticist defends it (Bekker, *Anecdota*, p. 109).

On the reputation of the Athenians for curiosity Blass quotes the remarkable parallel from Demosthenes, *Or.* iv. 10, p. 43 *βούλεσθε . . . περιιόντες αὐτῶν πυνθάνεσθαι, λέγεται τι καινόν*; A. Hallström (*Eranos*, xiv., 1914, p. 57) adds a remarkable parallel from Charito Aphrodisiensis, a near contemporary of Luke, which also brings in the "Αρειος πάγος, apparently meaning the court. Charito (i. 11), writing of some pirates who are discussing where to land with their booty, continues: *ἐδόκει δὴ πᾶσι καταπλεῖν εἰς Ἀθήνας* οὐκ ἤρεσκε δὲ ἡμέρῃνι τῆς πόλεως ἢ περιεργία. *μόνοι γὰρ ὑμεῖς οὐκ* (cf. Luke xxiv. 18) *ἀκούετε τὴν πολυπραγμοσύνην τῶν Ἀθηναίων*; *δημὸς ἐστὶν ἄλσος καὶ φιλοδόκος*. "Αρειος πάγος εὐθὺς ἐκεῖ.

22. in the middle] *ἐν μέσῳ* is obviously more appropriate to the council than to the hill. Cf. iv. 7, xvii. 33.

22-31. PAUL'S SPEECH. See Additional Notes 19, 20 and 32.

very superstitious] *ὡς δεισιδαιμονεστέρους* is difficult for two reasons. (i.) Does *ὡς* apologize for *δεισιδαιμονεστέρους* or soften its meaning? If so, should it be rendered 'apparently very superstitious'? Or if, as appears almost certain, the comparative is 'elative' and equivalent to the superlative, does *ὡς* here have the same intensive force that it has with superlatives (*ὡς τάχιστα*=as quickly as possible)?

(ii.) *Δεισιδαίμονες* means literally 'fearers of the gods.' The comparative is used with an 'elative' meaning, as is common in later Greek, and the word has often been interpreted as complimentary, not critical (see Chrysostom *ad loc.*). But though the word is used by Xenophon and other early writers as a synonym of *θεοσεβής*, in Polybius and Plutarch it is usually a term of reproach rather than compliment, and the passages quoted by Wettstein from Hellenistic writers show that at best it meant 'religiosity,' not 'religion.' In Acts xxv. 19 it is put into the mouth of a Gentile talking to a Hellenized Jew (Agrippa) about the dispute between Paul and the Jews, and is certainly not intended to be complimentary, even though 'superstitious' is perhaps too strong. In 1929 two monographs were published giving a very full study of the term, H. Bolkestein, *Theophrastos' Charakter der Deisidaimonia als religionsgeschichtliche Urkunde*, Giessen; P. J. Koets, *Δεισιδαιμονία, A Contribution to the Knowledge of Religious Terminology in Greek*, Purmurend, Holland. It appears from these studies that the word was used in a good sense even as late as the Roman period, and that it is not the date of an author but his relation to religion that determines the sense in which he uses the word. (See Zahn, *ad loc.*; E. Hatch, *Essays in Biblical Greek*, pp. 43 ff.; articles in *Expository Times*, xviii. pp. 485 ff.

23 superstitious. For as I went about and looked at your objects of worship, I found also an altar on which was inscribed, 'To an Unknown God.' Now it is what you do not know but do worship that
 24 I announce to you. The God who made the world and all that Is. xlii. 5. is in it, he, being Lord of sky and earth, does not dwell in shrines
 25 made by hand, nor does he receive service from human hands from need of anything, but he himself gives life and breath and

and xix. p. 43, and D. B. Durham, *The Vocabulary of Menander*, p. 53.) Field *ad loc.* points out the 'curious coincidence' that Lucian tells us that complimentary *prooemia* for securing the goodwill of the members of the Areopagus were forbidden (*De Gymnast.* 19).

23. looked at] This rendering is not strong enough. *ἀναθεωρῶν* seems to mean a more systematic inspection than the English quite suggests.

objects of worship] *σεβάσματα*, 2 Thess. ii. 4 and Wisd. xiv. 20, xv. 17. The context of the word both here and in Wisdom shows that it means particularly images. Cf. vs. 16 *κατείδωλος*, Wisd. xiv. 12 *εἰδωλα*, 15 *εἰκόν*, 16 *τὰ γλυπτὰ*. Is it possible that the author owes the word to Wisdom? That depends largely on whether the influence of Wisdom is to be traced in vs. 29.

Unknown God] See Additional Note 19. Paul's argument is that God is "unknown, and yet well known," *οὐκ ἄγνωστος*, cf. *οὐκ ἀμάρτυρος* in xiv. 17 and P Giss i. 3. 2 f. (A.D. 117) *ἤκω σοι, ὦ δῆμιε, οὐκ ἄγνωστος Φοῖβος θεός*.

do not know, etc.] This translation of *δὲ οὐκ ἄγνωστοι* *εὐσεβεῖτε* is an attempt to avoid the ambiguity of 'worship without knowing (it)' and the erroneous implication of scorn or censure in the old English 'ignorantly worship.' The latter translation only intensifies the mistaken effect of the too harsh rendering of *δαισιδαίμων* as 'superstitious' and of the comparative *-εστέρος* as 'too' instead of as 'very.' The *ἀγνωστοι* simply takes up the Athenians' own description of the god as one that they did not know (*ἄγνωστος*). As in defending himself before the

Sanhedrin (xxiii. 5 ff., cf. xxvi. 6), Paul is here represented as being interested in precisely that which his hearers accepted. Compare the somewhat different phrase in John iv. 22 *ὑμεῖς προσκυνεῖτε δὲ οὐκ οἴδατε, ἡμεῖς προσκυνοῦμεν δὲ οἴδαμεν*.

24. made by hand] This word is much more frequent than the negative *ἀχειροποίητος*. The use of the idea in religious philosophy is by no means limited to Judaism and Christianity, but belongs to the pagan dualism of divine and human. Cf. Mark xiv. 58; 2 Cor. v. 1; Cicero, *De natura deorum*, i. 8. 20, "sed illa palmaris quod, qui non modo natum mundum introduxerit sed etiam manu paene factum, is eum dixerit fore sempiternum." See Windisch in Meyer's *Kommentar* on 2 Cor. v. 1.

Nearly the same sentence occurs in vii. 48, but there we have *ὁ ὕψιστος* for *ὁ θεός* and no noun in place of *ναοῖς* here.

25. life and breath] The *paronomasia* of *ζωὴν καὶ πνοήν* cannot be reproduced in English. I do not know of any other occurrence of the combination. Contrast the stereotyped *λοιμὸς καὶ λιμός*, introduced into Mark's text at Luke xxi. 11. Compare with this passage 2 Macc. vii. 22 *τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ τὴν ζωὴν* and 23 *ὁ τοῦ κόσμου κτίστης . . . καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ τὴν ζωὴν ὑμῶν πάλιν ἀποδίδωσιν*. Is the occurrence of *ζωή* and *ζῶμεν* in this passage due to the influence of the pagan literature in praise of Zeus, whose name popular etymology had connected with the words *ζάω, ζωή*? Compare Plato, *Cratylus* 396. Zeus was the original theme both of Aratus and Epimenides, and in the line attributed to the latter in vs. 28 (see Addit. Note 20)

all things unto all. And he made out of one every nation of men 26 to dwell on all the face of the earth, and fixed appointed seasons and the boundaries of their dwelling to seek God if it so be that 27 they might feel him and find him. And indeed he is not far from

the word ζῶμεν is a play upon the name. The argument is "How can Zeus be dead as the Cretans affirmed since his name means 'living' (ζῶν), and our living depends on his living?" Apparently Theodore of Mopsuestia saw this point, if it be he that Isho'dad quotes on Titus i. 12, as seems probable (J. R. Harris, *Expositor*, January 1915, pp. 31 ff.), for Isho'dad says "[he] had been called Dios, but afterwards changed his name and was called Zeus, that is to say 'living.'"

all things] In the B-text τὰ πάντα clearly goes with ζῶν and πνοήν, but the Western text (καὶ τὰ πάντα ἐποίησεν ἐξ ἑνὸς αἵματος πᾶν ἔθνος κτλ.) seems to suggest the translation "And he made all things of one blood—every race of man to dwell," etc. This view appears to be taken by the Latin of codex Bezae, but not by Irenaeus, who seems to have read the B-text ἐποίησεν τε.

26. one] To 'make out of one' is perhaps a somewhat easier expression in English than in Greek, but it is a natural idiom, and scarcely calls for the discussion of commentators whether ἔθνους or ἀνθρώπου should be supplied, nor does it require the addition of αἵματος. There is, however, some force in the argument that αἵματος was left out of the B-text, because Genesis ii. 7 says that God created man out of the 'dust of the ground,' not out of blood.

seasons] Either in the sense of 'fruitful seasons' (καιροὺς καρποφόρους xiv. 17) or with reference to the theory of Daniel that each nation has its appointed period. Possibly the latter view is rendered the more probable by the allusion to this doctrine in Luke xxi. 24 "Jerusalem shall be trodden down by the Gentiles" ἀχρι οὗ πληρωθῶσιν καιροὶ ἐθνῶν: cf. Daniel viii. 10, and the absence of the article may be noted both in Luke and

Acts, as though καιροὶ were a technical term.

As it is certain that the writer quotes from Aratus, line 5 in vs. 28, it is perhaps legitimate to compare with this passage lines 7-9. (See Addit. Note 20.)

boundaries] The feminine ὁποθεσία was formerly said not to be found elsewhere, the normal form being the neuter plural ὁποθέσια = boundaries, but it has recently been found in an inscription and also in a papyrus. (See *JBL*. xlv. (1925) pp. 219 ff., and cf. Galen, *Definitiones medicae*, ii. (ed. Kühn, xix. 349); for the general thought cf. Ps. civ. 9 ff.)

27. to seek] As usual when writing rhetorically the author adds loose epexegetical infinitives which defy literal translation. (Cf. xv. 14.) In the preceding verse κατοικεῖν is probably to be treated as another such infinitive. This view would leave ἐποίησεν ἐξ ἑνὸς as the main thought instead of requiring ἐποίησεν to do double duty first as 'he created,' and then with the infinitive as 'he caused . . . to dwell.'

God] The Western reading τὸ θεῖον, 'the divine' or 'deity,' is genuine or else a very happy emendation, for τὸν θεόν is a very clumsy object in a sentence in which ὁ θεός is the subject. The fact that in vs. 29 θεῖον is the undoubted reading may be used to confirm the Western text here, or to explain its genesis. Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* i. 19. 91) confirms the Western reading, though in deference to grammar he reads ὄν, not ὅ in vs. 23, where he otherwise has a remarkable agreement with the Western text in the reading ἱστορῶν for ἀναθεωρῶν.

And indeed he is not far from each one of us] The thought is congenial enough to much pagan philosophy and may, like its context, be an echo of actual literature. For example, Dio Chrysostom more than

28 each one of us, 'For by him we live and move and are,' as also some

once has similar expressions. It is very improbable that he knew Acts, and the suggestion that the phrase was a current philosophic commonplace has much in its favour.

by him, etc.] As is shown in Additional Note 20 this is a conscious or unconscious quotation from a poem attributed rightly or wrongly to Epimenides. If it were really from Epimenides the Cretan, the contemporary of Solon, and if *ἐν αὐτῷ* be an accurate quotation, it cannot be explained as 'Stoic,' for Epimenides is earlier than Zeno, but it is very improbable that Epimenides wrote any of the poems attributed to him. The *ἐν* is an obvious example of the meaning 'in the power of': cf. Sophocles, *Oed. Col.* 1443 *τὰυτὰ δ' ἐν τῷ δαίμονι*, and other examples given by Liddell and Scott. To a Greek of the first century, especially one belonging to Jewish circles, this sense was probably indistinguishable from 'by,' and should be thus translated. A Christian might conceivably understand it mystically as in the Pauline *ἐν Χριστῷ*. Furthermore, the whole argument of the original pagan writing as quoted is: Zeus cannot be dead, as the Cretans who show his tomb say, since our living depends on him. The argument is from living men to a living God. The reverse contention arguing from a living God to living men was drawn by Jesus and other Jews from the words to Moses, "I am the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob." See on 'life and breath' in vs. 25.

28. some of your poets] See Additional Note 20. With the B-text this phrase may refer either backwards or forwards or both. To enforce the belief—probably erroneous—that it refers only to what follows, Irenaeus (see Vol. III. p. 169) inserts an extra 'and' so that his text reads, "and—as some of your own writers have said—for of him," etc. The original text of the phrase is curiously doubtful. Codex Vaticanus reads 'some of our poets,' which indicates the confusion between *ἡμᾶς* and *ὑμᾶς*, so common in Greek mss. 'Your' must mean 'you Greeks,' and like-

wise the 'our,' if we could accept it, would mean 'we Greeks.' Did the author, who contrasted 'us' with *βάρβαροι* in xxviii. 2, go so far as to think of himself as one with the Greeks or make Paul so think? Philo once did so, and the reading of Codex Vaticanus is supported by at least one interesting minuscule, 33. Cf. *nos* in gig. The Western text omits 'poets,' and Ropes thinks that this is a 'Western non-interpolation' and should be accepted. But the arguments for and against the Western reading are nicely balanced.

(i.) The *καθ' ὑμᾶς* (or *ἡμᾶς*) is not an emphatic expression but a common substitute for the genitive—it is 'your' (or 'our'), not 'your own,' *κατά* was used in this way particularly with the personal pronouns (the possessives were becoming rare) and usually after another genitive (where ambiguity is often possible), as has been extensively shown by G. Rudberg, *Eranos*, xix., 1919, pp. 173 ff. (So Acts xviii. 15 *περὶ λόγου καὶ ὀνομάτων καὶ νόμου τοῦ καθ' ὑμᾶς*, xxvi. 3 *πάντων τῶν κατὰ Ἰουδαίους ἐθῶν τε καὶ ζητημάτων*.) This is perhaps an argument against omitting *ποιηταὶ* with the Western text, as Ropes recommends. It is easy to see that in Latin the literal translation would be awkward and might easily lead to the *secundum vos* (without *poetarum*) of d gig Iren. If so, the omission in D, like the *ἐστίν* in the preceding verse, may be due to retranslation from the Latin. Moreover, we may note that D, besides omitting *ποιητῶν*, has quite consistently substituted the prose *τούτου* for the poetic *τοῦ* as the next word. Perhaps there was some moral objection in the mind of the Western editor to quoting 'poets.' If these arguments be considered valid, the case for regarding the Western text as editorial is much strengthened.

(ii.) On the other hand transcriptional probability favours the Western reading, because *οἱ καθ' ὑμᾶς* without a substantive is rare, though *τὰ καθ' ὑμᾶς* is common. Thus the tendency of scribes would have been to insert *ποιητῶν*, not to omit it. Possibly the Western text is original—omitting

of your poets have said, 'For of him we are also kindred.' Being therefore God's kindred we ought not to think that deity is like gold or silver or stone, engraved by the art and design of man. Well, then, God has overlooked the times of ignorance and now 30

ποιητῶν and reading τούτου for τοῦ. τοῦτου was then corrected by some one who recognized τούτου γὰρ καὶ γένος ἑσμέν as an imperfect quotation from Aratus. The next stage was the insertion of ποιητῶν in the text, and later still came the marginal notes referring to Aratus and Homer.

The omission of the name or names of the writers quoted is not really strange. The anonymous citation of authors was common in classical and Hellenistic writers (cf. Titus i. 12 εἶπεν τις ἐξ αὐτῶν ἰδὼς αὐτῶν προφήτης and the notes on ii. 16, vii. 42, etc., above). Sometimes they were referred to by the historians as ἔνιοι when the source had been followed was for the moment contradicted or questioned. At other times, by a literary convention of affected indefiniteness intelligible even to-day, τις που, τις, etc., were used. (See Cadbury, *Making of Luke-Acts*, p. 159, note.) Τινές, however, is not customary and may therefore be a real plural, and may indicate that the author either (i.) intended to refer to both the preceding (Epimenides) and the succeeding (Aratus) quotations, or (ii.) was aware that the words in the latter had been used by more than one poet (Aratus, Cleanthes).

For of him] The emphasis in the Greek is clearly on the 'of him.' The quotation is from the *Phaenomena* of Aratus, in which the τοῦ refers to Zeus. It is curious to note the extent to which Greek Christianity both in literature and in sculpture adopted the features of Zeus and attributed them to Jehovah or to God the Father. For Aratus see Additional Note 20.

29. Being therefore] The argument is that since we are the γένος of God, τὸ θεῖον cannot be like gold or silver or sculpture which are the product of human skill and belong to a different γένος. Cf. Wisdom xiii. 5, xv. 15 ff.

The whole passage can be understood best if it be regarded as part of the century-long controversy about

'images.' On the one side is the Hebrew position, which maintains that it is wrong to worship anything except the real God—'reality not imitation' is, as it were, the keynote of the Jewish horror of images. Unfortunately its limits are well marked by the word χειροποίητος, so much used as a form of abusive argument in this controversy. The typical 'Jew'—whether racially Semitic or not—rarely perceives that an 'image' can be made by the mind as well as by the hands, and so drifts into an idolatry of the image made by his own mind, which is all the more dangerous because it is unconscious. The opposite school, typically Greek, recognizes that reality in its fullness can never be reached by men. We move on from image to image, but reality escapes us. We ought not for that reason to reject images, but rather, remembering always that they are not reality, to use every and any image which offers help in the search for truth. The weakness of the Greek position is ultimately the same as that of the Jewish—the difficulty men have in remembering that the images are only images, and the consequent danger of converting εἰκονολατρεία—which is good—into εἰδωλολατρεία—which is evil.

30. overlooked] Cf. Rom. iii. 25 διὰ τὴν παρέσιν τῶν προγεγονότων ἁμαρτημάτων ἐν τῇ ἀνοχῇ τοῦ θεοῦ. The same idea is found in the speech at Lystra, ἐν ταῖς παρεχημέναις γενεαῖς εἰσεν πάντα τὰ ἔθνη πορεύεσθαι ταῖς ὁδοῖς, just as οὐκ ἁμάρτυρον at Lystra corresponds to the references at Athens to ἀγνωστος and ἀγνοια. For the finest expression of the belief that the mercy of God was drawing to an end and judgement was impending see 4 Ezra vii. 33 ff. The call to repentance is common to all Jewish and Christian teaching, cf., for instance, Proverbs i. 22 f.; *Orac. Sibyll.* iv. 162 ff.; Mark i. 4 (John the Baptist), and Mark i. 15 (Jesus).

31 announces to men that all should everywhere repent, seeing that he fixed a day on which he will judge the world in righteousness by a man whom he appointed, having given proof to all by raising 32 him from the dead." And when they heard 'resurrection of the dead' some jeered, others said, "We will hear you about this 3, 34 once more." So Paul went out from among them, but some men joined him and believed, and among them were Dionysius

31. judge the world in righteousness] These words (cf. Psalms ix. 8, xcvi. 13) and the possibly liturgical reference to God as the Creator in verse 24 are the most conspicuously Jewish or Old Testament phrases in the speech. But cf. also ἐπὶ παντὸς προσώπου τῆς γῆς in verse 26 with Gen. ii. 6, xi. 8, and Luke xxi. 35 ἐπὶ πρόσωπον πάσης τῆς γῆς.

a man whom he appointed] This is pure 'Son of Man' eschatology, and if the custom of the gospels had been followed the underlying 'bar nasha' would have been rendered by *υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* instead of by *ἀνδρὶ* (see Vol. I. pp. 368 ff.).

32. resurrection] This has, of course, nothing to do with any Greek doctrine of ἀθανασία with which Norden has tried to connect it. An Athenian audience would have listened with curiosity if not conviction to any argument about immortality, which it would have regarded as an interesting possibility; but the majority thought that a 'resurrection of corpses' was absurd. Some mocked openly, others more politely suggested a postponement. It is possible, however, that Luke intended here to indicate a real division of the audience. Cf. in general ii. 12 ff. which also resembles this passage in phraseology. It has even been suggested that the Stoics and Epicureans were divided into opposite camps as the Pharisees and Sadducees were in xxiii. 7 ff. It is rash to say that the author of Acts regarded Paul's sermon at Athens as comparatively fruitless, or that 1 Cor. ii. 7 ff. shows that Paul himself regarded his encounter with philosophy as a failure. There may even be a note of triumph in the epithet 'Areopagite' written after one of the converts'

names. A similar doubt is left in the reader's mind as to how far the examination was formal or official. But other scenes in Acts, e.g. the 'trial' of Stephen, are likewise obscure in this regard.

33. from among them] ἐκ μέσου αὐτῶν corresponds to ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ Ἀρελοῦ πάγου in verse 22, and confirms the view that 'Areopagus' means the council, not the place.

joined him and believed] This statement has caused difficulty to those who object to any contradiction between Paul and Acts, for in 1 Cor. xvi. 15 the household of Stephanas is called 'the firstfruits of Achaia.' But it is improbable that the solution lies either in excluding Athens from Achaia, as Steinmann argued (*Leserkreis des Galaterbriefes*, 1908, pp. 88-94), or in excluding from baptism Dionysius and Damaris, as Ramsay suggested (*Bearing of Recent Discovery*, 1915, pp. 385-411).

34. Dionysius] Often confused with St. Denys of Paris. Nothing trustworthy is known of him, but Eusebius twice (*H.E.* iii. 4. 11 and iv. 23. 3) states that Dionysius of Corinth (c. A.D. 180) said, apparently in a letter to the Athenians, that Dionysius the Areopagite was appointed the first bishop of Athens by Paul himself. This was also affirmed by later legend and in the commentary of Isho'dad. But oddly enough there is nothing about Dionysius in the various *vitae fabulosae* collected by Schermann. The later fame of the Areopagite depended mainly on writings composed and attributed to him in the fifth century. See H. Koch, 'Der pseudepigraphische Charakter der dionysischen Schriften' in *Theol. Quartalschrift*, 1895, pp. 353 ff.;

of the Areopagus, and a woman named Damaris, and others with them.

After this he left Athens and came to Corinth. And finding 18

F. Loofs, *Dogmengeschichte*, pp. 318 ff., and N. Bonwetsch, Hauck-Herzog, *R.E.* ed. iii. vol. iv. pp. 687 ff.; and for the later legend which represents Dionysius as carrying his head in his hand see Cahier, *Caractéristiques des saints dans l'art populaire*, ii. pp. 761 ff., and G. L. Kittredge, *Gawain*, pp. 147 ff.

of the Areopagus] Concerning the composition of the council in this period little clear evidence is available as concerning its functions. See on verse 19. It is perhaps safe to infer from such data as we have that the council was small, perhaps about thirty. The members were taken from those who had held certain offices which would have been open only to the wealthy because of the expense they involved, and in fact the membership was practically limited to certain well-known families (cf. the high-priestly families in Jerusalem). In other words, the government of Athens as represented in this its principal organ was both timocratic and aristocratic. It was pre-eminently a 'closed' body. In Athens Ἀρεοπαγίτης is meant by the author to give the same impression as εὐσχήμων in Berea (vs. 12), which also may apply either to family or to wealth. Some mss. add εὐσχήμων here (see below).

Damaris] The name has not yet been found in exactly this spelling, but Δαμαρίων and other personal names, apparently derivatives from δάμαρις, are found. See Fr. Bechtel, *Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit*, 1917, and Fr. Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, 1922. Possibly Damalis, which is fairly common as a woman's name, is the right reading. It is found in the African Latin. The interchange of λ and ρ appears in the Greek transliterations φραγελλώω (Lat. *flagellum*) and βελιαρ (Heb. בליעל), where, however, dissimilation may have co-operated (Moulton, *Grammar of N.T. Greek*, vol. ii. p. 103). It is very common in the papyri in both direc-

tions, e.g. P Cornell 25, verso 14 παιδαλία for παιδαρία; *ibid.* 29. 3 ερεφαντινον for ελεφαντινον (which occurs correctly written in the very next line). In Epiphanius *Barbelo* and *Barbero* interchange, and F. C. Burkitt has argued that *Barbelo* is ultimately derived from the Egyptian *Belbile* 'a seed' (*JTS.* xxvi., 1925, p. 398).

It should be noted that there is some evidence of early textual variation in this verse. It is perhaps simplest to enumerate the problems. (i.) Does the εὐσχήμων of D applied to Dionysius reflect a parallelism with the εὐσχήμων Jewish councillor, Joseph of Arimathea? Why is εὐσχήμων rendered in d by *complacens*? Cf. the reading of d in vs. 12. It looks as though the Latin translator in d thought that εὐσχήμων meant 'friendly.' (ii.) Is the omission of Damaris in D accident or design? (iii.) If it be accident, does εὐσχήμων really belong to Damaris, as Ropes suggests (Vol. III. p. 170), just as in xvii. 12 it is applied to women? (iv.) What is the relation of these difficulties to the peculiar wording of the sentence ἄνδρες . . . ἐν οἷς . . . γυνὴ ὀνόματι Δάμαρις καὶ ἕτεροι? It must be admitted that no more clumsy way could be found of saying that the converts included one woman, but I do not know the answer to any of these questions.

1-23. CORINTH. Owing to the preservation of two of Paul's epistles to the Corinthians we know the story of Christianity in Corinth better than in any other city. It is noticeable how many details are omitted in Acts, and especially how complete is the absence of any indication of the character of the religious life of Corinth. Luke's interest is centred, at least here, on two points—the opposition of the Jews, and the refusal of the Roman authorities to take action against Paul.

1. Corinth] The city had lain in ruins since its destruction by Mummius in 146 B.C., but it was rebuilt a century later by Julius Caesar with the name

a Jew, Aquila by name, a man of Pontus by family, lately come from Italy, and Priscilla, his wife, because Claudius had decreed

Laus Iulia Corinthus, and in 27 was made the capital of the province Achaia. The Roman character of its population is perhaps indicated by the Latin names of the Corinthian Christians mentioned in 1 Cor. i. 14, xvi. 17; Rom. xvi. 23. It became a great commercial port, being a favourable 'junction' between Ephesus and other ports of Asia Minor to the east and Italy to the west. Its great natural advantage was that by transshipping at Corinth it was possible to avoid the dangerous voyage round the Peloponnesus, and to keep a more northerly route. With the prevalence of northerly winds in the Mediterranean every mile northward was an enormous advantage. The population was largely immigrant, and there were temples to Isis, Serapis, the Magna Mater, and Melkart. It was famous for its immorality, and for the temple of Aphrodite, in which a Hellenized version of the worship of Astarte provided, according to Strabo, over a thousand Hierodoulai, or priestess-prostitutes. Alciphron says that he did not go there because he had a general knowledge that the life of the rich was abominable and of the poor miserable. (See Preuschen, and J. Weiss, 'Griechenland in d. Apostol. Zeit,' in Herzog's *Realencyklopädie*, ed. 3, vii. pp. 165 ff., and the introduction to his Commentary on 1 Cor.)

2-3. The awkwardness of the Greek in the B-text may be at least partly responsible for the interesting and smoother version of the Western text, "And he found Aquila, of Pontus by race, a Jew who had lately come from Italy with Priscilla, his wife, and he went to them (or perhaps, "and he greeted them"). Now they had left Rome because Claudius Caesar had ordered all Jews to depart from Rome, and they had come to Achaia. And Paul made the acquaintance of Aquila because they belonged to the same race and the same trade, and he stayed with them and went to work, for they were leather-workers by trade."

2. Aquila] The name, the Greek

spelling (ΑΚΥ=Aqui, cf. Κυρήνιος=Quirinius), the variation of N.T. mss. between λ and λλ, and even the occurrence of the name in Pontus, are all well attested in epigraphic material.

It is an interesting coincidence that Aquila, the translator of the Old Testament, is also said to have come from Pontus. A somewhat overingenious criticism has asked whether the Christian writers (Irenaeus and Epiphanius), who speak of Aquila the translator, may not have assimilated his birthplace to that of Aquila the Christian. It has also been questioned whether Ποντικός may not be a mistake for Πόντιος, as Aquila is a name connected with the Gens Pontia (cf. Cicero, *Ad Fam.* x. 33). For this reason Ramsay thinks he was a freedman of that gens. But the names Aquila and Priscilla are to be found associated with another gens, in the cemetery of the gens *Acilia* at Rome. On Aquila and Priscilla see especially Harnack, *ZNTW.* i., 1900, pp. 33 ff., and the collection of modern opinions in R. Schumacher's article in *Theologie und Glaube*, xii., 1920; A. Deane, *Friends and Fellow-Labourers of St. Paul*, 1907, and Pöhlz, *Die Mitarbeiter des Weltapostels Paulus*, 1911.

Priscilla] It seems certain that the Prisca of the Epistles is the Priscilla of Acts. There are three other cases where it may be suspected that the same person has one name in the Epistles and another in Acts, though in no case is the evidence so convincing as for Prisca=Priscilla. These are Silas (Acts)=Silvanus (Epistles), Sopater (Acts)=Sosipater (Epistles), and Lucius (Acts)=Luke (Epistles). (See Addit. Note 37.) Perhaps even in the Epistles Epaphroditus (Philippians)=Epaphras (Colossians and Philemon).

decreed] The decree is presumably that mentioned by Suetonius, *Claud.* 25, "Iudaeos impulsore Chresto adsidue tumultuantes Roma expulit," and Orosius fixes the date as A.D. 49 or 50, but this is doubtful. See Addit. Note 34, and for the discussion of

that all the Jews should leave Rome, he came to them, and because he was of the same trade he stayed with them and they

Imperial policy towards the Jews see Addit. Note 25.

3. stayed with them] The repeated mention of Paul's hosts — Lydia, Jason, Aquila and Priscilla, Titius Justus (but see on vs. 7), Philip, Mnason, etc.—indicates the author's interest in lodging. See H. J. Cadbury, *JBL* xlv., 1926, pp. 305 ff.; *Making of Luke-Acts*, pp. 249 ff. Chrysostom notes the humble trades of the hosts named—this is the third—tanner, purple-seller, tent-sewer (σκηνοπόλεος in Chrysostom's commentary).

them] Were they Christians? The Western reviser appears to have regarded them as Jews, and represents Paul as leaving Aquila's house when he broke with the synagogue (see note on xviii. 7). The Neutral text leaves the question more open and probably implies the opposite view. No weight need be attached to the fact that Aquila is called a Jew, for in Acts the word is not necessarily antithetical to Christian; but the custom of the writer is to refer to Christians as 'believers' or 'brethren' when they are first mentioned. As he does not do so here the implication is that Aquila and Priscilla were not Christians. Yet, on the other hand, it is the custom of the writer of Acts to mention the conversion and baptism of persons prominent in his narrative. As he does not do so here the implication is that Aquila and Priscilla were already Christians. This argument seems the stronger. Moreover in 1 Cor. xvi. 15 Stephanas, not Aquila, is called the 'firstfruits of Achaia.' It is hard to escape the conclusion that they were Christians before they left Rome.

If so, the church in Rome was founded before A.D. 49, and there is no reason to doubt the obvious conclusion that *impulsore Chresto*, in the passage from Suetonius quoted above, refers to the introduction of the gospel into Rome. Does it mean that the original Christian community was broken up?

The further history of Aquila and Priscilla is only partly known. They

went with Paul to Ephesus (xviii. 18), and their house became at least one of the centres, and probably the chief centre, of the Christian community in Ephesus (cf. 1 Cor. xvi. 19 ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς ἐν Κυρίῳ πολλὰ Ἀκύλας καὶ Πρίσκα σὺν τῇ κατ' οἶκον αὐτῶν ἐκκλησίᾳ). According to the Western text of 1 Cor. xvi. 19, Paul stayed with them as he had in Corinth (DG add παρ' οἷς καὶ ξενίζομαι to the end of the verse). At a later date they were still in Asia, according to the opinion of the writer of 2 Timothy (2 Tim. iv. 19). They are also mentioned in Rom. xvi. 3, where Paul says that they risked their own necks to save his life, but the exact interpretation of this passage is complicated by doubt as to whether Rom. xvi. is an integral part of Romans or a note to the church at Ephesus. If it be an integral part of Romans it probably means that Aquila and Priscilla helped Paul when his life was in danger in Ephesus, but that the misfortune which overtook him led to the collapse of the church in their house, and that they returned to Rome soon afterwards. The evidence of 2 Timothy can be taken for what it is worth to show that they then went back once more to Asia. If, however, as I incline to think (see *Earlier Epistles*, pp. 324 ff.), Rom. xvi. is really intended for the Ephesian church, there is no need to interpolate this visit to Rome, or to suppose that the church in Ephesus collapsed. In any case the risk run by Aquila and Priscilla on behalf of Paul ought probably to be connected with the troubles which befell him in Ephesus, of which Acts says so little and the epistles to the Corinthians relatively so much.

It is noticeable that in Acts xviii. 18, 26, Rom. xvi. 3, and 2 Tim. iv. 19, but not in 1 Cor. xvi. 19 or here, Priscilla is mentioned before Aquila. On this foundation has been built an imposing edifice of hypothesis to the effect that she was a woman of great importance in the early church, and may have written the Epistle to the Hebrews. Preuschen points out another Priscilla

4 worked, for they were leather-workers by trade. And he dis-

in *CIL.* iii. 3153, who is also mentioned before her husband. (See also Vol. III. pp. 178 f.)

worked] See note on xx. 34 f.

leather-worker] This word—*σκηνοποιός*—raises in an acute form one of the primary questions which confronts a translator. Shall he translate according to the meaning conveyed by the words to their first readers or by etymology? In this case, if he translate by etymology *σκηνοποιός* is 'tent-maker,' but if he translate by the sense given it by its first readers he will render it 'leather-worker.'

The obvious etymological translation of *σκηνοποιός* is 'tentmaker.' If this were accepted the reference would probably be to the felted cloth made of goat hair (cf. Exod. xxvi. 7), which was so specially a product of Cilicia that it was called *Cilicium* in Latin, *κιλικιον* in Greek, and *רֶבֶר* in Rabbinic Hebrew. It is of course tempting to connect Paul of Tarsus in Cilicia with the special product of his own province. Possibly this is what he really worked at. It doubtless was similar to the felted goat hair still used by Bedouins for tents, etc., though leather seems to have been sometimes used (see S. Krauss, *Talmud. Archäologie*, i. pp. 7 f. and 138, and Mau, s.v. *Cilicium*, in Pauly-Wissowa).

Therefore *σκηνοποιός* is usually and naturally rendered 'tentmaker,' but it is impossible to resist the weight of ancient testimony that to the Greeks it meant a 'leather-worker.' The oldest Latin rendering is *lectarius* (Cod. h) which means a 'maker of beds,' presumably cushions covered with leather; the Peshitto used a word which merely transliterates the Latin *lorarius*, a maker of leather thongs; Chrysostom (Cramer's *Catena*, iii. 302) says that ἐπὶ σκηνορραφείου ἐστὼς δέρματα ἔρραπτε; Theodoret (*Gr. aff. cur.* ix., PG. lxxxiii. 1056) says that Paul was a *σκυτοτόμος*, and Origen (*in Rom.* xvi. 3) probably used the same word, for Rufinus, who translates *σκηνοποιός* by *artifices tabernaculorum*, adds *hoc est sutores*, which seems more likely to translate *σκηνο-*

ποιός, τούτεστι *σκυτοτόμος* than to be a gloss of Rufinus himself; finally Marcus Diaconus (*Life of Porphyrius of Gaza*, 9) says that Porphyrius was a *σκυτοτόμος* in imitation of Paul. The early and widespread nature of this evidence seems to prove that though *σκηνοποιός* etymologically means 'tentmaker' it does actually mean 'leather-worker.' A partial parallel is afforded in English by 'saddle-maker,' which, formerly at least, meant a leather-worker who could, if necessity arose, make a saddle. (See Zahn's note *ad loc.* and cf. Blümner, *Technologie und Terminologie der Gewerbe und Künste bei Griechen und Römern*, ed. 2, vol. i.; Grosheide, *Theolog. Studien* (Dutch), 1917, p. 241, and E. Nestle, *JBL.* xi. (1892), pp. 205 f., the *Expos. Times*, viii. (1897) pp. 153 f., *ZNTW.* xi. (1910) p. 241.)

4f. The Western text completely rewrites these two verses: "And going to the synagogue every Sabbath he argued and introduced the name of the Lord Jesus, and persuaded not only Jews but also Greeks. And there arrived from Macedonia at that time Silas and Timothy [Paul was engaged in preaching, protesting to the Jews that the anointed Lord is Jesus], and again great discussion arose, and interpretations of scripture were given." This is one of the passages which make one hesitate in accepting the general verdict that the Western text is intrinsically inferior. The following points are noticeable:

(i.) The passage in brackets (Paul . . . Jesus) seems an interpolation in D from the B-text. It is betrayed by the lack of construction in D, and by its absence from the African Latin.

(ii.) The phrase 'introducing' (*ἐντιθεῖς*) is without parallel in Acts, but it is undoubtedly a correct estimate of what Paul did. It and 'protesting to the Jews, etc.' are clearly parallel versions. One is a paraphrase of the other. Surely probability here favours the strange Western reading, rather than the conventional and inoffensive phrase in the Neutral Text.

coursed in the synagogue on every Sabbath and persuaded Jews and Greeks; but when Silas and Timothy came down from 5 Macedonia, Paul began to be engrossed in preaching, protesting to the Jews that the Messiah was Jesus. And when they opposed 6

4. the synagogue] The use of the article has led Zahn to conclude that there was only one synagogue in Corinth, but this is probably pressing the grammar too far. An inscription, which can be dated with probability in the century before or after Christ (Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten*, ed. iv. pp. 12 f., Eng. trans. pp. 13), refers to a [συναγωγη εβραίων], and it has been thought that this was the synagogue to which Paul went. Zahn argues, however, that 'Hebrews' means 'Aramaic-speaking Jews,' and thinks that it was unlikely that Paul went to it. There is, however, no reason for thinking that 'Εβραῖοι means more than 'Jews.' (See Addit. Note 7.)

5. came down] Nothing is said in Acts of any previous meeting between Paul and Silas and Timothy since they separated in Beroea, and after this Silas is not mentioned again. The writer obviously regards this as the fulfilment of Paul's command to them to join him as soon as possible. But 1 Thessalonians shows that this was a mistake. According to 1 Thessalonians (iii. 1), which was written in the names of Paul, Silvanus (Silas), and Timothy, Paul and Silas chose to be left alone in Athens (μόνοι seems to imply the inclusion of Silas) and sent Timothy to Thessalonica. The letter goes on to describe Timothy's return, and seems to have been written immediately afterwards. There is no hint that this was not a return to Athens. Thus, while Acts represents Silas and Timothy as coming from Beroea to join Paul in Corinth, and never in Athens at all, the epistle—which does not imply any previous separation—implies that all three were together in Athens, and that Timothy was sent back to Thessalonica. That Timothy and Silas (Silvanus) were in Corinth with Paul later is shown by 2 Cor. i. 19.

To meet this discrepancy an ingenious theory was made popular by

Paley's *Horae Paulinae* to the effect that Timothy and Silas joined Paul in Athens, that they then left him, Timothy going to Thessalonica and Silas probably to Philippi, whence he brought the help mentioned in Philipp. iv. 15 f., that during their absence Paul went to Corinth, and that they joined him there on their return. Thus 1 Thessalonians was written from Corinth. In favour of this theory is the mention of Athens by name in 1 Thess. iii. 1, which suggests that Paul was writing in some other place, otherwise he would have said 'to be left here alone,' not 'to be left in Athens alone.' This view was adopted in Lake, *Earlier Epistles*, pp. 73 ff., but it is rather complicated, and still leaves a real discrepancy between Acts and 1 Thessalonians, so that it is perhaps easier to accept the plain statement of 1 Thessalonians and assume that the writer of Acts made a mistake in thinking that Silas and Timothy did not join Paul before he had reached Corinth. The best discussion of the subject is in E. von Dobschütz's *Commentary on 1 Thessalonians* (in the Meyer series).

began to be engrossed] *συνελχετο* is probably an inchoative imperfect. The meaning is that until Silas and Timothy came down to Corinth Paul had to work all the week and preached only on the Sabbath, but when they arrived he was able to give up all his time to preaching. Was this because Silas and Timothy earned enough for all three? Or had they brought funds from Macedonia? Cf. Philipp. iv. 15 f. and see note above.

the Messiah was Jesus] This is probably the right rendering of *εἶναι τὸν Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν*, as it also is in xviii. 28. (Cf. also ix. 20, 22, where the rendering is more doubtful.) The normal rule in Greek is that the subject rather than the predicate is given the article (see Blass-Debrunner, § 273). It is noteworthy that in

him and reviled he shook out his garments, and said to them, "Your blood be on your head; I am clean. Henceforth I will go to the Gentiles." And he moved thence and went to the house of a worshipper of God, Titius Justus by name, whose house was adjoining the synagogue. And Crispus, the archisynagogue, believed with all his family, and many of the Corinthians who heard believed and were baptized. And the Lord said at night

xviii. 28 where the B-text reads *εἶναι τὸν Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν* D reads *τὸν Ἰησοῦν εἶναι Χριστόν*. This change is probably due to the influence of later Christian practice, which, starting with Jesus as the 'known quantity,' explained his nature by interpreting Scripture. But in the beginning it was not so: in the Jewish synagogues 'the Messiah' was the known and Jesus the unknown quantity. The first missionaries had to convince the Jews that the Messiah whom they expected could be discovered in Jesus. Only when they were expounding their doctrine to Gentile converts who had accepted Jesus as 'the Lord' did they reverse the process and argue that the Lord had been foretold by the prophets, and was he whom the Jews called Messiah.

6. shook out] Cf. xiii. 51 and Addit. Note 24.

blood, etc.] A Jewish formula (2 Sam. i. 16, cf. Matt. xxvii. 25); see Strack, i. p. 1033.

7. thence] The probable meaning is that he ceased to speak in the synagogue, but, with a view to keeping a hold on the Gentiles who frequented the synagogue, kept as near as possible to it, and used a room in the house of Titius Justus, as he later used the 'School of Tyrannus' in Ephesus. The advantage of proximity to the synagogue is obvious, but it must have been extremely irritating to the Jews. It is perhaps also possible to take *ἐκεῖθεν* temporally (= after this). Cf. xiii. 21.

The Western reviser takes a different view, and emends *ἐκεῖθεν* to *ἀπὸ Ἀκύλα*, assuming that Paul went to live with Titius Justus instead of with Aquila. This seems less likely, in view of the further relations of Paul

with Aquila. The opposition of the Jews was a good reason why Paul should not preach in the synagogue, but not for leaving Aquila.

The further question remains of the relation between the meetings in the house of Titius Justus and the church in the house of Aquila (1 Cor. xvi. 19). In the absence of evidence one guess is almost as good as another, but it may be noted that the 'parties' in the church of Corinth, and the size which it attained, may well have necessitated more than one meeting-place.

Titius Justus] See Ropes' note in Vol. III. pp. 172 f. He inclines to read Justus (without Titius). It may be added that the reading of the Peshitto (Titus without Justus) may represent the theory that this was the Titus who figures so largely in the Epistles, but is not mentioned in Acts. This view is taken by Chrysostom, Ammonius, etc. The objection to this theory is that on any probable theory of chronology the reference to Titus in Gal. ii. 1 shows that he was with Paul before his visit to Corinth, and that he was more probably an Antiochian who joined Paul, whereas Titius Justus was a resident Corinthian, not one of Paul's companions. See also A. van Veldhuizen, *Theol. Studien* (Dutch), xx. (1903).

8. Crispus] His baptism is mentioned in 1 Cor. i. 14 in a remarkable passage in which Paul thanks God that he baptized no one 'except Crispus and Gaius,' and 'the household of Stephanas.'

the archisynagogue] This does not mean that he was the head of the synagogue, but that he was one of the prominent men who had the title of archisynagogue (see Justin, *Dial. c. Tryph.* 137). Cf. note on xiii. 15.

in a vision to Paul, "Do not be afraid, but speak and do not be silent, because I am with you and no one shall attack ¹⁰ you to harm you, because I have much people in this city." And he stayed a year and six months, teaching among them ¹¹ the word of God. And when Gallio was proconsul of Achaia, ¹²

9. speak] The change of tense (φάβου . . . λάλει . . . σιωπῆσης) is noticeable: "Give up being afraid, go on speaking and do not stop."

10. attack you to harm you] As the writer apparently did not think that the attack on Paul which led to his appearance before Gallio contradicted this prophecy, the emphasis must be on the 'harm' rather than on the 'attack.' But it may be questioned whether the writer was very sensitive as to any verbally accurate fulfilment of the prophecies which he introduces. In xxi. 11 it is foretold that the Jews would bind Paul, but as a matter of accurate detail it was the Romans who did this. Similarly in xxvii. 10 Paul foretells loss of life to those on the ship, though in the end no one was lost. It should be noted, however, that in this case Paul retracted his original statement, because an angel had told him that God had granted him all who were on the ship (xxvii. 22 ff.).

11f. These verses form, since the discovery of the Delphi inscription, the first clear chronological note in the life of Paul. Gallio was proconsul in 51-52, with a possible though improbable extension of one year in either direction. Therefore if the trial before Gallio came at the beginning of his proconsulate, and—as is probably the case—at the end of Paul's eighteen months in Corinth, A.D. 49 is the almost certain date for his arrival in Corinth. (See further Additional Note 34.)

12. Gallio] Junius Annaeus Gallio was the son of M. Annaeus Seneca, a Spanish provincial from Cordova who came to Rome and gained admission to the order of the Equites. M. Annaeus Seneca had three sons—Junius Annaeus, Lucius, and Mela. Mela has been immortalized by Tacitus in *Ann.* xvi. 17: "Mela, quibus Gallio et Seneca parentibus natus, petitione

honorum abstinuerat per ambitionem praeposteram, ut eques Romanus consularibus potentia aequaretur; simul acquirendae pecuniae brevis iter credebatur per procuraciones administrandis principis negotiis." He is, however, best known as the father of the poet Lucan. Lucius was the famous Lucius Annaeus Seneca, the philosopher and dramatist who was Nero's tutor. The oldest son, Junius, was adopted by Lucius Junius Gallio, a wealthy Roman, and had a political career. He was proconsul of Achaia c. A.D. 51. He apparently was ill at Corinth, for Seneca says: "Illud mihi in ore erat domini mei Gallionis, qui cum in Achaia febrem habere coepisset, protinus navem ascendit clamitans non corporis esse, sed loci morbum" (*Ep.* 104). (For the evidence as to the date see Addit. Note 34.) He was also consul at some unknown date, for Pliny says that he took a sea voyage after his consulate because he was threatened with consumption. His fortunes doubtless moved parallel to those of his brother Seneca. When Nero ordered Seneca to commit suicide, Gallio pleaded for his own life, and was spared for the moment, but according to Dio Cassius he and his brother Mela were afterwards put to death. The Chronicle of Eusebius, indeed, according to Jerome's version, puts their death in 64, while Seneca died in A.D. 66, but these notes are not in the Armenian version, probably are additions made by Jerome, and in any case can scarcely be regarded as weighing at all against the evidence of Dio Cassius and of Tacitus who describes the scene in the Senate after Seneca's death: "At in senatu cunctis, ut cuique plurimum maeroris, in adulationem demissis, Iunium Gallionem, Senecae fratris morte pavidum et pro sua incolumitate supplicem, increpuit Salienus Clemens, hostem et parricidam vocans, donec consensu

the Jews made a concerted attack on Paul and brought him
 13 before the Bench, saying, "Contrary to the Law, this man is
 persuading men to worship God." But when Paul was on the
 14 point of opening his mouth, Gallio said to the Jews, "If it were
 a crime or wicked misbehaviour, O Jews, I would, of course,

patrum deterritus est, ne publicis malis abuti ad occasionem privati odii videretur, neu composita aut obliterated mansuetudine principis novam ad saevitiam retraheret." This is clearly a picture drawn from life. (See Tacitus, *Ann.* xii. 8, xiv. 53, xv. 73, xvi. 17; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxi. 33; Dio Cassius, lxi. 20, lxii. 25.)

was proconsul] The phrase must not be pressed to mean 'at the beginning of his proconsulate.' The probability that the trial of Paul came at the beginning of his period of office is not based on the language, but merely on the presumption (admittedly not very strong) that the Jews are more likely to have tried an experiment with a new proconsul. Achaia had been restored to the list of senatorial provinces in A.D. 44.

The Western Text enlivens this verse by reading "The Jews, after talking among themselves, made a concerted attack against Paul, and laid hands on him and took him before the Bench, yelling and saying."

the Bench] τὸ βῆμα, cf. xii. 21, xviii. 16f., xxv. 6, 10, 17. An alternative rendering might be Court, and in xii. 21 it seems necessary to translate 'throne.' 'Bench' seems best because, like τὸ βῆμα, it means originally the official seat of a judge, then the general surroundings of that seat, and finally is almost if not quite identified with the magistrate himself. In English, however, it often implies magistrates in the plural. Could τὸ βῆμα do this?

13. Contrary to the Law] The form of the accusation suggests a comparison with xvi. 20 and xvii. 7. In these passages the accusation against Paul is that he is breaking the Roman law, (a) by teaching customs forbidden to Romans, (b) by teaching that there is another emperor, Jesus. In harmony with these passages it may mean that

Paul was illegally seducing Gentiles to worship the Jews' God. The objection to this interpretation is (a) that the circumstances are not quite the same; at Philippi and at Thessalonica the accusation, even though prompted by Jews, was brought by Gentiles, (b) that Gallio's comment seems to make it plain that the law referred to was the Jewish not the Roman law. Still, these objections are not quite final. Gallio may merely have meant that the point was not one of Roman law, and it is conceivable that the Jews brought the accusation with the suggestion that they were not responsible for an infraction of the law, which they disclaimed and denounced. If Roman law be intended it is hard to say what law was meant, for though Romans were forbidden to become proselytes, this did not apply to non-citizens. It would appear that Gallio's decision was correct.

worship God] σέβειν τὸν θεόν. See Addit. Note 8.

14. The admirable though colloquial Greek put into Gallio's mouth is one of the proofs that the editor could write more than one style, which he adapted to his subject. The compact scorn of the answer suggests that Gallio's subjects would have described him by some other adjective than 'dulcis' which his brother Seneca applied to him.

misbehaviour] ῥαδιούργημα. Cf. ῥαδιουργίας in xiii. 10. Judging by the company they keep both in that passage and elsewhere this family of words particularly implies fraud and deception, while crime (ἀδικημα) also includes open or violent wrong-doing.

of course] This is about the force of κατὰ λόγον, which in Hellenistic writers varies between 'proportionately,' 'willingly,' 'reasonably,' 'according to one's desire.' Here it might be rendered 'duly.' (See Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, s.v.)

tolerate you. But if it is questions about talk and words and 15
a law which is yours, look to it yourselves. I have no wish to
be a judge of these things." And he drove them away from 16
the Bench. And they all took Sosthenes, the archisynagogue, 17
and beat him before the Bench. And Gallio was not troubled
at all by these things.

tolerate you] ἀνέχομαι is particularly used of patient listening while allowing others to speak. This meaning, scarcely recognized in lexicons, is sufficiently illustrated by Kypke here and by Wettstein on 2 Cor. xi. 1.

15. talk] λόγος, 'talk' as opposed to 'deeds' (ἔργον). Gallio, though he belonged (or because he belonged) to a family greatly gifted with the power of speech, has a true Roman contempt for talking. A Greek might have felt that he did not realize the difference between λόγος and λαλιά, but the context makes it plain that the word is used contemptuously.

words] ὀνόματα certainly can have this meaning, and in grammar is the technical term for a substantive (hence *nomen*, noun). It is an attractive but unnecessary hypothesis that it means 'persons' as it does in i. 15 (see note on that verse). The suggestion that it refers to Messianic doctrine seems quite improbable.

look to it yourselves] This colloquial use of the future indicative occurs in Matt. xxvii. 4 and 24, in Epictetus often, e.g. ii. 5. 29 ἐποίησα ἐγὼ τὸ ἐμὸν, εἰ δὲ καὶ σὺ τὸ σὸν ἐποίησας ὀφείλει αὐτός, and in Marcus Aurelius. Both third and second persons are used and imply not so much a command to another as the speaker's renunciation of his own responsibility, as if to say "that is *your* look-out." Compare modern Greek ἄς ὀφείτῃ, Latin *videris, viderit*. See D. C. Hesselink's discussion of the idiom in *Mededeeling der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen*, Amsterdam, lxx., serie A, no. 4, 1928.

17. all] Who? The Western text says 'all the Greeks' and a few manuscripts emend this to 'all the Jews.' Both readings seem to be amplifications of the original πάντες, and possibly Sosthenes was beaten by both parties—by the Jews for

mismanaging the case, and by the Greeks on general principles.

Ammonius, quoted in the catena, suggests other reasons: they beat Sosthenes just to vent their disappointed rage on somebody, or because he was, like Crispus, an adherent of Paul's, or because they wished to kill Paul and Sosthenes had prevented them. For the obscurity of Sosthenes' rôle in Acts compare the accounts of Jason in xvii. 6 and Alexander in xix. 33.

Sosthenes] The name is rare enough (papyri and inscriptions attest a few cases in Egypt, Magnesia, or Rhodes) to make its recurrence in 1 Corinthians i. 1 striking; and perhaps the Sosthenes of this chapter may be the same as Paul's later companion. But Paul's letter does not call Sosthenes a Corinthian. It is not impossible that two Corinthian archisynagogues became Christians. The office was not held by one incumbent at a time.

troubled at all by these things] As an alternative translation 'none of this troubled Gallio' may be suggested as representing another but less probable way of explaining the grammar of the Greek (μηδέν subject instead of adverbial accusative, τούτων partitive with μηδέν instead of genitive object of ἐμελεν, ἐμελεν personal instead of impersonal), but the constructions assumed by the translation adopted are more probable. The Western variant is that Gallio 'pretended not to see.' The traditional English rendering 'Gallio cared for none of these things,' though a delightful phrase which has become proverbial, must be regretfully abandoned as it implies that Luke was condemning Gallio. He is, on the contrary, showing how Gallio—a learned judge—was so neutral in the controversy that he refused to become

18 Paul remained for many days longer and then took leave of the brethren and sailed for Syria, and with him went Priscilla and Aquila, having had his hair cut off in Cenchreae, for

an agent of Jewish animosity against Paul, and (if Sosthenes was not a Christian) allowed an anti-Semitic reaction to take its own course. It is tempting to say that when one remembers to what an extent our knowledge of the early history of the Bâb is due to a diplomat who was interested in new cults, one recognizes how different might be our knowledge of early Christianity if Gallio's attitude had not been universal. But it must be admitted that probably the sentence merely means that Gallio was not concerned with the commotion in the court-room and the ill-treatment of Sosthenes.

18-23. PAUL'S FLYING VISIT TO SYRIA AND PALESTINE. It is possible to explain this visit as really a doublet of the journey to Jerusalem in xxi. Just as some have suspected that the visits of Paul and Barnabas to Jerusalem in Acts xi. 30, xii. 25, and in xv. are really only one, and that the journeys that follow each visit are also only one (xiii., xiv., and xvi. 1 ff.), so perhaps one journey of Paul from Corinth to the Levant has been divided into two (xviii. 18-22 and xx. 3-xxi. 17 with *eis Συρίαν* at the beginning of each). Such doublets may be due to different sources. One account is likely to be full and probably quite accurate, the other is a brief *précis* between two episodes but not without hints of its parallelism to the fuller narrative. As the relief funds of xi. 30 belong either to the visit concerning circumcision (Gal. ii.) or to the visit concerning the collection for the saints (Rom. xv. 25 ff.), so in the present passage not only does the vow suggest the vow in xxi., but even the ominous *θεοῦ θέλοντος* (see next note) at Ephesus may reflect the fear for the outcome of his trip to Jerusalem, more fully expressed in Acts xx. 22 f. (to the Ephesians!), xxi. 4, 10-14 τοῦ κυρίου τὸ θέλημα γινέσθω, and remarkably confirmed by Romans xv. 30-32.

Under such an hypothesis of doub-

lets the omission in xviii. 22 of all reference to what occurred in Jerusalem is parallel to the omission in xxi.-xxvi. (except possibly xxiv. 17) of reference to the gift for the saints and the like. The hypothesis supposes that the author in one account usually passed quite lightly over the matters told more fully in the other version.

The Western reviser, however, perhaps with an unconscious instinct for the true background, multiplies the parallel motifs. Thus he knows here that Paul is hurrying to a feast as in xx. 16 (but see Ropes's note, Vol. III. p. 177), just as elsewhere he likes to explain Paul's actions as due to divine guidance in contrast to Paul's own will or the natural demands of the situation, thus reproducing the ideas of xvi. 6-10 in xvii. 15, xix. 1, xx. 3.

On the whole, however, I should reject this hypothesis on the ground that the paragraph does not seem to me to have the 'editorial meagreness' of, for instance, xvi. 1-6, that there is nothing improbable in the story as it is told, and that the suggestion of 'doublets' in this place makes more difficulties than it solves.

18. longer] *ἐτι* is not redundant with *προσμελντας* since the preposition *πρὸς* in this (xi. 23 and xiii. 43) and other compounds (xvii. 25 *προσδόμεαι*) often has not the etymological force of 'in addition.'

had his hair cut off] Who? Paul or Aquila? The point is obscure, but perhaps the run of the sentence suggests Paul rather than Aquila, and inasmuch as Luke is writing in the main about Paul, in case of doubt the reference is likely to be to Paul.

κείραμενος seems to mean cut with shears or scissors, *ξηρήσονται* (xxi. 24) cut with a razor. Both verbs are used in 1 Cor. xi. 6 as though there were such a distinction, cf. Micah i. 16 in the LXX, but where the verbs are not in the same context it is hard to be sure that the author felt the distinction.

Cenchreae] The eastern port of

he had a vow. And they arrived at Ephesus and he left them 19 there, but he himself went into the synagogue and discoursed with the Jews. And when they asked him to stay for a longer time, 20 he did not agree, but took leave of them, and said, "I will return 21

Corinth, to which Phoebe belonged (Rom. xvi. 1).

he had a vow] From the mention of hair-cutting it is clear that it was a Nazirite vow. In ancient Israel the Nazirites were men who had been consecrated to a life of abstinence from wine and never cut their hair. The classical instance of a life-long Nazirite is Samson. Later a temporary Nazirite vow was customary, which entailed the same manner of life, but only for a stated period. It was concluded by a sacrifice and by cutting the hair. The Law of the Nazirite is given in Numbers vi. 1-21. In the New Testament John the Baptist appears to have been a life-long Nazirite (Luke i. 15), and according to the tradition of Hegesippus preserved by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* ii. 23. 4) so also was James the brother of the Lord.

The difficulty of this passage is its correlation with the rest of the narrative. Why is this vow mentioned at all? Not, probably, to indicate Paul's obedience to Jewish custom, but to explain his (or alternatively Aquila's) movements. Ordinarily cutting the hair marks the completion of a vow, and if that be so here, we can suppose that Paul had taken a temporary Nazirite vow during his stay in Corinth for some purpose which is not explained. Rabbinical parallels show that it was customary to make a Nazirite vow in connexion with doubtful enterprises, and that it degenerated in later times into a mere formula, "May I be a Nazirite, if that is not the man I met," etc. There was much discussion among the Rabbis as to the binding nature of such an ejaculation. (See Strack, vol. ii. p. 749.) No exegesis on these lines gives a quite satisfactory explanation. I am inclined to suggest the possibility that just as in the Greek church a monk's hair is cut when he takes the vow, and is then never cut again,

so a Nazirite cut his hair before beginning his vow. If so, this episode marks the beginning of a vow. But I have no evidence that this custom of preliminary hair-cutting was a Jewish custom.

19. left them there] The position of this phrase makes a very awkward though quite intelligible sentence, and probably for this reason the Western text leaves it out and inserts the substance of it into vs. 21 (see note in Vol. III. p. 176).

Jews] For Jews at Ephesus see Schürer, *GJV.* iii.⁴ pp. 15 f.; Juster, *Les Juifs dans l'Empire Romain*, i. p. 190, note 3. The literary evidence is more numerous than for most of the Aegean cities. (Cf. note on xvii. 1.) But as yet no references have been found to the synagogues of Ephesus, nor are there any Jewish inscriptions at all before the second century.

21. and said] The Western and Antiochian texts insert "I must at all costs keep the approaching feastday in Jerusalem, but," etc. And this widely read text has given rise to the belief that vs. 22 means that Paul actually visited Jerusalem after going to Caesarea. Even after the Antiochian text was deserted by most modern interpreters they continued to extract the same meaning from the Neutral text by interpreting *τὴν ἐκκλησίαν* as 'the church in Jerusalem.' There is, however, in the text no word about Jerusalem; the 'church' mentioned would naturally be the church in Caesarea; 'going up' means going from the port to the city.

Oddly enough the Western reviser whose addition produced this interpretation did not himself share it. He makes Paul go to Caesarea, Antioch, and Galatia, and then in xix. 1 returns to the proposed visit to Jerusalem, and explains that though Paul still wished to go to Jerusalem the Spirit forbade him. Perhaps the real motive of the reviser was to explain Paul's vow.

22 to you if God will," and started from Ephesus. And when he reached Caesarea he went up and saluted the church and came
23 down to Antioch, and after staying some time departed, passing successively through the Galatian country and Phrygia, confirming all the disciples.

24 But a Jew named Apollos, an Alexandrian by family, an

if God will] Strange as it may seem this is a heathen rather than a Jewish formula. There is no evidence for its use by Jews in Biblical or Talmudic times, and it was introduced to them by Mohammedan practice. (See the full note in J. H. Ropes's commentary on James in the *International Critical Commentary*, pp. 279 f.)

22 f. The succession of participles, *κατελθὼν . . . ἀναβὰς καὶ ἀσπασάμενος . . . ποιήσας . . . διερχόμενος . . . στηρίζων* is regarded by Blass-Debrunner (§ 421) as an attempt at 'style.'

22. Caesarea] Why did he go to Caesarea if Antioch was his goal? The apparent inappropriateness of the route has doubtless helped to strengthen the view that he went to Jerusalem. But I think the reason was that the winds prevalent in the summer rendered a journey to Caesarea easier than one to Antioch; generally speaking the summer winds are northerly, and if, as often happens, they are east of north, it is difficult for a boat coming from Ephesus to point as high as Antioch.

23. successively] *καθεξῆς*. See Vol. II. pp. 504 f.

the Galatian country and Phrygia] See Additional Note 18.

24-28. The action of Priscilla and Aquila in vs. 26 shows that in their opinion and in that of the writer there was some inadequacy in the teaching of Apollos. The inadequacy is summed up by saying that he knew only 'the baptism of John.' This phrase would most naturally mean the 'baptism administered by John,' as it does in xix. 3. The possibility is therefore seriously to be considered that the meaning of the whole is that Apollos knew and taught accurately the story of Jesus, but knew nothing of Christian baptism—which was part of the *ὁδός*

but not of *τὰ περὶ Ἰησοῦ*. It is noticeable that it is stated that Priscilla and Aquila gave him accurate (or more accurate) teaching, not about Jesus, but about 'the Way.' In this case *ἀκριβέστερον* is probably 'elative' rather than a true comparative (see note on vs. 26).

If this interpretation be correct the passage can be grouped with the story in xix. 1-7 of the Ephesian Christians who also knew only the baptism of John. Paul did for them what Priscilla and Aquila did for Apollos. The two passages xviii. 24 ff. and xix. 1 ff. seem to be brought together by the writer to illustrate the way in which Christian baptism supplanted John's baptism. But it is to be noted that he does not regard the Ephesians as disciples of John or deny that Apollos was a Christian. The two episodes taken together are the best evidence which we possess as to the evolution of Christian baptism, and support the view suggested on pp. 7 and 93, and in Vol. I. pp. 341 ff., that Christian baptism was probably introduced by Hellenistic Christians rather than by the original disciples in Jerusalem. As known to the writer of Acts, Spirit baptism was already conflated with water baptism, and he did not realize that this had not been so from the beginning. Perhaps this is one cause of the obscurity of this narrative. The writer was using sources of information, whether written or oral, which he has interpreted in accordance with his own general ideas. What else could he do? But the result is that he has sometimes obscured what he sought to illumine. Possible examples of this may be the references to baptism in ii. 38 ff. (see the discussion in Vol. I. pp. 339 f.), and in the story of Cornelius in x. 46 ff. (see Vol. I. pp. 340 ff.). The

stories of Apollos and the Ephesian Christians seem to belong to the same category.

The most serious objection to this line of interpretation is summed up in the question—Why, then, did Aquila not baptize Apollos? Perhaps the answer is that he did. Or perhaps he did not because Apollos was already ζέων τῷ πνεύματι, in which case he affords both a parallel and a contrast to Cornelius. Nevertheless these answers are not quite satisfying and the objection remains.

An alternative theory is based on the statement that Apollos moved to Corinth and preached that 'the Messiah was Jesus.' Does this not imply that before this time he had not preached this doctrine? It may be so, and in that case 'the baptism of John' would mean the baptism of Jesus by John as it probably does in i. 22, and it is to be contrasted, not with Christian baptism, but with the fuller Messianic preaching which was not part of the public teaching of Jesus, but of the teaching about Jesus which was the work of the small body of disciples who were witnesses of the resurrection, and knew more of the true nature of Jesus than was implied by the story of his baptism. In this case ἀκριβέστερον is a true comparative, and there is a contrast between Apollos's original knowledge of τὰ περὶ Ἰησοῦ—accurate so far as it went—and the 'more accurate' knowledge which constituted 'the Way.' (See note on vs. 26.)

The main points against this theory are that it gives a meaning to 'the baptism of John,' which though quite possible is somewhat less usual, and that it scarcely does as much justice as the other interpretation to the implied contrast between τὰ περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ and 'the Way.' In its favour is the fact that undoubtedly Jesus did not publicly teach that he was the Messiah. He may have believed this, but he only proclaimed the approach of judgement and the need of repentance, and gave much teaching as to the kind of conduct which repentance called for, to qualify his hearers for the approaching Kingdom. There must have been many who heard this teaching and were impressed by it. Those who emphasize—quite rightly—the 'arresting personality' of Jesus

might well consider whether, so long as a living memory of Jesus survived, there are not likely to have been many who remembered his teaching and desired to perpetuate it, but did not know—and in some cases perhaps did not believe—the disciples' teaching about Jesus. It is not impossible that Apollos had been converted by one of them. It is conceivable that Q (if such a document ever existed) was the embodiment of their recollections of the teaching of Jesus, just as Mark is fundamentally the story of Jesus as told by those of 'the Way,' who held that he was the Messiah. If so, the 'accurate knowledge' which Priscilla and Aquila communicated was the message of the disciples that Jesus was the Messiah.

To choose between these theories is neither practicable nor desirable. Neither is impossible: neither can be proved. They do not wholly exclude each other. Possibly both are true. But I am unacquainted with any third alternative which seems to have equal probability. The attempt to explain the difficulties as due to a conflation of divergent traditions (see P. W. Schmiedel, *Ency. Bibl.* s.v. Apollos) does not seem satisfactory.

24. Apollos] Cf. 1 Cor. i. 12, xvi. 12. His name is spelt in various ways. Codex Bezae gives Ἀπολλώνιος (Apollonius d). There is some possibility that this is the right spelling. Acts and the epistles have a strange tendency to disagree (see note on Priscilla in vs. 2), and the natural tendency of scribes was to harmonize them, so that transcriptional probability favours Apollonius. But the variant does not reappear in xix. 1. \aleph reads Ἀπέλλης, and that this is not accidental is proved by the quotations from Didymus and Ammonius in Cramer's *Catena* which have the same spelling. Its chief value is that the combination of Didymus, Ammonius, and \aleph supports the Alexandrian provenance of \aleph . Possibly it is a learned attempt to identify Apollos with the Apelles of Rom. xvi. 10. An Apollos is also mentioned in Titus iii. 13, but the name is quite common, and there is obviously no decisive argument for or against his identity with the Apollos of Acts. On the other hand, there can be no doubt

eloquent man, arrived at Ephesus, being effective in the scriptures.
 25 He had been informed in the way of the Lord and was fervent
 in spirit, and he was speaking and teaching accurately the
 26 story of Jesus, knowing only the baptism of John. And he
 began to speak boldly in the synagogue. But when Priscilla
 and Aquila heard him, they took him and accurately expounded

that the Apollos of Acts is the same as he who was the 'second founder' of the Church in Corinth (1 Cor. iii. 6).

(On the history of Apollos see J. H. A. Hart, *JTS.* vii., Oct. 1905, pp. 16-28; R. Schumacher, *Der Alexandriner Apollos*, 1916; G. A. Barton, *JBL.* xliii., 1924, pp. 207-223; A. Deane, *Friends and Fellow-Labourers of St. Paul*, and Pöhlz, *Die Mitarbeiter des Weltapostels Paulus.*)

eloquent] The word λόγιος has more than one meaning. Originally it meant 'learned,' as it does in modern Greek. In Herodotus it is used of one with good knowledge of a locality. Phrynichus, however, is good evidence that a Hellenistic meaning was 'eloquent.' This meaning was adopted by the Latin and Syriac translators (so A.V.), and in modern times by Fr. Field, J. H. Moulton, and others. But in Josephus, *Ant.* xvii. 6. 2, § 149, the combination Ἰουδαίων λογιώτατοι καὶ παρ' οὐστῖνας ἐξηγηταὶ τῶν πατρίων νόμων suggests the rendering 'educated' or 'learned.' In the secondary version of Eusebius, *Martyr. Palest.* xi. 1 (ed. Schwartz), p. 933, l. 5, λόγοι τε καὶ ἰδιῶται means educated and uneducated. But this version is probably not the genuine text of Eusebius. For a full lexical study of the word see *Logios* by Emil Orth, Leipzig, 1926. This monograph, complete in evidence and admirably arranged, shows how alongside of its meaning 'learned' the word began in the first century A.D. to show the meanings 'eloquent' and also 'intelligent' (*verständlich*). We are still left, therefore, without any decisive evidence of its meaning here.

25. The Western text has the remarkable reading "who had been instructed in his own country (i.e. Alexandria) in the word of the Lord." If this reading were right, or a correct in-

ference (and this is not impossible), it would prove that Christianity had reached Alexandria, as it did Rome, not later than A.D. 50, and moreover that it was of the same type as the teaching of Apollos before he met Priscilla and Aquila.

informed] κατήχηται without ἀκριβῶς would probably have implied inaccurate information, and even the addition of ἀκριβῶς perhaps leaves room for the suggestion of imperfection. κατήχημαι had not yet the later technical sense of formal instruction, and rather means 'hearsay' knowledge (cf. xxi. 21 and 24, the note on the word in Vol. II. pp. 508 ff., and E. Meyer, *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums*, i. p. 7).

the way of the Lord] Both here and in vs. 26 (where 'of the Lord' or 'of God' should probably be omitted, see Vol. III. p. 178) ὁδός seems clearly to mean Christianity. Cf. p. 100.

fervent] Cf. Rom. xii. 11 ζέοντες τῷ πνεύματι: it does not, however, mean that his own spirit was 'fervent,' but that he was 'boiling over' with the Holy Spirit that had come into him.

26. Priscilla and Aquila] As in vs. 18 the wife is named first (see on vs. 2). But the Western text has the order reversed. See Vol. III. pp. 178f.

accurately] ἀκριβέστερον is perhaps what grammarians term 'elative' rather than a true comparative. (See the discussion of this form in Blass-Debrunner, § 244, and in Moulton's *Prolegomena*, pp. 78, 236.) Instances of its probable use are to be found in xvii. 21, xxiv. 26, and in the Western text of iv. 16. There is obviously only a shade of difference between an 'elative comparative' and a positive, so that there was a tendency in some words for the comparative to supplant the

the Way to him. And when he wished to pass into Achaia the brethren encouraged him to do so, and wrote to the disciples to receive him. And when he arrived he was very helpful to those who had believed through grace, for he vigorously refuted 28

positive. This is especially so when the word marks a change from a previous position with which it offers some comparison. Ἀκριβῶς, ἀκριβέστερον are an example of this usage; ἀκριβῶς is found only in xviii. 25, ἀκριβέστερον in xviii. 26, xxiii. 15, 20, xxiv. 22. In xxiv. 22 it can hardly be a true comparative, and the elative sense is easy in each instance, but it is possible to argue that there is the implied suggestion that the knowledge acquired was more accurate than it had been. The same is true of the usage of the Papyri; cf. P Oxy vol. vi. p. 226 ὅπως ἐξετάσαντ[ες] κατὰ τὸ ἀκριβέστερον, and BGU. ii. 388. ii. 41 ἐξετασθήσεται περὶ τούτου ἀκριβέστερον.

In the present case the doubt whether ἀκριβέστερον is an elative or a true comparative is increased by the apparent antithesis between ἀκριβῶς and ἀκριβέστερον. But this is largely offset by Luke's tendency to vary his phraseology. Two lines of interpretation are possible: (i.) Aquila and Priscilla gave Apollos 'more accurate' information as to what he already knew 'accurately.' If so, τὰ περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ is a synonym for τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ θεοῦ. (ii.) Apollos had already accurate knowledge of τὰ περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, but he did not know 'the Way,' which was accurately explained to him by Aquila and Priscilla. On purely linguistic lines no final choice can be made between these two possibilities.

27f. The Western reviser gives a different text: "And some Corinthians staying in Ephesus who heard him, asked him to cross with them to their own country. And when he consented the Ephesians wrote to the disciples in Corinth to receive him, and while he stayed in Achaia he was very helpful in the churches, for he vigorously refuted the Jews publicly proving and demonstrating from the scriptures that Jesus was a Messiah." The request of the Corinthians seems

to echo 1 Cor. xvi. 12: "Concerning Apollos, the brother, I have pressed him to go to you with the brethren (i.e. Stephanas, Fortunatus, and Achaicus), but he had no wish at all to go now, but he will do so when an opportunity presents itself." But in fact 1 Cor. xvi. refers to a later period, after Apollos had been to Corinth and returned to Ephesus.

It is also noteworthy that the Western reviser replaces the τοῖς πεπιστευκόσιν of the B-text by ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις, and changes the emphasis of εἶναι τὸν Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν into τὸν Ἰησοῦν εἶναι Χριστὸν. Both changes seem to reflect later usage. (See note on vs. 5.)

27. encouraged . . . wrote . . . to receive] The Greek προτρεψάμενοι . . . ἔγραψαν . . . ἀποδέξασθαι permits but does not favour the alternative rendering which assigns to the participle the dependent infinitive rather than leaves the participle with no object or complement. The translation would be 'the brethren wrote exhorting the disciples to receive,' as in A.V. and some modern English translations. The προτρεψάμενοι was encouragement given to the Corinthians to receive Apollos, not to Apollos to go. The ambiguity of this participle and of the οἱ ἀδελφοί . . . τοῖς μαθηταῖς is elaborately resolved by the Western text (see previous note).

was very helpful] συνεβάλετο πολὺ. This meaning of συμβάλλεσθαι is not found elsewhere in the New Testament, but it fits best with the context, and is well authenticated in other writers (cf. Liddell and Scott⁸, s.v. συμβάλλω § 7). It may be doubted whether it was so interpreted by the Western reviser who emended συνεβάλετο τοῖς πεπιστευκόσιν to συνεβάλετο ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις. Possibly he took συμβάλλεσθαι as 'conversing.' But the γάρ in the next sentence is then meaningless.

28. Acts tells us nothing more about Apollos, but 1 Corinthians sup-

the Jews, publicly proving from the scriptures that the Messiah is Jesus.

And it happened that while Apollos was at Corinth Paul passed

plements its information. Apollos was very successful in Corinth: 'I planted, Apollos watered,' says the Apostle. But, though Paul and Apollos appear always to have been friendly to each other, their disciples formed rival parties which threatened to injure the life of the Church. It is unfortunately impossible to reconstruct from the Epistle to the Corinthians the tenets of either party. After preaching in Corinth Apollos seems to have returned to Ephesus and to have been there when 1 Corinthians was written—in any case he was no longer in Corinth. He intended to visit Corinth again if a favourable opportunity arose, but it is not known whether he actually did so, and nothing is known of his later career (see 1 Cor. i. 11 ff., iii. 3 ff., xvi. 12).

1-20. PAUL IN EPHEBUS. These few verses are all that Luke directly allots to the Ephesian ministry of Paul. In vs. 21 he explains how Paul decided to move farther westward—to Rome—and though the next section, vss. 20-41, deals with Ephesus it seems mainly to explain the delay in Paul's plan of visiting Macedonia and Corinth before going to Jerusalem and thence to Rome.

From the epistles we know something of what Paul was doing during this period of nearly three years when Ephesus was his centre. A summary, which is all that can be given here, must at least contain the following points: (i.) The arrival in Corinth either of Peter or of his followers. This may have been before Paul's first arrival. (ii.) The growth of parties in Corinth. (iii.) The sending of a letter by Paul from Ephesus. (iv.) A reply from Corinth, probably brought by Stephanas, Fortunatus, and Achaicus. (v.) 1 Corinthians. (vi.) The mission of Timothy to Corinth. (vii.) An unsatisfactory visit of Paul from Ephesus to Corinth, which failed to end the strife

in the Church. (viii.) A strong letter sent by Paul, perhaps partly preserved in 2 Cor. x.-xiii. (ix.) The mission of Titus. (x.) Paul's departure from Ephesus (= Acts xx. 1). (xi.) His meeting with Titus in Macedonia. (xii.) 2 Corinthians, or, on the partition theory (see K. Lake, *Earlier Epistles of St. Paul*, pp. 154 ff.), 2 Corinthians i-ix. (xiii.) The collection for Jerusalem. (xiv.) A probable imprisonment in Ephesus (see note on p. 245). (xv.) An extensive evangelization of Asia, especially of the Lycus valley, either by Paul himself or by his helpers. To this bare skeleton of events must be added the whole story of the quarrel in the Church at Corinth, its origin, course, and end. Perhaps the most important for a general perspective of history is the coming to Corinth of Peter or of his representatives. In conjunction with the fact that there were already Christians in Rome, and perhaps in Alexandria, it affords an indication of how much important history was being made about which Acts is silent.

Why is there nothing in Acts about any of these points? Why is Luke even more silent on the great controversies about sex problems, things offered to idols, and 'spiritual persons' (πνευματικῶν), than he is about the Judaizing controversy revealed by Galatians and Romans?

Even more difficult, though less spectacular, is the question of the collection for Jerusalem, for here it is a question of apparent contradiction rather than omission.

According to his own epistles Paul went to Jerusalem primarily in order to take money to the Christians in Jerusalem. According to Acts it is a journey planned by the Holy Spirit, working through Paul, in order that Paul may thus be brought to Rome. Possibly Luke knew something of the collection, for in xxiv. 17 he makes Paul say that the purpose of his visit to Jerusalem was to bring

through the upper country and came to Ephesus, and found

alms and offer sacrifice, but it is not clear whether this refers to the 'collection' or to the vow which he undertook at the instigation of James. If he knew of it why did he omit it? Was it because he did not wish to represent Jerusalem as indebted to Paul? If he did not know of it can he have been a companion of Paul on this journey? Can he have erred as to the date of the collection and ascribed to the visit of Acts xi. 30 what really belonged to the later visit? (See also notes on xviii. 18-23 and xxiv. 17.)

We can hardly assume that Luke was ignorant of the facts referred to in the epistles. He must have written as he did because the events narrated interested him and fitted his purpose in writing, while those mentioned in the epistles seemed to him unimportant. What light, then, does his selection of events throw on his interest and purpose? The following points may be suggested.

(i.) The story of Apollos, and of the Christians at Ephesus who had received the Spirit at baptism, show the writer's interest in the question of inspiration—an interest which runs all through, and is not peculiar to any one section.

(ii.) The story is told, as is almost every story in Acts, to emphasize the breach with the Jews and the conversion of the Gentiles.

(iii.) The conflict of religion and magic is the main theme of vss. 11-20. It is parallel to the stories of Simon Magus and Elymas. It is noticeable how here, as in the parallel story of Peter in v. 12-16, emphasis is laid on the miraculous power of physical contact with the apostles, and on the power of the name of Jesus.

(iv.) Finally, though the episode of Demetrius actually comes outside this section, it may be noted here that it plays the usual part in showing that opposition to Paul never came from constituted Gentile authority, but only from the crowd stirred up by Jewish hatred or ignoble impulses. The Secretary of Ephesus and the Asiarchs protect Paul; it is only the mob and Demetrius, influenced

by financial motives, who attack him.

These four points may perhaps be reduced to two: Luke wishes to emphasize the supernatural power of Christianity and its obvious rightness, as witnessed by the highest Gentile authorities, in its disputes with the Jews and with the Greek rabble. He is not concerned with ethical teaching—Christianity is to him essentially supernatural—and he prefers to be silent about disputes among Christians.

It should be added that the local colour at Ephesus is as appropriate as it was at Athens. Magicians in Ephesus, philosophers in Athens, the worship of Artemis and the Unknown God, the meeting in the theatre and the sitting of the Areopagus, Asiarchs, the Secretary, and the silversmiths—all are correct and vivid. (For a detailed consideration of the facts in the epistles see especially J. Weiss, Lietzmann's, or Windisch's commentary on I Corinthians, or K. Lake, *Earlier Epistles of St. Paul*, pp. 102 ff.)

1. The Western text omits ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ Ἀπολλῷ εἶναι ἐν Κορίνθῳ and substitutes "Now though Paul wished, according to his own plan, to go to Jerusalem, the Spirit told him to return to Asia." See note on xviii. 18-23.

the upper country] τὰ ἀνωτερικὰ μέρη is obscure. It might mean the 'hill country,' and Ramsay takes it in this sense to indicate a trail through the hills north of the road from Pisidian Antioch to Ephesus. I think it is more likely to mean the 'hinterland' used from the Ephesian point of view. We have the same idiom when we speak of going 'up country,' and ἀνω is used commonly in classical and Hellenistic Greek to mean 'inland' (Herodotus, Xenophon, Plutarch, LXX (Judith), and Papyri). Chrysostom's view that it means Caesarea in Cappadocia seems improbable. But it is quite possible that the phrase is intended to pick up the narrative of Paul's journey, which was interrupted after xviii. 23 in order to make room for the story of Apollos. If so, τὰ ἀνωτερικὰ μέρη means the same as τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν καὶ

2 some disciples, and said to them, "Did you receive Holy Spirit on believing?" And they said to him, "No, we have not
3 even heard that there is Holy Spirit." And he said, "With what, then, were you baptized?" And they said, "With
4 John's baptism." And Paul said, "John baptized with the baptism of repentance, saying to the people that they should believe on him who was to come after him, that is on Jesus."

Φρονῶν, and is a characteristic Lucan change of phrase.

The comparative form ἀνωρεπικός figures in the lists of words found in medical writers and in Luke. These lists are often nugatory because the compilers have not considered sufficiently how far the words were also used by writers who were not medical, but in this case there is no evidence for ἀνωρεπικός except in medical books. In them, however, it is only used of emetics or other medicine administered by the mouth in contradistinction to other methods. It is hard to see the bearing of this on Paul's approach to Ephesus (see Cadbury, *Style and Literary Method of Luke*, p. 62, note 76).

disciples] This must mean Christians, both from the use of μαθητάς in Acts and from the context. Chrysostom's theory that they were disciples of John has nothing to commend it, but from his point of view it was of course difficult to think that there was ever a time when persons who had not received Christian baptism could be generally regarded as Christians.

2. on believing] i.e. when you became Christians.

we have not even heard, etc.] The harshness of this expression to ears which regarded the Spirit as the essential gift of Christianity led to various attempts to soften it, none, however, very early, and to a paraphrase in the Western text which presumably gives the correct sense, 'we have not even heard if any do receive Holy Spirit.' This is probably right, for the concept of 'Holy Spirit' was strange neither to Jew nor Greek; both were familiar with the idea of inspiration. The point—and it is of very great importance—is that to

Paul and to Luke, Christianity was essentially a means of obtaining 'Holy Spirit,' while the Ephesian Christians had looked on it in a different way which had not contemplated inspiration as its result. Was the same thing true of Apollos? Such at least must have been the case if in xviii. 25 the baptism of John is contrasted with Christian baptism. It may also be worth considering whether the divergent forms of Christianity in Corinth, in which the πνευματικοί—men who had received the Spirit—played a large part, may not among other elements have included an opposite party which did not claim to be inspired. (On the πνευματικοί see especially W. Lütgert, *Freiheitspredigt und Schwarmgeister in Korinth*, K. Lake, *Earlier Epistles*, pp. 222 ff.: the commentaries on 1 and 2 Corinthians by J. Weiss and H. Windisch (in Meyer's *Kommentar*), and J. H. Ropes, *The Singular Problem of the Epistle to the Galatians*, p. 10.)

3. With what] This is probably all that is implied by εἰς τί. The question did not refer to the details of baptism, but to the difference—unfortunately not fully described—between John's baptism and Christian baptism.

4. that they should] ἵνα is taken out of this usual position in order that it may be next to the verb. This has become its regular position in modern Greek, in which νά with the aorist subjunctive has completely taken the place of the infinitive and is almost as closely bound to the verb as 'to' is with the English infinitive.

believe on him who was to come after him] This view of John's preaching is not that of the Synoptic narrative. In all the Synoptic

And when they heard, they were baptized in the name of the 5
 Lord Jesus, and when Paul laid hands on them, the Holy Spirit 6
 came on them, and they spoke with tongues and prophesied.
 And the total of the men was about twelve.

7

gospels John's message is one of repentance, not of faith in one who is coming. Moreover, in Matthew and Luke, who have here a common source, it is said of the Coming one, "He shall baptize you with holy spirit and with fire. His fan is in his hand and he shall thoroughly purge his threshing-floor, and gather the wheat into his garner, and the chaff he shall burn with unquenchable fire." The meaning is clear: the Baptist is preaching repentance; those who do not repent will be consumed by the Wrath to come, and the agent of the Wrath to come is the Coming one, who will purify the nation—the Lord's threshing-floor—by Holy Spirit (which by a play on the word *πνεῦμα*, 'that which is blown,' is represented as the wind made by the thresher's fan) and by fire, which will consume the chaff that remains. It is unnecessary here to discuss the possibility that Q originally only mentioned fire, and that the text of Matthew and Luke is conflated with Mark, which mentions only Holy Spirit. The baptism by Holy Spirit and by fire is one of judgement, not—as was John's—of repentance. The picture of Mark is less explicit, but has the same meaning. Thus the Synoptic gospels represent John as giving a picture of the Coming one which ultimately survived in Christianity only in connexion with the Second coming. It is, moreover, essentially the same as the picture in the Gospels in the narratives of the Judgement (not of the Passion) connected with the Son of Man.

The Fourth Gospel omits this element, and instead makes John the conscious Forerunner, who recognizes Jesus and points him out, not as the coming punisher and purifier by spirit and fire, but as the 'Lamb of God which taketh away the sins of the world.' The difference is enormous, though the difference in time between

the Synoptic gospels and the Fourth was perhaps less than a single generation, and this passage in Acts shows how rapidly the transition was being made. It is interesting that the scene is Ephesus, the traditional home of the Fourth Evangelist.

5f. Is a distinction made between the baptism and the laying on of hands? The point is not clear, but it seems probable that here at least the laying on of hands is regarded as the climax of baptism, for Paul obviously regards baptism as the source of the gift of the Spirit, and in the event the gift of the Spirit follows the laying on of his hands (see note on viii. 16). The Western text shows distinctly less understanding of the situation than the B-text, and reads "they were baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ for the remission of sins." This obscures the fact that according to the gospels the baptism of John did give remission of sins. The point was that it did not confer the Spirit. See also Addit. Note 11.

6. spoke with tongues] See Addit. Note 10.

7. twelve] The parallelism to the twelve apostles must be noted, but there is no further evidence to throw light on it. For the Western text see Addit. Note 23.

In view of the common tendency to find in this and other New Testament passages evidences of the existence of a Johannine sect in the apostolic age, it is worth while to remind the reader again that these men are regarded by the author as partially Christians (disciples, believers), not disciples of John. I would go even further than Burkitt does in *Christian Beginnings*, pp. 17 f. note. The 'baptism of John' does not for our author necessarily imply direct or indirect influence from the Baptist, it is his name for Christian water baptism without the Spirit.

8 And he entered into the synagogue and spoke boldly for three months, arguing and persuading about the Kingdom of
 9 God. And when some were obstinate and did not believe, abusing the Way before the congregation, he separated from them and took away the disciples, arguing daily in the hall of
 10 Tyrannus. And this went on for two years, so that all the residents of Asia heard the word of the Lord, both Jews and
 11 Greeks. And God wrought extraordinary miracles by the hands
 12 of Paul, so that from his skin kerchiefs and handkerchiefs were

8. Kingdom of God] Either in the eschatological sense, or as a synonym for the Christian church.

9. the congregation] *πληθος* is used here as meaning the congregation (cf. note on iv. 32).

hall] 'School' gives a wrong impression of the meaning of *σχολή*. It was a hall used for lectures or other meetings. It is, of course, as uncertain as it is unimportant whether Tyrannus was a lecturer or a landlord.

Tyrannus] Nothing is known of him. The Western text says *Τυραννίου τινός*, and it also adds 'from the fifth to the tenth hour.' The time was reckoned so that sunset was always at the twelfth hour. Thus 5-10 meant at the equinox from 11 A.M. to 4 P.M., but in the summer it was later, and in the winter earlier in the day. If the custom of the country was the same as it is now, this period almost exactly covers the time devoted to the mid-day meal and the siesta. At 1 P.M. there were probably more people sound asleep than at 1 A.M. It may be suggested that Tyrannus himself used the hall for teaching from early morning (Martial ix. 68, xii. 57, Juvenal vii. 222 ff.) until the fifth hour, and that during the same time Paul was engaged in his own labour (xx. 34). Martial iv. 8 indicates that the fifth hour was the usual time for stopping work: *in quintam varios extendit Roma labores*. Then Paul could secure the use of the building for his mission. The hall appears to be introduced as a well-known building unless we accept the Western *τινός*. The Western addition has been repeatedly discussed by Ramsay (*CRE*. p. 152,

PTRC. pp. 270 f.; Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, iv. 821 f., v. 476; *Expos. Times*, xv. (1904) pp. 397 f.) with a conclusion unfavourable to its originality. (Cf. xxviii. 23 ἀπὸ πρωῒ ἕως ἑσπέρας.) But the improbability that this time of day was chosen for teaching renders it difficult to regard the Western text as a mere expansion.

11 f. These verses read very much like an editorial addition paralleling v. 15 f.; see note on that passage. (Preuschen refers to F. Pfister, 'Religionskult im Altertum' in *Relig. gesch. Vers. und Vorarb.* v. pp. 331 ff.)

11. extraordinary] οὐ τὰς τυχοῦσας. Cf. xxviii. 2. This litotes is a fixed idiom of Hellenistic Greek.

hands] διὰ χειρὸς may be a Semitism for 'by the agency of,' but this can hardly be so when the plural is used, as it is here and wherever miracles are described as being done 'by' someone (cf. v. 12, xiv. 3). The underlying theory is that power is transmitted by actual contact.

12. skin] This is the strict meaning of *χρῶς*, though it is used in the LXX to render *בשר*.

kerchiefs and handkerchiefs] This, according to Ammonius (Cramer's *Catena*, pp. 316 f.), is the difference between *sudaria* and *semicinctia*. He says that *sudaria* were worn on the head, and *semicinctia* were carried in the hands by οἱ μὴ δυνάμενοι ὡράρια φορέσαι. (See Radermacher, ed. 2, pp. 15 f., and L. Hahn, *Rom und Romanismus*.) But the exact meaning of the two words is somewhat doubtful.

Both words are transliterated into Greek from the Latin, but while

brought to the sick, and their diseases left them, and the evil spirits went out. But some of the itinerant Jewish exorcists 13

σουδάριον (cf. Luke xix. 20; John xi. 44, xx. 7) is common in both languages and also transliterated from the Greek into Hebrew or Aramaic, σιμικλινθιον is of infrequent occurrence even in Latin. Its meaning is therefore doubtful, perhaps 'apron.' The *orarium* by which Ammonius explains it is also a Latin word, and this in turn is explained by *linteum*, which in its Greek form is used by John xiii. 4, 5 of the towel with which Jesus girded himself. Perhaps this shows why the article in question is called 'half-girt'—*semi-cinctum*. The meaning may be therefore towels used in this way. Have the commentators on John any other examples of this costume?

The story means that cloths (not clothes) which were taken from contact with Paul's skin and applied to the bodies of the sick worked cures. Cf. the 'tassel' (κράσπεδον) of Jesus and the shadow of Peter in Acts v. 15.

13-19. The incidents of exorcism and magic agree in several respects with other sources. Cf. Wikenhauser, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, § 62. (i.) Such practices were especially associated with Ephesus. The books containing incantations or certain words in them were called Ἐφέσια γράμματα. These are mentioned by various ancient authors, e.g. Clem. Alex. *Stromata*, v. viii. 45. 2 τὰ Ἐφέσια καλούμενα γράμματα ἐν πολλοῖς δὴ πολυθρύλητα ὄντα. Plutarch, *Symp.* vii. 5. 4 (p. 85 B), says οἱ μάγοι τοὺς δαιμονιζομένους κελεύουσι τὰ Ἐφέσια γράμματα πρὸς αὐτοὺς καταλέγειν καὶ ὀνομάζειν. See Ziebarth, *Nachr. d. Gesell. d. Wiss. z. Göttingen*, 1899, pp. 129 ff.; Wünsch, *Rhein. Museum*, lv., 1900, pp. 78 ff.; Roscher, *Philologus*, lx. (1901), pp. 88 ff.; Kuhnert, Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encycl.* v. 2 (1905), col. 2771 ff.; Deissmann in *ZATW*. Beihefte 33, 1918, pp. 121-124.

(ii.) In the magic of the ancient world the Jews played a prominent part. The extant books of magic, mostly derived from Egypt, show the Jewish influence in the use of such names as Abraham, Sabaoth, Jabe, etc. It is altogether probable that in

other countries they played an important part in transmitting the more eastern elements of magic. Jewish magic was similarly influenced by Gentiles, though in less degree. Even stricter Jews were not prevented by Old Testament prohibitions from practising exorcism. The syncretism was such that no doubt those who were not Jews passed as Jews, and possibly even as Jewish high priests. Jewish exorcists are mentioned in Q (Matt. xii. 27=Luke xi. 19); in Josephus, *Antiq.* viii. 2. 5 *et al.*; Justin Martyr, *Trypho* 85, and often elsewhere. See L. Blau, *Das altjüdische Zauberwesen*, 1898; Strack, iv., *Exkurs* 21, 'Zur altjüdische Dämonologie,' and the standard works on magic in general.

(iii.) The use of the name of Jesus in casting out demons was known to the Jews, and was objected to by the rabbis much as was exorcism in the name of an idol. See Chwolson, *Das letzte Passamahl*, pp. 100, 102, 107; Strack, i. p. 468, and elsewhere. The references are to the Minim or Jewish (?) Christians. On the other hand the casting out of demons by Jews in the name of Jesus was evidently a question with which the early Christians were concerned. Naturally it was objected to, though the Gospels record a mild reply of Jesus to a question on the subject (Mark ix. 38-41; Luke ix. 49, 50). In the present passage the view implied is that when the 'name' is used by those who have no right to use it, so far from quieting the possessed it turns them to greater violence. The moral is much the same as in viii. 18-24, but the power of Jesus' name is enhanced by the story. The Paris Magical Papyrus 574, which is certainly neither Christian nor orthodox Jewish, though strongly affected by the LXX, has in lines 3018 ff. the notable adjuration ὀρκίζω σε κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν Ἑβραίων Ἰησοῦ, and in lines 1227 ff. this πᾶσις (charm, cf. vs. 18) γενναία ἐκβάλλονσα δαίμονας, written in the Egyptian language but in the Greek alphabet, "Hail, God of Abraham, hail, God of Isaac, hail, God

tried to use the name of the Lord Jesus on those who had evil spirits, saying, "I charge you by Jesus whom Paul preaches."
 14 And there were seven sons of a certain Scaeva, a Jewish
 15 high priest, doing this. And the evil spirit answered them
 and said, "Jesus I know, and Paul I understand, but who are
 16 you?" And the man in whom the evil spirit was leapt on them
 and mastered them all and prevailed over them, so that they

of Jacob, Jesus Chrestus, Holy Spirit, Son of the Father," etc. Cf. Justin, *Trypho* 85, et al.

13. itinerant] περιερχομένων.
 the name] See notes on v. 41 and xvi. 18 and Addit. Note 11.

14. seven sons of a certain Scaeva, a Jewish high priest] This refers back to and illustrates the 'itinerant Jewish exorcists' of the preceding verse, as the Western reviser particularly emphasizes. Although the textual difficulties of the passage are serious (see Additional Note 23), the essential meaning is plain. Among the exorcists were a group who claimed to be brothers and to be sons of a high priest. Since they were foreigners in Ephesus the truth or falsity of such a statement could not readily be shown, and Professor F. C. Burkitt suggests a very plausible reason for their having made the claim: "What was," he says, "the special function and privilege of the Jewish high priest? To go into the Holy of Holies and utter the Name. A Jewish high priest, therefore, knew the great magical Jewish Name. Scaeva was no doubt a rascally Levantine (real race very uncertain) who claimed to be kin to the Masters of the Name. ἀρχιερεύς I regard as an advertisement. Do not Old Moore and Zadkiel claim antique descent (? from the Druids)?"

At any rate, in spite of the difficulties involved in the name 'Scaeva,' it seems clear that Luke regarded these men as Jews. Even if 'Ιουδαίου is an interpolation there is no evidence for omitting 'Ιουδαίου in verse 13. That Scaeva, as distinct from his sons, was ever in Ephesus is not stated.

The question of how many brothers were involved is not plain. Whether there were seven or two or a number

which is not specified is involved in the problem of the variants in the text (see Addit. Note 23), and probably cannot be determined with any degree of security.

a certain] The text varies between τινός (BD pesh hmg etc.) and τινός (ΣΑΤ). Ropes prefers τινός in spite of the evidence, because the sons, not the father, are the persons introduced. But in Luke's practice τινός is used to apologize, as it were, for a foreign word—here for the obviously strange name Scaeva.

Scaeva] The Greek name is found in *CIG.* 2889, and seems to be the Latin *Scaeva*. There is no evidence that it was a Jewish name, still less that it ever was used by a member of a high-priestly family.

high priest] D reads ιερέως. This may be an attempt to soften the improbable ἀρχιερέως, or it may be the influence of the Latin on D. The Old Latin seems inclined to render ἀρχιερεύς by sacerdos. Cf. iv. 1, v. 27, vii. 1, ix. 14, 21, xxiii. 4 (Cypr.), 14. This may represent an original Western preference for ιερέως, but is more likely to be a Latin characteristic. The Michigan papyrus reads ἀρχιερέως.

16. all] If there were seven sons the normal translation of ἀμφοτέρων is clearly impossible, and one must fall back either on the assumption of textual corruption or regard ἀμφοτέρων as an instance of the rather late usage by which it equals πάντων. This usage was denied by J. B. Bury in the *Class. Review*, xi., 1897, pp. 393 ff. He believed that in passages using ἀμφοτέροι for more than two persons, the implication was that they formed two groups, so that here we should understand it as meaning both the sons and Scaeva. He subsequently

fled naked and wounded from that house. And this was known ¹⁷ to all, both Jews and Greeks, residing in Ephesus; and fear fell on all of them, and the name of the Lord Jesus was glorified. And many of those who had believed came and confessed and ¹⁸ revealed their spells. And some of those who practised magic ¹⁹

admitted in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, xi., 1902, p. 111, the existence of a case in Theodore of Studium in the ninth century A.D. where ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ἡγουμένων means the abbots of four monasteries. Meanwhile Eb. Nestle pressed the application of the idiom to this passage, *Berl. Phil. Wochenschr.* xviii., 1898, col. 254; xx., 1900, col. 1467 f.; *Expos. Times*, xii., 1900, p. 144. Since then the papyri (cf. P Gen i. 67. 5; 69. 4, and P Lond 336) have enabled us to carry the idiom farther back, apparently to the second century A.D. The present passage in Acts may be regarded as a slightly earlier instance and understood as meaning all seven sons. It is possible that xxiii. 8 is another instance of this idiom. On that passage Ammonius, the sixth-century (?) commentator, says (Cramer, *Catena*, iii. p. 368) σημειωτέον ὅτι ἡ λέξις ἡ λέγουσα ἀμφοτέρα οὐ μόνον περὶ δύο λέγει, ὅπερ κυρίως δηλοῖ τὰ ἀμφοτέρα, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τριῶν. (See Moulton and Milligan, *Vocabulary*, s.v.)

fled naked] Cf. Mark xiv. 51 f., Genesis xxxix. 12, Amos ii. 16. Escape from assault by leaving the outer garment in the hands of the assailant is nothing unusual. γυμνός sometimes means with the χιτῶν only, without the ἱμάτιον (or σινδῶν—see commentaries on Mark *loc. cit.*).

house] This belated mention of the house is somewhat awkward but quite in the manner of Luke. See the references to a city in Luke vii. 37, viii. 27, ix. 5.

17-20. Both this passage and xix. 11 f. make on me the impression that they may be editorial summaries intended to lead up to and from the story of Scaeva, which was not part of his source but had come to the editor incidentally. Into the second summary he inserts a further small detail, the destruction of the magical books, which he had heard somewhere (cf.

iv. 36). The main source then goes on with vs. 21.

18. confessed] ἐξομολογούμενοι and ἀναγγέλλοντες do not necessarily imply disclosure of secrets, though the former is liable to be so misunderstood from its frequent English translation as 'confession' of sins. But the confession of sins is emphasized both in Judaism and in pagan religion. Plutarch, *De superst.* 7 (p. 168 D), says ἐξαγορεύειν τὰς ἀμαρτίας was characteristic of the superstitious. The same verb is used of confession in inscriptions (F. Steinleitner, *Die Beicht in Zusammenhang mit der sakralen Rechtspflege*, 1913, p. 109), in the LXX and in Philo (e.g. *De exsecr.* § 163 ἐξαγορεύσαντες δὲ καὶ ὁμολογήσαντες ὅσα ἡμαρτον), and would have been appropriate here if that was meant. Did Luke use ἀναγγέλλοντες in the same way?

spells] πράξεις and the verb πράσσω are frequently used of evil deeds (see Vol. II. p. 136, note), and that may well be the meaning here, but the noun also has the technical meaning of 'magic spell,' so that the probable meaning here is that the former exorcists now disclosed the secret formulae that they had used. (See note on vss. 13-19, quoting P Paris 574.) This would be an act of renunciation like the burning of the scrolls on which they were written. It was customary to keep the charms secret, and to tell them to others or to supply written copies only for the payment of considerable money.

19. magic] περίεργα = *curiosa*, which is also used in Latin as a euphemism for magic. περίεργοι are found frequently in Vettius Valens (see Kroll's index) always in bad company, perhaps as magicians, but in *Test. XII. Patr.* (see Charles's index), though associated as here with πράξεις (πράσσω), the words περίεργος, -άζομαι have their more general meaning of meddler, busybody (2 Thess. iii. 11;

brought together their books and burnt them before everyone, and they counted up their value and made it fifty thousand pieces of silver.

20 Thus mightily was the word of the Lord growing and gaining strength.

21 And when this was finished Paul was inspired to purpose to

1 Tim. v. 13). For the magical associations of *περίεργα* and *πράξεις* see Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, p. 323, note 5.

books] This rendering of *βιβλους* probably suggests more than is meant. The *βιβλοι* of the magicians were doubtless parchments or papyri of relatively small size with magical charms written on them. *βιβλος* as distinct from *βιβλιον* seems often to connote 'sacred' or 'magical.'

burnt] A common method of repudiating a form of thought. Cf. Livy xl. 29 (magical writings) and Suetonius, *Augustus* 31 (prophetic books other than the Sibylline oracles), Diogenes Laertius ix. 52 (of Protagoras), and Lucian, *Alexander* 47 (of Epicurus). Wettstein cites other examples. Its adoption by Christian theologians explains the loss of the Diatessaron, of many of the works of Origen, and of almost all Gnostic and heretical writers.

before everyone] The publicity is an essential feature of such literary *autos-da-fé*, and is mentioned in the passages quoted above from Livy (*in comitio . . . in conspectu populi*), Diogenes Laertius, and Lucian (in the *ἀγορά*).

fifty thousand] Said to be the equivalent of £2000, but in the absence of exact information as to the cost of living such figures do not really give much information. The unit of money is not mentioned in the Greek, and commentators simply assume that *δραχμα* is to be understood. The omission of the word (or its symbol) can hardly be paralleled even from the papyri and ostraca with all their simple money reckonings. But *ἀργυριον μυριάδες* without the name of the unit of money (probably either *denarius* or *δραχμή* since the two were equivalent) occurs in literature, as for example in Josephus, *Ant.* xvii. 8. 1,

§§ 189 f., which gives *ἀργυριον ἐπισήμων μυριάδες χιλίας* as the equivalent of *χιλία τάλαντα*, *B.J.* i. 32. 7, § 646; Plutarch, *Galba*, 17 (p. 1060) *καὶ προὔπιεν ὁ Τιγελλίνος αὐτῇ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδας ἀργυρίου*.

20. the word of the Lord] An alternative rendering would be, 'So according to the power of the Lord the word grew,' etc. In favour of this might be alleged the fact that *ὁ λόγος* is found elsewhere without qualification with the meaning of 'the Christian mission,' and that it is not found with a precedent genitive. But on the other hand *κατὰ κράτος* is a well-known adverbial phrase, which, however, more often means 'violently' than 'mightily.'

21-41. PAUL'S CHANGE OF PLANS AND THE RIOT AT EPHESUS. This is the real beginning of Paul's last journey to Jerusalem. It marks the time when he decided to change his centre of work from Ephesus to Rome, just as he had previously changed it from Antioch to Corinth, and from Corinth to Ephesus.

The usual division of Paul's work into three journeys is probably foreign to the mind of the writer. He regards Paul as having settled first in Tarsus, whence he was summoned by Barnabas; next in Antioch, whence he made a missionary journey to Cyprus and the cities in the south of the province of Galatia, returning to Antioch. Later on he proposed to repeat this visit, but a quarrel with Barnabas drove him farther afield. Leaving Barnabas to go to Cyprus (and probably to Galatia) he hurried through the Galatian cities, passed through Asia, and began a mission in Macedonia, Achaia, and Ephesus. Ephesus now became his centre, just

pass through Macedonia and Achaia and to go to Jerusalem, saying, "After I have been there I must also see Rome." And 22 he sent to Macedonia two of those who were serving him, Timothy and Erastus, and he stayed some time longer.

as Antioch had been. Then he determined to go back once more to Jerusalem—not to Antioch—as a preliminary to moving yet farther westward, to Rome itself. In this decision he was guided by the Spirit, and throughout the account of the journey Luke emphasizes the constant action of the Spirit, which in every city warned Paul that affliction awaited him in Jerusalem (cf. xx. 22, and note how characteristically Luke illustrates this by introducing the inspired warnings of the Church at Tyre and of Agabus in xxi. 4 and 11 f.). In this dramatic account of a journey to Jerusalem, undertaken at the bidding of the Spirit, which nevertheless warned him of affliction at the end of the journey, Luke was surely aware of the parallel with the last journey of Jesus to Jerusalem, and the predictions of suffering which marked its progress. Nevertheless, in the mind of the writer of Acts, the important point was not that Paul was going to Jerusalem, but that he was going to Rome, which would thereafter be his centre of operations as first Antioch and then Corinth and Ephesus had been. One of the strongest arguments in favour of the theory that Luke intended to write a third book is the absence in Acts of any detailed account of what Paul actually did when he reached Rome. His relations with the Jews are described, but his missionary work is dismissed in a single verse. Cf. pp. 349 f.

21. when this was finished] *ταῦτα* probably means 'this series of events.' Possibly it may refer to *ἐτη* in verse 10, and *ἐπληρώθη* suggests the end of a definite period. But *ἐτη* seems too far away from *ταῦτα* for this theory to be probable.

was inspired to purpose] This is probably the meaning of *ἐθετο ἐν τῷ πνεύματι*, and the alternative rendering, 'purposed in spirit,' excludes the meaning that the plan was due to the Holy Spirit. But the rendering given

is not sufficiently ambiguous, for the possibility cannot be wholly denied that *τιθεσθαι ἐν τῷ πνεύματι* is merely a synonym of *τιθεσθαι ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ* (cf. Luke i. 66, xxi. 14; Acts v. 1). A similar problem is presented by *τῷ πνεύματι* in xviii. 25 and in xx. 22. In each case it is doubtful whether it means the Holy Spirit or the human spirit. The journey referred to is doubtless the same as that in 2 Cor. i. 15, and the two extant epistles to the Corinthians show how much took place after he left Corinth (xviii. 18) (see note on vss. 1-20) of which Acts says nothing.

22. two] For the author's tendency to represent deputations as containing two persons see note on ix. 38. Paul's associates are mentioned in pairs in xix. 29, and to some extent in xx. 4, xxvii. 1 (Aristarchus and 'me'), but not so often in Paul's letters. We have Titus and the brother in 2 Cor. viii. 16-18, but at least one other brother in vss. 22 f.

Timothy] According to 1 Cor. iv. 17, xvi. 10, Timothy was to go to Corinth. This may be the mission here referred to (Lake, *Earlier Epistles*, pp. 134 f.), but it may have been an earlier occasion. On the hypothesis that Philippians was written from Ephesus this mission of Timothy to Macedonia may be the one anticipated in Phil. ii. 19-23. This visit is followed by one from Paul himself (xx. 1), just as was also anticipated in Phil. ii. 24.

Erastus] An Erastus is mentioned in Rom. xvi. 23 and called the *οἰκονόμος* of the city (i.e. Corinth), and in 2 Tim. iv. 20 we read that 'Erastus stayed at Corinth.' But it is quite uncertain whether these passages all refer to the same person. Possibly, too, Erastus was one of the unnamed 'brethren' of Paul in 2 Cor. viii. 23.

A recently discovered inscription at Corinth mentions an Erastus who apparently held office as aedile. The text is ERASTUS PRO · AED · S · P · STRAVIT. For his date, status

- 23 And there was at that time no little commotion about the Way.
 24 For a man named Demetrius, a silversmith, making silver shrines

and possible identity with a Christian Erastus see H. J. Cadbury, *J.B.L.* 1, 1931, pp. 122-138.

23-41. Some of the local colour of this vivid narrative is illustrated by the results of the excavations carried on in Ephesus by English and Austrian archaeologists and published principally in *Discoveries at Ephesus*, by J. T. Wood, 1877; *Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*, parts iii. (ed. by E. L. Hicks, 1890) and iv. 2 (ed. by F. H. Marshall, 1916); *Forschungen in Ephesos veröffentlicht vom österreichischen archäologischen Institute*, i. (1906), ii. (1912), iii. (1923), preceded by *Jahreshefte* of the same institution. For its application to Acts see Bludau, *Katholik*, lxxxvi. (1906) pp. 81 ff., 201 ff., 258 ff.; C. M. Cobern, *The New Archaeological Discoveries*, 1917, pp. 461 ff.; L. Schneller, *Paulus*, 1923, pp. 247 ff. Among many books and articles on Ephesus the following are important: G. A. Zimmermann, *Ephesos im ersten christl. Jahrhundert*, 1874; J. B. Lightfoot, 'The Acts illustrated by Recent Discoveries,' *Contemporary Review*, xxxii. (May 1878), pp. 292 ff. (= *Essays on Supernatural Religion*, pp. 291 ff.); W. M. Ramsay, 'St. Paul at Ephesus,' *Expositor*, July 1890, pp. 1 ff. (= *The Church in the Roman Empire*, chap. vii.); J. Weiss, *Prot. Realencyk.* x., 1901, pp. 543 ff.; A. Pincherle, 'Paolo a Efeso' in *Recherche Religieuse*, iii. (1927), pp. 422 ff.; R. Tonneau, 'Éphèse au temps de Saint Paul' in *Revue Biblique*, xxxviii. (1929), pp. 5 ff., 321 ff.

It is probable that the trouble went far further than Acts describes; indeed, comparison with the epistles always suggests that Acts understates the dangers which Paul underwent. In any case, either at this time or at another during his stay at Ephesus, Paul was in such serious trouble that he 'despaired even of life' (2 Cor. i. 8). This passage might be referred to the riot at Ephesus, but it seems excessive language for anything described. Paul was not in the mob, and his friends and the Asiarchs

prevented him from endangering himself. Similarly the expression in 1 Cor. xv. 32 *ἐὶν ἑφέσω* cannot refer to the riot. The epistle was probably written before it, and it would seem naturally to mean that Paul was in a position which rendered 'fighting with beasts' a possibility. It is not likely to be used merely as a metaphor, and even if it were it would mean a high degree of danger. From this argument it has been concluded that Paul probably suffered imprisonment while in Ephesus, and the further suggestion has been made that Philippians and Colossians might belong to this imprisonment. It is certainly true that the setting of Philemon—the story of a slave who ran away from Hierapolis or Colossae—fits Ephesus much better than it does Rome, or even Caesarea. (See G. S. Duncan, *St. Paul's Ephesian Ministry*, 1930.)

24. silversmith] Dittenberger, *Sylloge*² 873, quotes an inscription from Smyrna which refers to the *συνεργασία* (guild?) of silversmiths and gold-founders (*χρυσόχων*).

silver] B omits, probably by accident.

shrines] Chrysostom points out in his commentary that he does not know exactly what this means, and archaeologists have not found any silver shrines of the kind described by commentators. The custom of having terra-cotta shrines, or miniature temples, is well established, but there is a complete lack of evidence that they were made of silver. E. L. Hicks, editor of the corpus of Ephesian inscriptions, pointed out that *νεωποῖός* (or *ναποῖός*) was the official title of a board of wardens or vestry of the temple of Artemis at Ephesus. There appear to have been twelve, two for each of the six tribes. In the *Expositor*, i. (1890), pp. 401 ff., he made the brilliant suggestion that Demetrius was a silversmith who was also *νεωποῖός*, and that Luke's phrase, *ναὸς ποιῶν*, is a misunderstanding of his title. Presumably his interest in the cult of Artemis

of Artemis, provided the craftsmen with considerable profit, and called together them and the workmen in such crafts, and said, "Gentlemen, you know that from this business comes our affluence, and you see and hear that not only at Ephesus, but in almost the whole of Asia, this fellow Paul has persuaded and perverted a great multitude, saying that those which are made by hands are not gods. And there is risk for us not only that 27

was that he made silver statuettes of Artemis of a kind familiar to archaeologists. Hicks went further and identified him with a Demetrius who is mentioned as a *νεωποιός* in *Brit. Mus. Ins.* iii. 2, 578. His first suggestion seems extremely probable, as even supposing that this part of Acts is the first-hand observation of an eye-witness, he is quite likely to have misunderstood such a curious phrase as *νεωποιός* = 'vestryman' when it obviously ought to mean 'maker of a temple.' Official titles are very easy for a stranger to misinterpret. For instance, comparatively few foreigners understand what is meant in English when an eminent judge is described as 'an Elder Brother of the Trinity.'

Artemis] See Addit. Note 21.

profit] *ἐργασία*, which like 'business' means 'profit' as well as 'work.' 'Profit' seems here the preferable meaning. As a silversmith he was doubtless a manufacturer of the silver images of Artemis or Astarte, of which there are many examples, and so gave work to the *τεχνίται*, who were the skilled workmen who manufactured them, and doubtless to the merchants who sold them. The *ἐργάται* in the next sentence means workmen. Demetrius was trying to organize the whole trade—manufacturers, retailers, and workmen—in a common protest against revolutionary movements, and—if Hicks's emendation be accepted—was exploiting his position as a *νεωποιός* to inflame religious and patriotic sentiment to his economic interest.

26. at Ephesus] This rendering does not quite represent the difficulty of the Greek. Are *Ἐφέσου* and *Ἀσίας* genitives of place—an unusual idiom—or are they dependent on *δχλον*—which is a strange use in Greek,

though frequent in English, 'the crowd of Ephesus'? See Moulton, *Grammar*, i. 73.

Asia] There is nothing to show whether the word is used in a Roman or local sense. Ramsay advocated a narrower meaning (Asia = Ephesus and the neighbouring Greek cities) in *CRE.* p. 166, but interpreted it as meaning *Asia provincia* in *PTRC.* p. 278. It may even mean Asia in the widest sense (as contrasted with Europe), for the context calls for the most exaggerated statement possible.

27. The construction is clumsy but not impossible in the B text. It consists of a string of infinitives, *ἐλθεῖν . . . λογισθῆναι . . . μέλλειν καθαιρεῖσθαι*, all dependent on *κινδυνεύει*. I do not feel so sure as Ropes that this is not the original. The great difficulty of the sentence is the meaning of *τοῦτο τὸ μέρος εἰς ἀπελεγμὸν ἐλθεῖν*, and of the genitive *μεγαλειότητος*.

risk for us, etc.] Though the general sense is clear, the exact meaning of this sentence is obscured by doubts attaching to the meaning of *ἀπελεγμὸς* and *μέρος*. (i.) *ἀπελεγμὸς* is apparently an *ἅπαρ λεγόμενον*, but its obvious connexion with *ἐλέγχω* suggests that its primary meaning is 'refutation' or 'exposure,' and so 'disrepute.' (ii.) *μέρος*, which clearly cannot have its primary sense of 'part' or 'division,' might mean 'affair,' a sense most often found in the phrase *ἐν τούτῳ τῷ μέρει* = in this respect. Cf. 2 Cor. iii. 10, ix. 3; 1 Pet. iv. 16, v. 1; and Polybius xviii. 35 (18) *τὴν πίστιν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ μέρει διαφυλάττειν*, but Moulton and Milligan claim that P Flor i. 89. 2 shows that *μέρος* was used in the sense of 'line of business.' In the belief that they are probably right the rendering

the business come into disrepute, but the temple of the great goddess Artemis may be reputed as nothing, and she whom all Asia and the civilized world worships may be deprived of her
28 majesty." And when they heard him and became full of anger they cried out, saying, "Great is Artemis of the Ephesians."

given above has been tentatively accepted, though it must be admitted that the evidence is slight. It gives an interestingly cynical turn to the speech of Demetrius. Perhaps the tone of the sentence might be given by 'that our business will be shown up.' But is ἀπελεγμός a literary or a colloquial word?

It is noteworthy that the attack on Christianity comes not from the priests of Artemis, but from those engaged in the making of 'accessories.' Similarly in Bithynia, Pliny (*Epp.* x. 96) attributes to the spread of Christianity the decline in the business of supplying fodder for sacrificial victims in the temples. So also in the reign of Queen Elizabeth the guild of fish-mongers was the zealous advocate of the custom of abstinence from meat on Fridays.

temple] This temple had been famous as one of the seven wonders of the world. The burning of the earlier structure by Herostratus was a notable synchronism in history. The later structure was located on the seashore (Pliny, *N.H.* ii. 87) outside the city (hence *CIG.* 2963c ἡ μεγάλη θεὰ Ἀρτεμις πρὸ πόλεως, cf. Acts xiv. 13). The site of the temple and some ruins were discovered by Wood and have permitted a tentative reconstruction of the building. Cf. J. Fergusson, *The Temple of Diana at Ephesus*, 1883.

whom] ἣν probably refers to the goddess, though grammatically it may equally be taken with μεγαλειότης.

the civilized world] See on xi. 28. The archaeological evidence alone, as collected by Wernicke in Pauly-Wisowa ii. 1385, shows over thirty places where the reverence for Ephesian Artemis is attested.

Apparently the widespread worship of the Ephesian Artemis rather than its decline is claimed in like fashion in *Brit. Mus. Inscr.* iii. 482B (c. A.D. 161):

ἐπειδὴ ἡ π[ρ]οσετώσα τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶν
θεὸς Ἀρτε[μ]ις
οὐ μόνον] ἐν τῇ ἐαυτῆς πατρίδι [
] ἐνδοξοτέραν διὰ τῆς ἰδίας θειό-
τητος [
ἀ]λλὰ καὶ παρὰ Ἑλλήσιν τε καὶ
β[α]ρβάρους ὥστε
πολλ[ά]χοῦ.

So Ramsay, *Class. Rev.* viii., 1893, pp. 78 ff., against E. L. Hicks, the first editor, whose restorations are in part given. (See also Addit. Note 21.)

28. anger] The Western text adds, "they ran to the square (ἀγοράν)."

Great is Artemis] The same cry is raised in the theatre (vs. 34) where Codex Vaticanus picturesquely gives the phrase twice over. Cf. Luke xxiii. 21; John xix. 6, 15. Pallis is probably right in saying that 'this was the usual way of cheering,' though his examples from Heliodorus viii. 9 and 15 are not so good as those taken after Wettstein from Aristides i. 467, 471 Dindorf (in both instances βοάω and μέγας ὁ Ἀσκληπιός). Cf. in the LXX Bel and the Dragon 18 μέγας ἐστὶν ὁ Βῆλ, 41 μέγας ἐστὶ κύριος ὁ θεός (Theodotion in both cases has the second person εἶ). The cry is also very common in Christian sources and is now abundantly illustrated in E. Peterson, *El's Θεός*, 1926, pp. 196 ff., and Wortregister, s.v. 'Μέγας Akklamation.' He suggests (p. 199) the influence of the Greek romances on these passages.

The attributive use of μέγας with the name of a god as in vs. 27 and 35 (cf. viii. 10) is entirely appropriate, as is shown in the dissertation *Μέγας Θεός* by Br. Müller (Halle, 1913), and is attested for Artemis from literature and Ephesian inscriptions (*ibid.* pp. 331 ff.; Ramsay, *CRE.* pp. 135 ff.). There is another reference to her majesty in the expressive word for divine greatness—μεγαλειότης—in vs. 27.

And the city was filled with confusion, and they rushed together 29 into the theatre after seizing Gaius and Aristarchus, Macedonians, Paul's fellow-travellers. And when Paul wished to go to the 30 people the disciples did not let him; and some of the Asiarchs, 31 who were friends of his, sent to him and begged him not to venture into the theatre. Thus different persons were uttering 32 different cries, for the meeting was in confusion and the majority

29. confusion] συγχύσεως. Luke has a particularly rich vocabulary of words suitable for scenes like these. The corresponding verb is used several times in Acts. An example of the noun is found in *Brit. Mus. Inscr.* 792. 4 ff., an inscription from Cnidus which in other details illustrates the language of Acts. It runs: ὁ μὲν δᾶμος (vss. 30, 34) ἐν οὐ μετρία (cf. xx. 12) συγχύσει γενόμενος . . . μετὰ πάσας προθυμίας (xvii. 11) συνελθὼν εἰς τὸ θέατρον (vs. 29).

theatre] This building's location, size, and history are thoroughly indicated by modern excavations of its well-preserved ruins. Its capacity has been estimated at nearly 25,000.

Gaius and Aristarchus, Macedonians] According to the natural rendering of xx. 4 Aristarchus came from Thessalonica, but Gaius came from Derbe. It is tempting, therefore, to read here Μακεδόνα, applying the word to Aristarchus only. The plural Μακεδόνας may be a slip of the writer, or a case of primitive dittography induced by the initial σ of the next word. (See also note on xvi. 1.) But Gaius is a common name (cf. Rom. xvi. 23, 1 Cor. i. 14, 3 John 1), and there may have been one in Macedonia as well as in Derbe. The name Aristarchus is found in Acts xxvii. 2, Col. iv. 10, Philemon 24. This is probably the same as the Aristarchus of this verse. It is a well-attested name in Macedonia. The politarchs first named on Thessalonian inscriptions of this century or the next (cf. note on xvii. 6) include an Ἀριστάρχος τοῦ Ἀριστάρχου (Dimitsas, *Η Μακεδονία*, Athens, 1896, No. 368) as well as 'Sosipatros the son of Cleopatra and of Lucius Pontius Secundus' (*ibid.* No. 364). Cf. the

Macedonian Christians Sopatros of Beroea (Sosipatros, Rom. xvi. 21) and Secundus of Thessalonica in Acts xx. 4.

30. people] δῆμον is unlikely to mean assembly. The view of the Secretary was that it was a riot, and not an ἐννομος ἐκκλησία.

31. Asiarchs] See Addit. Note 22.

32. meeting] Here and in verse 41 this gathering is called ἐκκλησία, which is the right name for the duly constituted public assembly of Ephesus. The inscriptions of Ephesus constantly refer to the ἐκκλησία and they indicate that it was held in the theatre. Cf. *Brit. Mus. Inscr.* iii. 481. 394 (A.D. 104) τὰ ἀπεικονίσματα πάντα τῆς θεοῦ φερέτωσαν . . . κατὰ πᾶσαν ἐκκλησίαν εἰς τὸ θέατρον; *Forschungen in Ephesos*, ii. pp. 147 ff., a bilingual inscription of the same date found in the theatre concerning a silver Artemis and two other silver images ἅτινα καθιέρωσεν ἵνα τιθῇται κατ' ἐκκλησίαν (and in Latin also *omni ecclesia*) ἐπὶ τῶν βάσεων. Cf. Dittenberger, *OGIS*. No. 480. That in other cities also the ἐκκλησία met in the theatre is amply evidenced by both inscriptions and literature. (See J. Krebs, *Decreta Romanorum pro Iudaeis*, 1768, pp. 421 ff.; Brandis in Pauly-Wissowa, v. col. 2169.) This would seem to imply that we have here to do with a gathering qualified to transact business. On the other hand the theatre was also the natural meeting-place for impromptu gatherings. See the examples from literature in Wettstein with verbs like ὤρμησαν here; and for inscriptions see *Brit. Mus. Inscr.* 792. 4 ff. The only question is whether ἐκκλησία (vss. 32, 41) and δῆμος (vss. 30, 33) could be used of a mass meeting or riot as could σύστροφη (vs. 40)

33 did not know why they had come together. And at the instigation of the Jews some of the crowd put forward Alexander, and Alexander motioned with his hand and wished to make a defence 34 to the people. But when they recognized that he was a Jew there was a single cry from them all, howling for about two hours, "Great is Artemis of the Ephesians, great is Artemis of 35 the Ephesians." But the Secretary quieted the crowd and said,

and $\delta\chi\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ (vss. 33, 35). See the note on 'legal assembly' (vs. 39).

33. some of the crowd] Probably $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \delta\chi\lambda\omicron\upsilon$ is the subject of the sentence. For this rather barbarous construction cf. Luke xxi. 16 (where $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\ \acute{\upsilon}\mu\omega\upsilon$ is used as an accusative phrase), Acts xxi. 16, John vii. 40, xvi. 17. It would be possible to render 'they put forward Alexander from the crowd,' but the position of $\delta\chi\lambda\omicron\upsilon$ and the undefined 'they' seem to militate against the rendering.

put forward] $\sigmaυνεβίβασαν$ is presumed to mean this from the context. The same guess seems to be involved in the paraphrase of the Peshitto, and in the Western reading $\kappaατεβίβασαν$ and in the Antiochian $προεβίβασαν$. But there is no evidence to confirm the guess. The verb $\sigmaυμβιβάζω$ occurs three times in Acts; each time the context suggests a different sense, and one not well attested elsewhere for the verb. In the LXX it clearly means 'instruct,' and though in ix. 22 $\sigmaυμβιβάζων\ \delta\tau\iota\ \omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\iota\nu\ \acute{\omicron}\ \chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ is usually and naturally rendered 'proving,' the LXX meaning is possible. In xvi. 10 ($\sigmaυμβιβάζοντες\ \delta\tau\iota\ \pi\rho\omicron\sigma\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\eta\tau\alpha\iota\ \eta\mu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma\ \acute{\omicron}\ \theta\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\varsigma\ \epsilon\upsilon\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\iota\sigma\sigma\alpha\iota\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$) it is usually rendered 'conjecturing' or 'inferring,' but the examples adduced from Plato in support of this rendering are not altogether pertinent. As to the present passage there is no consensus of opinion. If we associate it with the other two passages in Acts it may mean that the crowd 'instructed' Alexander what to say, or else that, not knowing what the meeting was for, they 'conjectured' that Alexander was the occasion of the difficulty. Evidently, to judge from the variants, the word puzzled early scribes. It has been given up

as hopeless by distinguished commentators, and it still needs more light. But the LXX meaning is not quite impossible.

make a defence] Apparently the meeting showed signs of becoming an anti-Jewish 'pogrom.' There is no reason to suppose that Jews means Jewish Christians or that Alexander wished to defend Paul, but it must be admitted that the relation of Alexander to the controversy is as obscure as the position of Sosthenes in xviii. 17. The obscurity is not relieved by the verbs used, for $\sigmaυνεβίβασαν$ is extremely doubtful, and $\pi\rho\omicron\beta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omega$ is ambiguous, as it means elsewhere (a) 'to choose,' 'appoint,' (b) 'to accuse,' as well as (c) 'to put forward.'

34. On the variants in the text which Ramsay discussed in *CRE*. 139 ff., *PTRC*. p. 279, see also E. Peterson, *Els theos*, pp. 199 f.

when they recognized] Note the irregular $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\gamma\iota\nu\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma\ \dots\ \phi\omega\eta\eta\ \acute{\epsilon}\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\tau\omicron$. This might be called a 'nominative absolute,' but it is really nothing more than a 'sense' construction, calling for no explanation except from grammarians.

a single cry from them all] E. Peterson, *op. cit.*, note on vs. 28, illustrates this kind of phrase in 'acclamation,' e.g. $\mu\acute{\alpha}\tilde{\alpha}\ \phi\omega\eta\eta\ \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\rho\alpha\chi\alpha\nu$. Cf. *Apoc. Petri* v. 19, also $\acute{\omicron}\mu\omicron\theta\upsilon\mu\alpha\delta\acute{\omicron}\nu$ in Acts iv. 24, Philo, *Legatio* § 356, and $\acute{\omicron}\mu\omicron\theta\upsilon\mu\alpha\delta\acute{\omicron}\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\iota\ \sigma\tau\omicron\lambda\mu\alpha\tau\iota$ in Rom. xv. 6.

Great, etc.] These words are repeated only in B. It may be a ditto-graphy; if so, it is a happy one.

35. the Secretary] The $\gamma\rho\alpha\mu\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \delta\acute{\eta}\mu\omicron\upsilon$ was the executive officer who issued the decrees of the $\delta\acute{\eta}\mu\omicron\varsigma$. He might be, but usually was not, an Asiarch (see also Addit. Note 22).

quieted] $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\sigma\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\omega$ in this sense

"Why, men of Ephesus, what human being is there who does not know that the city of the Ephesians is a temple-guardian of the great Artemis and of that which fell from heaven? There- 36

is not unusual in Hellenistic writers. Cf. Josephus (*B.J.* ii. 21. 5, iv. 4. 4, *Antiq.* xx. 8. 7, and in 2 Macc. iv. 31). The participle *κατεσταλμένος* (vs. 36) is also found in Epictetus iv. 4. 10, Diod. Siculus i. 96, and *BGU.* 1192. 5.

Why] Some such addition must be made to render this common Greek idiom of γάρ at the beginning of a question. Cf. viii. 31 and Matt. xxvii. 23. It might be translated, but rather clumsily, 'Be still, for . . .'

temple-guardian] *νεωκόρος*, originally applied to individuals, was transferred to peoples and cities. It indicated that they wished especially to honour a given god and became in itself a title of honour to the city. It is used particularly in the Emperor worship in Asia Minor, but doubtless that took the place of an earlier usage relating to other deities. There is a reference to Ephesus as *νεωκόρος τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος* in *CIG.* 2972; cf. Benndorf, *Forschungen in Ephesos*, i. p. 211. If the worship of the emperors was combined with the local worship of Artemis, the union of neocorates would be possible. Cf. note on xiv. 13 and Additional Note 22. On the neocorate, and especially that of Ephesus, cf. Dittenberger, *OGIS.* 481; Head, *Historia numorum*, p. 498; J. Weiss in *Prot. Real-encykl.* x. 543 f.; W. Büchner, *De neocoria*, 1888.

that which fell from heaven] *διοπετής* is used of meteorites or other objects sent from the skies. It is not known what this particular *διοπετής* was, but it is a reasonable conjecture that some symbol of Artemis was supposed to have had a supernatural origin such as was afterwards not uncommonly claimed for Christian icons, for instance the Portaissa at Iveron on Mt. Athos which was brought to the monastery by the Virgin herself. The symbol of the Great Mother brought to Rome from Pessinus is supposed to have been a meteorite. (For the cult of Artemis see Addit. Note 21.) Reverence for meteorites is common among primi-

tive religions both ancient and modern. Compare Torston (= Thor's Stone), a place near Oxford in England.

In Greek and Roman religion such objects were honoured at many places, as for example the representation of the Great Mother which was mentioned above, and earlier the Palladium at Troy. See the examples and references in Wikenhauser, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, pp. 364 f. The image of Artemis of Tauris is said to have fallen from heaven (Euripides, *Iph. Taur.* 87 f., 1384 f.), but except for the author of Acts no ancient writer implies the same of the Artemis of Ephesus.

Whether it was so intended or not the phrase *διοπετής* is a kind of answer to the Christian (and Jewish) objection to images as made by human hands, as quoted by Demetrius in this scene (vs. 26 διὰ χειρῶν γινόμενοι). At Athens Paul declares that God does not dwell in temples made with hands (*ἐν χειροποιήτοις ναοῖς*), is not served by human hands (*οὐδὲ ὑπὸ χειρῶν ἀνθρωπίνων θεραπεύεται*), and ought not to be thought like to gold or silver or stone, engraved by the art or design of man (*χαράγματι τέχνης καὶ ἐνθυμήσεως ἀνθρώπου*). But the pagan felt of their meteorites not merely that their material was of supernatural origin, but also emphasized that their design was not the work of human hands and was superior to human art. So Herodian i. 11. 1 says of the stone from Pessinus αὐτὸ μὲν τὸ ἀγαλμα *διοπετής* εἶναι λέγουσι· οὐτε δὲ τὴν ἑλὴν οὐτε τεχνιτῶν ὅστις ἐποίησεν ἐγνωσμένον, οὐδὲ ψαυστὸν χειρὸς ἀνθρωπίνης, and Cicero, *In Verrem*, ii. 5. 187, says "simulacrum Cereris . . . quod erat tale, ut homines, cum viderent, aut ipsam videre se Cererem aut effigiem Cereris non humana manu factam sed de caelo lapsam arbitrentur." Thus the Christian gloried in an imageless God because it was not man-made, and the pagan likewise made exactly the same boast of his meteorite image.

fore, since these facts are incontestable, you must be quiet and
 37 do nothing rash, for you have seized these men who are neither
 38 sacrilegious nor blaspheming our goddess. If then Demetrius
 and the tradesmen with him have a case against anyone,
 sessions are held and there are proconsuls; let them accuse

It should be observed that here there is nothing to indicate that the object was an image. The use of crude stones or aeroliths—far from representative of human figures—as symbols of deity was widespread in antiquity, especially in Asia Minor. See Pauly-Wissowa, ii. col. 2779 ff. s.v. 'Baitylia', and de Visser, *Die nicht menschengest. Götter d. Griech.* So even of the representation of Cybele brought to Rome from Pessinus some of the many ancient writers who mention it imply that it was a small stone—a natural *βαίτυλος*—while others speak of it as an *ἀγαλμα*, *ξόανον*, *simulacrum*, *ἀφίδρυμα* or *βρέτας*. See Ernst Schmidt, *Kultübertragungen*, 1909, p. 5, note 4, and the passages there referred to. On the Palladium see Frazer's note on Apollodorus, *Bibl.* iii. 12. 3 τὸ διπετὲς παλλᾶδιον.

37 sacrilegious] Literally 'robbers of temples,' but it came to mean 'sacrilege' as being the real crime involved in robbing a temple as distinct from other robbery (see Ramsay, *PTRC.* pp. 281 f.). In spite of their scornful monotheism a good Jew (or Christian) would regard it as important to avoid violent offences against other religions. Cf. Rom. ii. 22 ὁ βδελυσσόμενος τὰ εἰδῶλα ἱεροσυλεῖς; and especially Josephus, *c. Apion.* ii. 33, § 237; *Antiq.* iv. 8. 10, § 207 βλασφημεῖτω δὲ μηδεὶς θεοὺς οὓς πόλεις ἄλλαι νομίζουσι· μηδὲ συνᾶν ἱερὰ ξενικά. In like manner Philo, on the basis of Leviticus xxiv. 15 f., declares three times that Moses forbade the Jews to blaspheme. These defences of the Jews by Josephus and Philo (and even the LXX?) imply a charge against them of blaspheming Gentile gods (probably included under the terms *ἀσεβεία* or *ἀθεότης*), just as we know there was a charge against them of *ἱεροσυλία*. Manetho accused them of the latter in the time of Moses (Josephus, *C. Apion.* i. 26), and it

was even said that Ἱεροσόλυμα was named originally Ἱερόβουλα because of such crimes (*ibid.* i. 34, § 311). From the time of Paul to the time of Julian (*c. Galil.* p. 238 c ff.) the usual charges against the Jews were levelled against the Christians also. Perhaps this fact explains why Alexander the Jew appears in the theatre on his defence. The crowd would hardly distinguish Jew or Christian, Alexander or Paul.

38. sessions are held] Apparently either *ἡμέραι* or *σύνοδοι* is to be supplied with *ἀγοραῖοι*. For its use with *ἄγω* cf. Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 10. 21, and Cagnat, *Inscr. Graec. ad res Roman.* *pert.* iv. 788 (cf. 789, 790, 1381, all from Asia Minor) ἐν ᾗ καὶ ἡ ἀγοραῖος ἤχθη. We find also *ἀγοραῖον ποιεῖν* (Strabo xiii. p. 629), *ἀγορὰν ἀγεῖν* (Philostr. *Apollon.* i. 12) or *συνάγειν* (Strabo viii. p. 341), *ἀγορὰν καὶ σύνοδον παρέχειν* (Dio Chrys. *Or.* xxxiv. 14). *ἀγοραῖος* as in Acts is always without the noun. In Egypt other words were apparently used technically. In P Oxy 471. 126 . . . *ἀγοραίου κριτηρι* . . . a foreigner is perhaps speaking. Wilcken, *Archivf. Papyrusforschung*, iv., 1908, pp. 371 f., compares with our combination here P Flor 61. 46. *ἔπου διαλογισμοὶ καὶ ἡγεμόνες παραγινόμενοι*. The 'sessions' and 'proconsuls' are not two separate forms of recourse, but the *conventus* of citizens was held in each province at stated times and places with the governor presiding. See Kornemann, art. 'Conventus' in Pauly-Wissowa, iv., 1900, coll. 1173 ff.

proconsuls] Presumably the number is either the effect of the previous plural—*ἀγοραῖοι*—or it means 'there are such people as proconsuls.' There was never more than one proconsul in the same province at the same time. The general meaning is clear—'there are proconsular courts to which they can go.'

each other. But if you are seeking for further action it can be settled in the legal assembly. For we run the risk of being indicted for to-day's disturbance, since there is no cause which we can give as a reason for this hubbub." And when he said this he dismissed the meeting.

After the disturbance had ceased Paul sent for the disciples, and with exhortation and farewell departed to go to Macedonia. And he went through those districts and exhorted them with much discourse and came to Greece; and when he had stayed

39. legal assembly] According to Chrysostom, *Hom.* xlii. 2, this used to meet three times a month. The contrast is perhaps not so much between the present riot and an orderly meeting as between hasty action and waiting for the regular or stated meeting of the ἐκκλησία. But see Ramsay, *Pauline Studies*, 1906, pp. 203 ff. (= *Expositor*, Feb. 1896, pp. 137 ff.). The exact phrase here is found in Lucian, *Deorum concil.* 14 ἐκκλησίας ἐν νόμῳ ἀγομένης, and on inscriptions (listed in G. Busolt, *Griechische Staatskunde*, Part I., 1920, p. 447, note 1), cf. κατὰ πᾶσαν νόμιμον ἐκκλησίαν (*Brit. Mus. Inscr.* iii. 481. 339 f., the same inscription from which a quotation was made on xix. 32). Though the matter is not entirely clear it would seem that the author correctly distinguished the imperial or Roman procedure from the municipal.

The latter was in the hands of the δῆμος meeting as an ἐκκλησία, probably at stated times, in the theatre, presided over by the γραμματεὺς. The privileges of autonomy were subject to the good behaviour of the city, and the possibility that the Romans would withdraw them was not remote. See examples of such punishment in J. S. Reid, *Municipalities of the Roman Empire*, 1913, pp. 483 ff.

The Roman proconsul (ἀνθύπατος, cf. xiii. 7, xviii. 12) was in supreme authority over the whole province of Asia, and whether Ephesus was his capital or not, he or his representatives held court (*conventus*, ἀγοραῖος) in turn in this and some eight other (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* v. 105 ff.) cities, including Tralles, Pergamum, Smyrna,

etc. Exactly what offence or what statute of Roman law the γραμματεὺς might cite we do not know. Possibly in Ephesus, as Ramsay suggests (see preceding column), the right of the assembly to hold other than fixed meetings was to be had only by special appeal to the proconsul.

40. we run the risk] κινδυνεύομεν with a side glance at κινδυνεύει in vs. 27, as though the secretary meant to say the real risk is not loss of business but trouble with the police for disturbing the peace.

of being indicted, etc.] The construction of the sentence seems clumsy, but I suspect that this is because the technical language of the indictment is woven into the structure. For instance, ἐγκαλεῖσθαι στάσεως μηδεὶς αἰτίου ὑπάρχοντος may be a regular legal formula, 'uncalled for disturbance of the peace,' but there is no evidence that this is so.

cause] The meaning of the last part can be totally reversed by translating αἰτίου 'charge,' as in Luke xxiii. 4, 14, 22, instead of 'cause,' and rendering 'though there is no charge as to which we cannot give an explanation in regard to this hubbub.'

xx. 1-xxi. 17. PAUL'S JOURNEY FROM EPHEBUS TO JERUSALEM.

2. those districts] That is Macedonia. It must therefore have been exactly at this point that Titus joined Paul and that 2 Corinthians was written. See 2 Cor. ii. 12 f. and vii. 5 f.

Greece] The word Ἑλλάς is used only here in the N.T. Presumably it means Corinth, but it is curious that the writer is not more explicit. During this stay in Corinth Romans xv.

there three months, and a plot was made against him by the Jews as he was on the point of starting for Syria, he made up
4 his mind to return through Macedonia. And there accompanied

seems to have been written (see Rom. xv. 14-33), and possibly the rest of Romans. (For a discussion of the two recensions of Romans and their bearing on the composition and provenance of the epistle, see K. Lake, *Earlier Epistles*, pp. 324 ff.) But here again it is clear that Luke has omitted many incidents. Paul says in Rom. xv. 19 that he had 'fulfilled the gospel of Christ as far as Illyricum.' There is no trace of this in Acts.

3. The Western text reads, "And he passed through all those districts, and did much speaking, and came to Greece; and when he had stayed three months and a plot was made against him by the Jews, he wished to start for Syria, but the Spirit told him to return through Macedonia."

The difference between the B-text and the Western is that the B-text represents Paul as intending to go to Syria in any case, and only changing his route because of the Jewish plot, but the Western text makes the Jewish plot the reason for his leaving Greece, and his choice of the land route is ascribed to inspiration. Paul's own account of his intentions and of his actual movements up to his arrival in Macedonia is given in 2 Cor. i. 15 ff. He originally meant to go from Ephesus directly to Corinth (i.e. by sea), to go thence to Macedonia, returning again to Corinth, and finally sailing thence to Judaea. But, in order not to reach Corinth too soon (or possibly doubting whether to go there at all), before the mission of Titus and the 'strong letter' had had time to work on the factions in the Church, he changed his plan and went by land, through Macedonia, to Corinth. He does not say whether he still proposed to sail from Corinth to Judaea, but it should be noted that this was the normal method. Paul's route overland through Macedonia was quite exceptional. The B-text suggests that he took it because of a Jewish plot, but the number of his companions, and the fact, known

from the epistles though not mentioned here, that he was collecting money, suggests rather that he was gathering together his party as he went, and that this made the Macedonian route preferable.

three months] Presumably the winter. Notice how the difficulty of travel in winter is implied in 1 Cor. xvi. 5 f. as well as in Acts xxvii. 12, xxviii. 11, and Titus iii. 12.

4 ff.] The Western text is confused, see note in Vol. III. pp. 190 ff. It probably read: "And when he was about to start, Sopater, son of Pyrrhus, of Berea, and of the Thessalonians Aristarchus and Secundus, and Gaius of Derbe, and Timothy, went with him as far as Asia, but the Ephesians, Eutychus and Trophimus, went on and waited for him at Troas."

Even the B-text leaves doubtful who went with Paul and who went to Troas. I think the most probable view is that οἱ δὲ προσελθόντες ἔμενον ἡμᾶς ἐν Τρωάδι refers only to the Asians, Tychicus and Trophimus; but grammatically it might mean the whole group, which is distinguished from the 'us.' It is noteworthy that the 'we-sections' begin again in Philippi, where they ceased in xvi. 16. The obvious conclusion is that whatever may be the relation between the we-sections and the final form of Acts they represent the experience of someone who was in Philippi during the period of Paul's preaching in Thessalonica, Athens, Corinth, and Ephesus, and went with him from Philippi to Jerusalem, and ultimately to Rome. This excludes as possible writers of the we-sections all who were with Paul in Corinth—Timothy, Titus, Lucius (Rom. xvi. 21), etc.

It is an attractive supposition that the group of disciples mentioned here were the representatives of Paul's churches, Berea, Thessalonica, Derbe, Lystra (Timothy), and Asia, or, if the Western text be taken, more definitely Ephesus. Who represented Philippi? The author of the source?

him Sopatros, of Beroea, son of Pyrrhus, and of the Thessalonians, Aristarchus and Secundus, and Gaius of Derbe, and Timothy, and the Asians Tychicus and Trophimus. These went on and waited for us at Troas; but we sailed after the days of unleavened

Who represented Corinth? Paul himself? Possibly, but in 1 Cor. xvi. 3 f. he suggested that the Corinthians appoint with letters of authorization persons to be the bearers of their gift whether accompanied by him or not. Perhaps they sent it separately. The other churches appointed one *συνέκδημος* (2 Cor. viii. 19, the same word as used in Acts xix. 29) or more as *ἀποστολοὶ ἐκκλησιῶν* (2 Cor. viii. 23).

4. Sopatros] The usual English spelling 'Sopater' is taken from the Latin. *Σώπατρος* and *Σωσίπατρος* are well attested in papyri and inscriptions, as are the names of the other Macedonians. See p. 248. It is doubtful whether this Sopatros should be identified with the *Σωσίπατρος* of Rom. xvi. 21 (see note on xvii. 10 ff.), but if with Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*, 2nd Eng. trans. pp. 437 f., we accept this identification and that of the author of the diary with Lucius (= Lucas), these two and Timothy constitute a coincidence of three persons represented in Rom. xvi. 21 as being with Paul in Corinth before he started to Jerusalem and in Acts as accompanying him on his journey. (For Lucius see Additional Note 37.)

of Derbe] Codex Bezae reads *Δουβέριος doverius*. The adjective is naturally taken of Gaius and this is not impossible. Gaius is a common name. Apparently there was also a Corinthian Gaius (Rom. xvi. 23; 1 Cor. i. 14). But Gaius and Aristarchus are named together as Macedonians in xix. 29. This suggests that the *Δερβαῖος* belongs, or at least belonged originally, to *Τυρόθεος* which follows it. The other gentilic words 'Thessalonians' and 'Asians' precede the personal names in this list, and xvi. 1 (see note) says, somewhat ambiguously, of Derbe and Lystra that Timothy was 'there.' The tendency of Luke to arrange lists in pairs (i. 13; ii. 9 f.; xiii. 1) is satisfied by the last six names. The odd first name has the distinction of a patronymic. With

it alone the verb grammatically agrees.

Tychicus] Cf. Col. iv. 7. The Western text reads *Εὐτυχος*. It also reads *Ἐφέσιοι* for *Ἀσιανοί*. Eutyclus may be an emendation based on vs. 9. On the other hand Tychicus may be an emendation from Colossians. The change of *Ἀσιανοί* to *Ἐφέσιοι* or *vice versa* shows that in any case we have to deal with deliberate emendation, not accidental change. See further Eph. vi. 21; 2 Tim. iv. 12; Tit. iii. 12.

Trophimus] See 2 Tim. iv. 20, and cf. xxi. 29 where it is said that he was an Ephesian and implied that he was a Gentile.

6. sailed] Actually they must have sailed from Cavalla (Neapolis). Philippi is half a day's journey from the coast. Three or four days' sailing, probably with a stop at Samothrace, would be a normal voyage (cf. xvi. 11).

after the days of unleavened bread] Doubtless Paul kept the Passover in Philippi. It is evidence, if such be needed, that the custom of keeping Easter, as distinct from the Passover, had not yet arisen. Is there any evidence for the Christian Easter earlier than Polycarp? By his time the West had a 'Sunday-Easter,' but the churches of Asia still commemorated the Passion in accordance with the Jewish feast, both as to the day of the month and of the week. (See the appendix on Quartodecimans in C. Schmidt's *Epistola Apostolorum*.) The dating by Jewish festivals here and in xxvii. 9 (the Fast; cf. 'sabbath day's journey' as a measure of distance in i. 12) and the absence of Gentile terms for the seasons is certainly strange in such a Hellenistic work as Acts. In this instance the Jewish festival is perhaps noted because Paul and his companions celebrated it. It is further possible that the incidence of the Passover while they were at Philippi was emphasized as a disappointment for Paul who, perhaps for the fulfilment of a vow

bread from Philippi and came to them at Troas in five days, and stayed there seven days.

7 And on the first day of the week when we were gathered together to break bread, Paul addressed them, as he was going

(see xviii. 18, 21 notes), was hoping to be in Jerusalem for the Passover. Having failed in this he made it his aim to be there for Pentecost (vs. 16).

in five days] The context makes the sense plain, though ἀχρι in this sense is unparalleled, but the transition from 'so long as' to 'within' was easy. The nearest to real parallels are perhaps Plut. *Cic.* 6 ἀχρι παντός, 'continually'; Hermas, *Mand.* iv. 1. 5 ἀχρι τῆς ἀγνοίας, 'so far as he is ignorant.' Cf. the text of Acts xix. 26 in D, ἕως Ἐφέσου. The Western text has the neat emendation πεμπταῖοι.

7. the first day of the week] i.e. Sunday (see note on xvii. 2); but does it mean Saturday evening, when according to Jewish rules Sunday began? The context seems to show that Luke did not follow the Jewish rule on this point. Paul was speaking in the late evening, certainly after sunset, and he continued his discourse until dawn, when he left, in accordance with his intention expressed in vs. 7 (μέλλων ἐξίέναι τῇ ἐπαύριον). Thus the dawn belonged to ἡ ἐπαύριον. This suggests that for Luke the day began at dawn, or at least not at sunset. The only escape from this conclusion is that ἡ ἐπαύριον is used loosely with the sense of 'the next daylight.' But ἐπαύριον does not really mean this; it seems to be clearly distinguished from ἡ μία τῶν σαββάτων, and was the second day of the week. It is hard to avoid the conclusion that the meeting in Troas was on Sunday, not Saturday evening. (See also F. C. Burkitt on ἐπιφώσκειν in *JTS.* xiv. pp. 545 f.)

A confirmation that this view is consistent with Luke's practice is to be found in the notes of time in Luke xxiii. 54 ff. According to this, after the burial of Jesus the women went and prepared spices, i.e. on Friday evening before the Sabbath dawned (ἐπέφωσκε). They rested on the Sabbath according to the commandment, and at early dawn on Sunday

they went to the tomb. Luke appears to be paraphrasing Mark, who significantly and correctly makes the women prepare the spices not on the night of Friday but of Saturday, when according to Jewish law the Sabbath had ended. Luke saw that the point of the narrative was that the women did not work on the Sabbath (xxiv. 1), but following his own instead of Jewish reckoning he thought that they must therefore have worked on Friday night.

The same thing, curiously enough, may be true of Matthew xxviii. 1, which describes the visit of the women to the tomb as ὁψὲ δὲ σαββάτων τῇ ἐπιφωσκούσῃ εἰς μίαν σαββάτων. This seems a paraphrase of Mark's statement that the women's visit to the tomb was at early dawn, though it may be a different tradition representing the resurrection as taking place in the twilight between Saturday and Sunday. Influenced by the feeling that the tradition that the women went to the tomb at dawn is the master-motive in all forms of the narrative, I still hold the former view (see K. Lake, *The Historical Evidence for the Resurrection of Jesus Christ*, pp. 58 f.). In any case the Lucan evidence is clear, and represents the usual Greco-Roman custom, still followed (until a few months ago) in the Orthodox church, which though it reckoned the hours of the day from sunset, which was always 12 o'clock, regarded the day as beginning at dawn, whatever the hour was. An interesting exception is the custom of the Caucasian district which, more logically, reckoned the hours from sunrise. (See note on xix. 9; C. H. Turner, *JThSt.* xiv. (1913) pp. 188 ff.; F. C. Burkitt, *JTS.* xiv. (1913) pp. 538-546, and xvi. (1914) p. 79; P. Gardner-Smith, *JTS.* xxvii. (1926) pp. 179-181; and G. F. Moore, *Journ. Amer. Oriental Soc.* xxvi. (1906) pp. 323-329.)

break bread] With the meaning of 'having supper' or of celebrating the eucharist? The former seems the

to leave the next day, and he prolonged his discourse until midnight. And there were many lamps in the upper room⁸ where we were gathered. And a youth named Eutychus,⁹ sitting by the window, beginning to be overcome by deep sleep, as Paul went on talking, still further overcome from sleep, fell from the third floor to the bottom and was taken up dead.

more probable, but there is no real evidence to enable the question to be settled.

8. lamps] It has been thought that the lamps are mentioned because of the frequent suggestion in anti-Christian circles that these meals were occasions for immorality. But Acts seems to me to be too early a document to be contemplating such a charge. Moreover in sects where immorality was undoubtedly practised lamps were not absent; on the contrary, their extinction was part of the ritual. A much more probable explanation is that the many lamps made the air of the upper room very hot and accounted for Eutychus's lapse. There is, however, something to be said for the reading of D, ὑπολαμπάδες = 'small windows,' see note in Vol. III. p. 192. At least that is the meaning suggested for this passage and for Athenaeus xii. 9 by Ropes, by H. Smith, *Expos. Times*, xvi., 1905, p. 478, and by J. H. Moulton, *Grammar*, ii. 328. But the ὑπολαμπάς of the Delian inscription cited by these writers and of several other Delian inscriptions (*Bulletin de Corr. Hell.* xxxii. (1908), p. 83 *passim*, ἡ ὑπολαμπὰς τῆς στοῦς τῆς πρὸς τῷ Ποσειδεῖ, p. 88, note 4) has an unknown but apparently different architectural character. *Faculae* in d probably means torches.

upper room] See on i. 13, ix. 37, 39.

9. Eutychus] According to the Western text he was one of the Ephesian delegates.

overcome by deep sleep . . . overcome from sleep] The use of καταφέρεισθαι with ὕπνος was so common in contemporary Greek that the verb alone and the noun καταφορά came to be used of going to sleep. Cf. Ps. Solom. xvi. 1 ἐν καταφορᾷ ὕπνου. The combination is therefore not a medical expression (Hobart, *Medical Language*

of St. Luke, pp. 48 ff.; Cadbury, *Style and Literary Method of Luke*, p. 62). When ὕπνος is used with the verb it is usually as εἰς ὕπνον, 'to sink into sleep.' Neither of Luke's expressions, καταφερόμενος ὕπνῳ βαθεῖ, κατενεχθεὶς ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕπνου, is quite idiomatic in itself, though ὕπνος βαθύς is common, and Hippocrates once uses the dative with this verb, τοῖσιν ὕπνοισιν (1137 c = Kühn, iii. p. 539), and the prepositional phrases εἰς (v.l. πρὸς) ὕπνον (Diod. Sic. ii. 57) and ἐφ' ὕπνον (v.l. ὕπνῳ) (Dion. Hal. iv. 3, 4) are found rarely.

There is some doubt, therefore, as to exactly what Luke here means to convey. See Stephanus, Grimm-Thayer, s.v., and Wettstein, *ad loc.* But 'overcome from sleep' is as doubtful English as καταφερόμενος ὕπνῳ is doubtful Greek. Note that the change of tenses in the Greek can only be rendered in English by 'beginning to be overcome' or some such periphrasis. Also the article in τοῦ ὕπνου is almost equivalent to 'this sleep'—the ὕπνος βαθύς mentioned above.

dead] If νεκρός means that he was really dead presumably a miracle is intended in the following verse, but it is quite possible that the writer merely means that this verdict was the opinion of those who picked up Eutychus. After all, a fall from the second story (second floor in English, third in most other idioms) need not be fatal. It depends on the height of the stories, the weight of the faller, and the nature of the ground. The context makes no suggestion of miraculous action by Paul, who merely picked up the boy and explained that he had not been killed. The supper then continued. On the other hand, if Luke really meant that he was only apparently dead he could have easily

10 But Paul went down and fell on him, and embracing him
 11 said, "Do not make a fuss, for his life is in him." And he
 went upstairs and broke bread and ate, and after talking a long
 12 time until the dawn, he departed. And they brought the boy
 alive and were immensely comforted.

13 And we came to the ship and sailed for Assos, and from
 there we were going to take Paul on board, for so he had arranged,

expressed it by *ὡς νεκρός* as at Rev. i. 17; cf. Matt. xxviii. 4, Mark ix. 26. In *Test. XII. Patr. Jud.* ix. 3 the same words are used as here — *καὶ ἤρθη νεκρός*.

10. embracing] A parallelism has been suggested with 1 Kings xvii. 17 ff. — the story of how Elijah restored the son of the widow of Zarephath, but it seems far-fetched. Cf. Vol. II. p. 103.

make a fuss] Some such colloquial phrase seems the best rendering. Paul means the noisy Oriental method of showing grief.

11. dawn] *ἀνγῇ* in modern Greek usage seems to mean 'the daylight before the sunrise' (*ἀνατολή*); probably it has the same meaning here.

departed] The Greek is *οὕτως ἐξῆλθεν*, but this is scarcely 'thus departed.' We might render colloquially 'off he went' or 'at last he departed,' but the idiom has no exact equivalent in English. (See xii. 23 D, xvii. 33, xxvii. 17 and note, and Cadbury, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, xlv. (1925) p. 223.)

12. This verse is hardly fitted well into the narrative. The writer is clearly divided in interest between Paul's action and the accident to Eutychus. He passes somewhat abruptly from one to the other, but there is no need to suspect any interpolation. Probably the meaning is that the boy was rendered unconscious by his fall, and remained so until just before Paul started. The 'they' who brought the boy were those who were looking after him. This seems to be the interpretation of the Western reviser who writes "and as they were saluting him (in farewell) they (the *ἡγαγεν* of D is shown to be an accident by the *adduxerunt* of d) brought the

youth alive." Perhaps, however, the confusion is more deep-seated, if, as seems likely, the reference to eating (*γευσάμενος*, vs. 11) as distinct from breaking bread originally belonged to Eutychus. For eating is the regular sign of cure or revival. Cf. x. 41 note and ix. 19, Luke viii. 55. For other motifs behind the story and for the mixture of elements see M. Dibelius, 'Stilkritisches zur Apostelgeschichte,' pp. 42 f. in *Εὐχαριστήριον Hermann Gunkel . . . dargebracht*, 1923.

immensely] *οὐ μετρίως* is another case of idiomatic litotes used by Luke.

13. we] The Armenian catena expands this into 'I, Luke, and those with me,' but there is no reason to suppose that this is more than exegetical paraphrase—interesting, however, as an example of how at least some 'Western' variants may have arisen.

came to] BA read *προσελθόντες*, but NC read *προελθόντες* and D has *κατελθόντες*. Editors often prefer *προελθόντες*, but I think it an emendation from the context. Nor do I see sufficient reason for the cognate emendation which translates *ἀνέχθημεν* with a pluperfect sense. Surely the writer who says 'we' was in the party which had listened to Paul in the upper room.

arranged] Possibly the boat was chartered by Paul, so that he was able to settle where it would stop; hence the omission of Ephesus, though perhaps he merely decided to take a boat which was omitting Ephesus because he could not wait for anything else. Why he preferred to go by land from Troas to Assos is obscure, but I suspect that he was a bad sailor, and to such the open water from Troas to Assos in the stormy north-east wind,

and was going himself by land. And when he met us at Assos 14 we took him on board, and came to Mitylene, and from there 15 we sailed on the next day and arrived opposite Chios, and the second day we crossed over to Samos, and the next day we came to Miletus. For Paul had decided to sail past Ephesus in order 16 that he might not have to spend time in Asia, for he was hurrying

prevalent about five days out of seven, can be most unpleasant in a small boat. Those who are only acquainted with modern steamers have no notion of the misery which can be caused by the Mediterranean. Moffatt quotes from Plutarch's *Life of Marcus Cato* (ix. p. 341) that one of the regrets of his life was *πλεύσας ὅπου δυνατόν ἦν πεζεύσαι*. After Assos the island of Lesbos and the mainland offer shelter. The variant *θά[σ]σον* reads like a local mistake due to a Macedonian who thought instinctively of the island of Thasos, though he must have known that it was impossible to walk to Thasos. See also Vol. III. *ad loc.* and p. ccxxv, note 1.

going . . . by land] The word *πεζεύειν* means literally to go on foot, but being used in contrast with sailing (cf. *πεζῇ* Mark vi. 33) it includes also riding on horse or mule. There appears to be no passage in Acts or the epistles which indicates whether land travel was done on foot or by riding, except in the case of the Ethiopian's *ἄρμα* (viii. 28 ff.). The accounts of Paul's approach to Damascus gave an opportunity to mention animals if he was riding, but Luke did not take it. The 'carriages' of xxi. 15 A.V. means baggage. (See, however, the reference to Chrysostom in the note there.) Of course at xxiii. 23 f. Paul is riding as a prisoner under Roman escort. On Paul's walking see Deissmann, *Paulus*, 2nd ed. p. 181 note 7.

14. Mitylene] The chief town of Lesbos. For the localities in this voyage see Map to Addit. Note 18.

15. opposite Chios] They had to sail out across the open water towards Chios in order to round the long promontory which has Smyrna on the north and Ephesus on the south. It is sometimes overlooked that Paul did not sail close by Ephesus: to have

gone there would have been to follow two sides of a triangle. The natural course was the one taken, which keeps close to the north of Samos and so comes in to the coast at Miletus.

second] The reading of B is 'in the evening' (*ἑσπέρα* for *ἐσπέρα*), but though attractive it has no support and is probably a slip of the pen.

crossed over to] *παραβάλλω*, sometimes seems to mean 'pass by,' sometimes 'cross over to,' sometimes perhaps 'stop at.' Here, as in some other passages, its context fails to establish its exact meaning, but though *εἰς Σάμον* is a little easier to understand if it means that they stopped there, it is on the whole the least probable meaning for *παραβάλομεν*. Its use in connexion with ships is well attested by the examples in Field *ad loc.* (after Wettstein) and in Preuschen-Bauer, s.v. 2, even though its exact sense as a nautical term is not certain. In P Petr ii. 13 (5)⁴ (third century B.C.) it is plainly contrasted with passing by without stopping.

After 'Samos' D reads "and after stopping at Trogyllium on the next day we came to Miletus." There is no obvious reason for inserting this statement, unless it be that the run from Samos to Miletus seemed too long. Possibly it is the true text, and dropped out by an early accident. (See Vol. III. pp. ccxxv. and 195.)

16. Asia] It would be an exaggeration to argue that Luke regards Miletus as outside of Asia, but obviously here, as elsewhere, Asia for him is the district around Ephesus.

he was hurrying] This gives a perfectly good reason for passing by Ephesus. Even if in the end Paul reached Jerusalem before the date which he had fixed, it cannot have been certain at this stage that he was going to do so. It is possible that

in case it might be possible for him to be in Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost.

17 But from Miletus he sent to Ephesus and summoned the elders of
18 the church. And when they reached him he said to them, "You
know yourselves how, from the first day that I came to Asia, all the
19 time that I spent with you I was serving the Lord in all humility
and tears and in the trials which came upon me from the plots

conditions at Ephesus were unfavourable, but there is no reason for doubting that the main reason for omitting Ephesus was the one given.

on the day] The accusative of a point of time in *τὴν ἡμέραν* is a Hellenistic development discussed by the grammarians: J. H. Moulton, i. p. 63; A. T. Robertson, p. 470; Blass-Debrunner, § 161.3; Radermacher, 2nd ed. p. 133.

17-38. PAUL'S SPEECH TO THE EPHESIAN ELDERS. This speech is entirely different in tone and contents from all the other speeches in Acts, but the difference is adequately accounted for by the fact that there is no other speech of Paul to a Christian community. It consists of three parts: (i.) an introduction, which seems almost apologetic, ending with the statement that they will not see him again, and a declaration of innocence towards them; (ii.) an exhortation to the elders to look after the congregation, and a warning against false teachers; (iii.) a repetition of the apologetic theme and an appeal to follow his example of work and help for the brethren. See Addit. Note 32.

17. elders] The same persons who are here called *πρεσβύτεροι* are described in vs. 28 as *ἐπίσκοποι*. They were obviously the leaders of the church, and probably the terminology had not yet been fixed. It is futile to find in this passage any support for any theory of church government; but it may be pointed out that the writer regards inspiration as giving function, not office as conferring inspiration. They were *ἐπίσκοποι* because they had the Holy Spirit, they did not have the Holy Spirit because they were *ἐπίσκοποι*.

Nevertheless, though this distinction is important, in practice it was necessarily lost sight of. The usual and natural procedure was that the leaders of the community felt inspired to confer the Spirit on a certain brother (cf. xiii. 2-4), who was thus qualified to hold office. That has always been Catholic doctrine, but it is easy to see how quickly the belief could arise among the theologically uneducated that the Spirit was conferred through the office.

19. plots of the Jews] It is curious that the narrative gives no account of these plots. In the other cities the Jews are specifically mentioned as raising disturbances. This is so in Antioch in Pisidia (xiii. 50), Iconium (xiv. 2), Lystra (xiv. 19), Thessalonica (xvii. 5), Beroea (xvii. 13), Corinth (xviii. 12 and xx. 3)—that is, in all the cities in which Paul's work was interfered with by inimical mobs. Jews are said to be responsible except in Philippi and in Ephesus. In these two cases the trouble was raised by Gentiles who thought that their business was being injured by Paul. Only in Athens did Paul preach and depart without any active opposition being aroused. In the case of Thessalonica the statement of Acts is corroborated by Paul himself (1 Thess. ii. 15). The suggestion has been made that the writer regarded Jewish opposition as part of the general scheme and inserted a reference to it in this speech on general principles. After all, though no plot or active opposition is recorded, the Jews were sufficiently hostile to force Paul out of the synagogue to the school of Tyrannus. The difficulty is not sufficient to justify the assumption that the

of the Jews ; how I suppressed nothing which was helpful from 20
my announcement to you and my teaching to you, publicly
and at home, testifying to both Jews and Greeks of repentance 21
to God and faith on our Lord Jesus. And now, behold, I am on 22
my way to Jerusalem in captivity to the Spirit, not knowing
what will befall me there, except that the Holy Spirit in every 23
city testifies to me saying that imprisonment and afflictions await
me, but I reckon my life worth no accounting to myself, that 24
I may finish my course and the ministry which I received from

original source contained the story of a Jewish plot. In xix. 33 the Jews are mentioned in the theatre at Ephesus, but the context is too obscure to show what part is played by the Jews, by Alexander, and by Gaius and Aristarchus respectively. See the notes on the passage. It is natural to suppose that the Jews were responsible for some of the difficulties at Ephesus mentioned in Paul's letters (see above, p. 245), though it is not necessary to put Paul's fear of such danger as his reason for not stopping at Ephesus in place of the reason assigned by Luke himself in vs. 16. It was Jews from Asia who were responsible for the trouble into which Paul fell at Jerusalem (xxi. 27, xxiv. 18 f.). Plots of the Jews against Paul are mentioned further at Damascus (ix. 22) and at Jerusalem (xxiii. 12 ff.).

20. suppressed] οὐδὲν ὑπεστειλάμην is an almost exact negative equivalent of Luke's favourite παρρησιάζεσθαι. The phrase, which recurs in vs. 27, is one of many negative expressions in the speech. It is a mannerism of defence, but one need not suppose that the author or his source is meeting a charge that Paul did suppress something, did cease from instructing (vs. 31), did covet silver, etc. (vs. 33). Compare Samuel's farewell in 1 Sam. xii. 3 and Paul's own 'I am not ashamed,' Rom. i. 16.

at home] Or perhaps, 'at your several homes' or 'from house to house.' See note on ii. 46.

21. The verse may be a chiasmus, for Paul's special message to the Greeks was the doctrine of the one God, and to the Jews the acceptance

of Jesus, but it may be merely an extreme example of Luke's tendency to use pairs of words.

22. in captivity to the Spirit] Or possibly 'I am inspired to go, even as a prisoner.' Cf. xix. 21 and note.

23. the Holy Spirit . . . testifies] The story of Agabus in xxi. 10 f. is perhaps a corroboration rather than an illustration. Paul seems to refer to testimony which the Spirit has given to himself.

24. I reckon my life worth, etc.] The Greek is awkward and perhaps corrupt. See Vol. III. p. 196, and Field, *Notes on the Translation of the N.T.*, ad loc. Possibly the original author confused two constructions, as he apparently did at xxiii. 30, xxvii. 10 (see notes). Field, *op. cit.* pp. 252 ff., discusses the text at length and conjectures ἀλλ' οὐδενὸς λόγου ποιῶμαι οὐδὲ ἡγοῦμαι τὴν ψυχὴν μου τιμίαν ἐμὰντῷ like Dion. Hal. v. 30 τιμιωτέραν ἡγησάμενος τὴν σαυτοῦ ψυχὴν τῆς καθόδου τῶν σὺν Ταρκυνίῳ φηγάδων. Possibly the reading of NBC and other authorities, οὐδενὸς λόγου ποιῶμαι τὴν ψυχὴν τιμίαν ἐμὰντῷ, which Ropes renders 'I make of no account my life, as precious to myself,' may be translated 'I do not regard for myself my life as a thing even worth mentioning,' if τίμιος can be used like ἀξιος in the classical λόγου ἀξιος, ἀξιόλογος. But of course οὐδενὸς λόγου ποιῶμαι is also a good classical idiom.

that I may finish] ὡς expressing purpose, whether τελειώσω NB subjunctive or τελειώσαι AC infinitive is read, would be unique in the N.T. except Luke ix. 52 NB ὡς ἐτοιμάσαι. Perhaps the syllables ὡς τε- have been

the Lord Jesus, testifying of the good news of the grace of God.
 25 And now, behold, I know that you will see my face no more,
 26 none of you among whom I came preaching the kingdom. Where-
 fore I protest to you this day that I am clean from the blood
 27 of you all, for I did not suppress from my announcement to
 28 you any of the will of God. Take heed to yourselves and to
 all the flock in which the Holy Spirit placed you as guardians, to
 shepherd the church of God, which he rescued by the blood

confused with ὥστε, or is it possible to render ὥς as an adverb of comparison, 'I count my life of no value in comparison with finishing'?

good news] In Luke-Acts εὐαγγέλιον occurs only here and in xv. 7. See note there. Perhaps the author thought the word appropriate for this address of a Christian to Christians. In like manner βασιλεία without τοῦ θεοῦ is found in Acts in the next verse only and ὁ ἰδιος of Christ (if that is its usage) only in vs. 28.

the grace of God] Perhaps the most completely Hellenized summary of the Christian message to be found in Acts. It is typical of Hellenic Christianity in which the idea of God's favour to be obtained through the Church almost obliterates the Jewish nature of the original preaching of the Kingdom, Judgement, and Repentance, so that the Kingdom becomes the Church, Repentance the means of qualifying for grace offered by the Church, and Judgement the fate of those who have not obtained grace through the Church.

25. no more] The bearing of this verse on the date of the writing of Acts has been variously interpreted. For example, according to Harnack, *Acts of the Apostles*, pp. 293 f., *Date of the Acts*, p. 103, it shows that Acts was written before the release of Paul from imprisonment and the return to the East implied in the Pastoral Epistles; according to Goodspeed, 'The Date of Acts' in *Expositor*, May 1919, pp. 387 ff. (= *New Solutions of New Testament Problems*, pp. 94 ff.), it implies that Paul was already dead, without ever having returned to Asia.

came] διήλθον, possibly 'went to and fro.' See note on ix. 32.

the kingdom] The coming Judgement or the Church? I think the latter, but the matter is not susceptible of proof.

28. Take heed] Perhaps almost a *constructio pregnans*—'take heed to yourselves, and take care of the flock.'

flock] See Addit. Note 30.

placed you] See note on vs. 17.

guardians] The combination of ἐπίσκοπος and ποιμήν recurs in 1 Pet. ii. 25.

the church of God] For some reason ὁ ἰδιος very soon dropped out from Christian usage, and τοῦ ἰδίου was misunderstood in this passage as a qualification of αἵματος 'his own blood.' This misunderstanding led to two changes in the text: τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ ἰδίου was changed to τοῦ ἰδίου αἵματος (influenced by Heb. ix. 12?), which is neater but perverts the sense, and θεοῦ was changed to κυρίου by the Western revisers, who doubtless shrank from the implied phrase 'the blood of God.' The original meaning is bound up with the primitive belief that Christians are the People of God, of which ἐκκλησία is another name. God had saved them by the blood of his Chosen one. Possibly there is an allusion to the blood of the Passover.

rescued] The verb περιποιόμαι occasionally means secure or acquire, not necessarily by purchase, for oneself, and has often been so understood here. But its use in the Old and New Testament seems to be prevalingly 'save alive,' or 'rescue from destruction.' Thus Luke xvii. 33a *v.l.* uses it with ψυχὴν as he uses ζωογονέω (xvii. 33b) and σώζω (ix. 24=Mark viii. 35; Matt. x. 39, xvi. 25 εὐρίσκω) with the same object. So Heb. x. 39 eis περιποίησιν ψυχῆς; and in the

of his Own. I know that after my departure fierce wolves will 29
 come in to you, not sparing the flock, and from your own selves will 30
 rise up men speaking perverse things to draw away the disciples
 after them. Wherefore be watchful, remembering that for three 31
 years night and day I did not cease instructing each one with
 tears. And now I commit you to God and to the word of his 32
 grace, which is able to build you up and to give you the in-
 heritance among all the sanctified. I coveted no silver or gold 33

synonymous genitive construction characteristic of Ephesians (i. 14), *eis ἀπολύτρωσιν τῆς περιποιήσεως, eis ἐπαυ-
 ρον τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ* (cf. 1 Thess. v. 9; 2 Thess. ii. 14). In view of the context this meaning is to be preferred here. The other translation is due to the suggestion that the author has in mind here Isaiah xliii. 21 λαὸν μου ὃν περιποίησάμην τὰς ἀρετὰς μου διηγέισθαι, and to the "view that περιποίησις had a recognized meaning in connexion with Israel" (J. A. Robinson, note on Ephesians i. 14). But it is far from clear that Isaiah xliii. 21 was in the writer's mind, and in any case its Greek, as distinguished from Hebrew, may be translated 'I saved'; cf. xxxi. 5 and context. Compare further with the probable general thought of this passage the appeal to God in Psalm lxxiv. (lxxiii). 1 f. ὥργισθη ὁ θυμός σου ἐπὶ πρόβατα νομῆς σου; μνήσθητι τῆς συναγωγῆς σου ἧς ἐκτίσθαι ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἐλυτρώσω ῥάβδον κληρονομίας σου.

of his Own] 'His own blood' is a grammatically possible rendering, but it is inconceivable that it is right. 'Of his Own' is harsh and unusual, except with the expressed substantive *υιοῦ*, so that many emendations have been proposed. It appears, however, possible that 'his Own' is merely another variant of ὁ ἀγαπητός, ὁ μονογενής, and ὁ ἐκλεκτός, which are all Greek renderings of the Hebrew יְהוָה, and are often used without the added *υἱός*. It should be noted that in Rom. viii. 31, where there is a clear allusion to Gen. xxii. 16, τοῦ ἰδίου υιοῦ is used instead of the LXX τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ υιοῦ. (See also Vol. III. pp. 198 f., and Additional Note 29.)

29. departure] ἀφίξις so usually

means 'arrival' that Blass thought that Luke had misused the word, and J. H. Moulton (*Grammar* i. p. 26 note) suggested that he meant homecoming. Similarly Zahn, who discusses the word at length in his commentary, comes to the conclusion that the predicted troubles were to follow, not Paul's departure from Ephesus, but his arrival at the goal of his life's course (cf. vs. 24). But it is possible that the connexion of the word with ἀφικνέομαι was forgotten and the preposition ἀπὸ suggested 'departure.' Often the context leaves either meaning possible, but the following instances seem to support Luke: Josephus, *Ant.* ii. 2. 4, §18; iv. 8. 47, §315, and perhaps others; see Thackeray, *Lexicon to Josephus*, s.v. (2).

32. God] B reads 'Lord,' but without support.

the word of his grace] It is hard to think that this means the Old Testament. In view of vs. 35 it might be the sayings of Jesus, but it is more probable that it means the message of the apostle. Cf. vs. 24.

33. no] The Greek is ambiguous: it may mean 'no man's silver,' etc.

raiment] As a part of the ancient (Semitic?) forms of wealth or capital clothing is mentioned along with gold and silver, as in Josh. vii. 21 ff.; 2 Kings v. 22 ff., vii. 8; 1 Macc. xi. 24; James v. 2. Similarly the moth is an enemy to wealth, like rust or thieves (James v. 2; Luke xii. 33). The words here sound archaic, though not so archaic as in the like protestation of Samuel in 1 Sam. xii. 3 that he has stolen no man's ox or ass. In the last passage sandals (see LXX and Ecclus. xli. 19) represent an article

34 or raiment; you yourselves know that to the needs of myself and those who were with me these hands ministered all things.
 35 I showed you that working thus it is necessary to help the weak, and to remember the words of the Lord Jesus that it was he who

of the smallest value, as in Amos ii. 6, viii. 6.

34. to the needs, etc.] The literal translation of *ταῖς χεραῖς μου καὶ τοῖς οὖσι μετ' ἐμοῦ* might be 'to the needs of myself and to those who were with me,' but the English reader expects a second 'of' rather than a second 'to,' and the Greek idiom makes it quite possible so to understand and translate the passage, as though he wrote 'to my needs and to those of my companions.' English avoids repeating the noun; the Greek not only avoids repeating it but changes the second dependent genitive to the case of the omitted noun. See 'comparatio compendiaria' in the old grammars. Various types of example are represented by 1 John ii. 2; Matt. v. 20; Rev. ix. 10; Hebr. ix. 7.

these hands] *αὗται* implies a gesture. (Cf. xxvi. 29, xxviii. 20.) So possibly *οὕτως* in the next verse. But there is nothing unusual in such expressions. So Philo, *De special. legibus*, i. 204 (*De victimis* 5), p. 241 M., makes the worshipper declare *αἱ χεῖρες αὗται οὔτε δῶρον ἐπ' ἀδίκους ἔλαβον οὔτε . . . οὐκ ἄλλο τὸ παράπαν οὐδὲν τῶν κατηγορίαν καὶ ψόγον ἔχόντων ὑπηρετήσαν* (note the use of the same verb *ὑπηρετεῖν*).

all things] Accepting Blass' punctuation *αἱ χεῖρες αὗται πάντα*. If, however, *πάντα* be taken with *ὑπέδειξα*, it might be rendered 'I gave you a thorough example.' But in either connexion *πάντα* could perhaps be even more appropriately rendered 'always.' Such a usage is apparently supported by 1 Cor. ix. 25, x. 32, xi. 2, xiii. 7, and other Hellenistic examples as well as by modern Greek (Pallis).

35. working] Cf. 1 Thess. iv. 11, v. 12 ff., 2 Thess. iii. 7-12. It is obvious that the first preachers of Christianity were often confronted by the problem of an enthusiastic but idle congregation. The same phenomenon has frequently reappeared, but

perhaps especially when eschatological expectation ran high. The verb *κοπιᾷ* emphasizes the hardness of the work and the weariness it brings. Cf. 1 Cor. iv. 12 *κοπιῶμεν ἐργαζόμενοι ταῖς ἰδίας χερσίν* and Eph. iv. 28 quoted below. The nature of Paul's craft is discussed in the note on Acts xviii. 3. Cf. Harnack, 'Κόπος (Κοπιᾶν, Οἱ Κοπιῶντες) im frühchristlichen Sprachgebrauch' in *ZNTW*. xxvii. (1928), pp. 1 ff.

help the weak] Presumably the sick are meant as elsewhere in Acts where *ἀσθενής*, *ἀσθενέω* are used. That work was not merely to keep oneself out of mischief or dependence upon others but to secure money for giving help is not suggested in the Pauline passages cited above, but is explicit in Ephesians iv. 28 *ὁ κλέπτων μηκέτι κλεπτέτω, μᾶλλον δὲ κοπιᾷ ἐργαζόμενος ταῖς χερσίν τὸ ἀγαθόν, ἵνα ἔχη μεταδιδόναι τῷ χρεῖαν ἔχοντι*. Cf. *Hermas, Mand.* ii. 4 *ἐργάζου τὸ ἀγαθόν καὶ ἐκ τῶν κόπων σου, ὧν ὁ θεὸς δίδωσιν σοι, πᾶσιν ὑστερουμένοις δίδου ἀπλῶς*, and especially note the words *ἐκ τῶν κόπων σου*.

remember] It is very remarkable that this formula is also found in 1 Clement xiii. 1, xlv. 7; Polycarp ii. 3. See also Luke xxii. 61, xxiv. 8, and cf. note on xi. 16.

words] Were they written or traditional at this time? There is no reason why there should not have been a collection in writing. If so, however, the fact that the only quotation from it in Acts is not in the Gospels suggests that it was not one of the sources used by Luke. But why did he not include this saying in his Gospel? The most natural answer is that it was not in his sources, and that he did not write it, but found it in the source of his account of Paul's speech. But the point is very obscure. Cf. Ropes, *Die Sprüche Jesu*, and K. Lake in the *Hibbert Journal*, iii. (1905) p. 333, and Harnack, *SAB.*, 1904, pp. 170 ff.

said, 'It is blessed to give rather than to receive.' " And when he 36 had said this he knelt down with them all and prayed. And 37 there was great lamentation of them all, and they fell on Paul's neck and kissed him, grieving especially at the word which he 38 had spoken that they would see his face no more. And they escorted him to the ship.

And when we started after parting from them, we made a straight 21 run and came to Cos, and the next day to Rhodes, and thence to

It is blessed] The sentiment suits the character of Jesus in the Gospels, and accords with Luke's interest in giving. It also coincides with the ethical teaching of Judaism (Ecclus. iv. 31) and of popular Greek ethics. In its comparative form of expression it perhaps resembles the latter more than the former; Jewish beatitudes are rarely comparative. We may compare (after Wettstein) the philosophers Epicurus, *apud* Plut. *Mor.* p. 778 ο τοῦ εὖ πάσχειν τὸ εὖ ποιεῖν οὐ μόνον κάλλιον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἥδιον; Seneca, *Epist.* lxxxi. 17 "Errat enim si quis beneficium accipit libentius quam reddit"; and the kings Artaxerxes (*apud* Plut. *Mor.* p. 173 δ τὸ προσθεῖναι τοῦ ἀφελεῖν βασιλικώτερον ἐστίν) and Ptolemy I. (after Fridrichsen, *apud* Aelian, *V.H.* xiii. 13 ἀμεινον εἶναι πλουτίζειν ἢ πλουτεῖν). 1 Clem. ii. 1 ὑποτασσόμενοι μάλλον ἢ ὑποτάσσοντες, ἥδιον διδόντες ἢ λαμβάνοντες may be independent of this passage, and *Didache* i. 5 μακάριος ὁ διδοὺς κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν is more probably a reference to Hermas, *Mand.* (ἐντολή) ii. 4-6. It is repeated from the *Didache* in *Const. Apost.* iv. 3 ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ κύριος μακάριον εἶπεν εἶναι τὸν διδόντα ἥπερ τὸν λαμβάνοντα. To this source are due the similar words in Anast. Sinai. *Quaest.* 14, but Epiph. *Haer.* lxxiv. 5 and Ephr. Syr. *Opera* ii. 235 take the quotation directly from Acts.

37. fell on Paul's neck] Cf. Gen. xlv. 14, xlv. 29; Tobit vii. 7. Note also the imperfects, κατεφίλουν, etc., which give a sense of a lengthy farewell which can hardly be brought out in the translation. Compare Gen. xxxiii. 4 περιλαβὼν αὐτὸν ἐφίλησεν καὶ προσέειπεν ἐπὶ τὸν τράχηλον αὐτοῦ

both with this verse and with vs. 10 ἐπέπεσεν αὐτῷ καὶ συμπεριλαβὼν.

1. we made a straight run] εὐθυδρομήσαντες, cf. xvi. 11. This implies that the wind, as usual in this district in the summer, was north-east, and this again explains why it was much easier for Paul to send for the Ephesian elders than to go to them. Experience while staying at Patmos showed me how regular is the sequence of strong north-east winds for four or five days followed by two or three days' calm. It is not too much to guess that Paul reached Miletus from Troas on one 'wind,' spent the intervening calm with the Ephesians, and then went on with the next wind.

Cos] A small island, once famous for wine. It is often called Stanchio ('s τὴν χῶ), but the old name is still current among the Greeks of the Levant. The capital bears the same name as does the island. This is true also of Rhodes. It is possible that in both cases the author means the cities rather than the islands. The route is the usual one. Lucan, *Pharsalia* viii. 243 ff., enumerates in order the landmarks of a similar voyage as Ephesus, Samos, Cos, Cnidus, Rhodes; Livy xxxvii. 16, Miletus, Myndus, Halicarnassus Cnidus, Cos, Rhodes, Patara.

Patara] The Lycian harbour. According to the Neutral text Paul changed boats here, but according to the Western text he went on to Myra, another harbour near Patara, and changed there. There is no plausible reason why Myra should have been inserted, as the recurrence of the place in xxvii. 5 is scarcely an explanation. Ropes is possibly right

- 2 Patara. And finding a ship crossing to Phoenicia we went on to
 3 it and started. And having sighted Cyprus and left it on the left
 hand we sailed for Syria, and came down to Tyre, for there the
 4 ship was discharging its cargo. And we sought out the disciples

in thinking that *καὶ Μύρα* dropped out by accident. (Cf. the similar phenomenon in the text of xx. 15.) There is, however, one difficulty. The writer seems to give the daily stages of the voyage, Miletus—Cos, Cos—Rhodes, Rhodes—Patara. But the Western text links up Myra with Patara as though one stage was Rhodes—Patara—Myra, which is impossible for a single day's voyage. Zahn, indeed, thinks that the travellers left Miletus one morning, reached Cos that day, and on the next arrived at Patara, calling at Rhodes on the way. This seems incredibly fast. The rate of travel in the Levant was probably no faster then than it is to-day. Ramsay at one time thought that Myra was part of the original text, but ultimately rejected this view (*Expositor*, March 1895).

2. finding a ship] Why they changed boats is not clear, but, assuming that conditions were much as they are still, three explanations seem possible. (i.) The local sailors have a limited range of knowledge. A man from Troas might know the coast as far as Patara, but would not be accustomed to going farther. (ii.) The voyage from Patara to Tyre, not coasting but sailing across, was a much bigger enterprise. Probably neither the men nor the boat from Philippi, which Paul joined at Assos, were fit for such an adventure, and the new vessel was obviously a large one carrying cargo. (iii.) According to xx. 16 Paul was hurrying to reach Jerusalem if possible by Pentecost. Probably the boat on which he had come, if it was going farther at all, was intending to sail along the coast, making 'all stops' rather than run across the open sea (*διαπερῶν*).

3. sighted] The aorist active form *ἀναφάναντες* alone seems to make sense. The verb is apparently a nautical term for sighting land. Bauer, s.v., compares Lucian, *Dial. marin.* 10. 1, and a later chrono-

grapher; but commentators regard it as unexampled except in the use of its opposite, 'conceal,' meaning to 'lose sight of.' We might compare the English use of 'raise' as a nautical term of causing land to come into view by drawing near to it.

Tyre] Chrysostom, *Hom.* xlv., says that the passage lasted five days, which is at least very probable.

for there, etc.] The unloading of the cargo explains the length of their stay at Tyre, for τὸ πλοῖον here and in vs. 6 surely implies that Paul continued in the same ship.

discharging its cargo] *ἦν ἀποφορτιζόμενον τὸν γόμον*. Here, as in *διαπερῶν*, vs. 2, the participle means 'was to,' as though *μέλλω* and infinitive had been used. The verb is probably a nautical term, though it is used elsewhere of lightening a ship; see Philo, *De praem. et poen.* 33; Athenaeus ii. 5; Pollux i. 99. In this sense Acts could have used it at xxvii. 18. Dionysius Hal. iii. 44. 3 is often cited as a parallel to this passage, but there the correct reading probably is *ἀντιφορτίζομαι*, to get a return cargo.

4. sought out the disciples] Nothing is known of the foundation of a church in Tyre, except that it may plausibly be traced to the preaching of the scattered adherents of Stephen, who preached in Phoenicia, though only to Jews (xi. 19). 'The disciples' is equivalent to the *ἡ οὐσα ἐκκλησία* of xiii. 1 rather than to the *τινὰς μαθητάς* of xix. 1. Here, as in xiii. 1, it is implied that there was known to be an organized group of Christians (*ἡ οὐσα ἐκκλησία* and *οἱ μαθηταί*), but in Ephesus Paul was, as it were, surprised to find 'disciples.' *ἀνευρόντες* means 'to find by search' (cf. Luke ii. 16) and suggests that Paul knew of the existence of these Christians, but had to look for them. In lodging with the Christians and seeking them for that purpose Paul was following a custom which soon caused trouble. When it was known that travelling

and stayed there seven days, and they told Paul through the Spirit to give up going on to Jerusalem; but when we had finished the days we went out and continued our journey, and they all escorted us with their wives and children until outside the city. And we knelt down on the beach and prayed, and bade farewell to one another, and we embarked in the ship and they returned home. And we continued our voyage and arrived at

Christians obtained free hospitality from the church, there was a strong inducement for undesirable vagabonds to embrace the teaching of the church. Hence the difference of opinion between Diotrophes and Gaius, of which the Elder writes in 3 John, the precepts about the entertainment of prophets in the *Didache*, and the sarcastic description of a professional Christian in Lucian's *De morte Peregrini*.

through the Spirit] Paul, however, paid no attention. Did he doubt their inspiration?

to give up going on] *μὴ ἐπιβαίνειν* has this force; 'not to go on' would be *μὴ ἀναβῆναι*. *Ἐπιβαίνειν* has two meanings: (i.) to go on to, to enter (see note on vs. 12); (ii.) to advance, and the English 'go on' has, curiously enough, exactly the same ambiguity resolved only by the context.

5. finished the days] This is a very strange phrase. The verb *ἐξαπρίζω* means fit out, and would be very idiomatically employed if applied to the equipment of the ship or to provisions for the voyage. Perhaps the context has suggested this verb. It apparently does not occur elsewhere in the sense of *πληρῶν*, with an object meaning a period of time, although instances occur in vernacular Greek of its use for completing the making of a building (*I.G.* xii. 2. 538) or books (*P Oxy* 296 7, 1. A.D.).

continued] *ἐπορευόμεθα*, imperfect. They went on in spite of the warning.

until outside] *ἕως ἔξω*, cf. xvii. 14.

beach] The Greek *αἰγιαλός* here, as at xxvii. 39, means a smooth beach, not a rocky shore. The site of Tyre is still marked by such a beach.

6. bade farewell] The compound *ἀποσπασμέθα* is rare. Possibly it was chosen here because of a certain unconscious assimilation in sound to the recently occurring forms of *ἀποσπᾶν* (xx. 30 *ἀποσπᾶν*, xxi. 1 *ἀποσπασθέντας*).

embarked] *ἀνέβημεν*, which is probably the right text (see Vol. III. p. 201), seems to be the more technical term for joining a ship. *ἐνέβημεν* (B) and *ἐπέβημεν* might be rendered 'entered' and 'went on' respectively.

the ship] The article implies that it was the same boat. It had spent 'the days' in unloading and loading cargo.

7. continued our voyage] In biblical literature *διανύσαντες* is only found here and in 2 Macc. xii. 17, but it is not uncommon in secular Greek. The only meaning usually given (e.g. in Liddell and Scott) is 'to finish a journey.' But Field, *Notes on the Translation*, etc., *ad loc.*, shows that in Xenophon Ephesius, a writer of the second century, the exact phrase *διανύειν πλοῦν* is frequent and means to 'continue.' This seems the most probable meaning here. The best alternative is to consider that Tyre was the end of the long voyage from Macedonia, or possibly of the passage across the open sea from Lycia. It is, indeed, not clear whether they went from Tyre to Ptolemais by road (it is only about 27 miles) or by boat. But by boat is much more likely. The road meant crossing the 'Ladder of Tyre'—a real obstacle. The present road is only forty years old. There is nothing in the Greek to forbid the interpretation that the 'voyage finished' was from Tyre to Ptole-

Ptolemais from Tyre, and greeted the brethren and stayed with them for one day. And on the morrow we departed, and came to Caesarea, and entering into the house of Philip the evangelist, who was one of the Seven, we stayed with him. And he had four daughters, virgins, who prophesied. And when we had stayed many days, there came down from Judaea a prophet

mais, but in any case the 'voyage' may have ended for Paul at Tyre. To go by boat is obviously the best way, especially from Ptolemais to Caesarea, but it was not part of 'the voyage,' just as crossing in the ferry boat to the Isle of Wight from Southampton is not part of 'the voyage' to an American who has just crossed the Atlantic. But Field's view is preferable, as it gives a natural sense to τὸ πλοῖον in the preceding verse (see note).

Ptolemais] The ancient Ἀκκὴ (ἰσχυρὰ), at the northern end of the bay of which Mt. Carmel is the southern shore, later called St. Jean d'Acre.

8. Caesarea] By road this was nearly 40 miles, an improbably long journey for one day. It forms one of the interesting links in the book that in viii. 40 Philip is last mentioned as reaching Caesarea. There is no expressed cross reference to that passage, though there is an explicit reference here to 'the Seven' (often mis-called deacons) of vi. 3-6.

the evangelist] In the later church 'evangelist' is used as the title of a special class (cf. Eph. iv. 11; 2 Tim. iv. 5), though it is not clear—apart from the obvious meaning of the word—what was the difference between an evangelist and other preachers. But it is doubtful whether it is intended here to distinguish between this Philip and the Apostle. The title reminds the reader of Philip's work earlier in Acts, where εὐαγγελίζομαι is used in viii. 12, 35, 40. Of course modern associations have made 'the evangelist' a rather unfortunate translation, but it is hard to find an alternative. The word εὐαγγελιστής occurs in an inscription of Rhodes (CIG. xii. 1. 675) which may refer to non-Christian oracles. Cf. A. Dieterich, ZNTW. i., 1900, pp. 336 ff.

9. four daughters] On the ground of the *Prophetiae* (see Vol. III. pp. 115 and 202) it has been supposed that the African Latin said that there were five. Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* iii. 6. 52) says that two at least of them married. Papias also mentions them, and Eusebius, *H.E.* iii. 31. 3 (cf. v. 17. 3), quoting Polycrates of Ephesus, says that Philip died in Hierapolis, and that two of his daughters were buried there, and one in Ephesus. But the tradition is complicated by the fact that Eusebius regards this Philip as one of the Twelve—the Apostle, not the Evangelist. It seems that there must have been an early confusion of the two Philips, and the similar confusion in the same district (Ephesus) between John the Apostle and John the Presbyter is an obvious parallel. (See Zahn, *Forsch.* vi. pp. 18-27, 158-175, ix. pp. 110, 169 ff., 316. See also Corssen, ZNTW., 1901, pp. 289 ff.)

virgins] There is no special emphasis on virginity in Acts, perhaps none in Luke, but see H. J. Cadbury, *The Making of Luke-Acts*, p. 272, and for Luke's interest in women *ibid.* pp. 263 ff. The aged and unmarried Anna of Luke ii. 36 may be compared. She also had the gift of prophecy. For this is what the participle προφητεύουσαι here means, not that on this occasion they uttered an oracle. Is there any allusion to the prophesying 'daughters' of Joel ii. 28 f. (Acts ii. 17 f.)?

10. many] πλείους, but with no comparative force.

from Judaea] Caesarea was the capital of Roman Judaea, but Luke does not observe the Roman official usage; to him Caesarea was a Gentile city, and Judaea meant Jewish territory, whatever its political designation.

named Agabus, and he came to us and took Paul's girdle and bound his own feet and hands, and said, "Thus saith the Holy Spirit, 'In Jerusalem thus shall the Jews bind the man whose girdle this is, and they shall deliver him into the hands of the Gentiles.'" And when we heard this both we and the people of the place besought him to abandon going up to Jerusalem. Then Paul answered, "What are you doing, wailing and

Agabus] Cf. xi. 28. It is strange that here, as in the case of Philip in vs. 8, there is no reference to his earlier appearance. Nothing more is known of him. In later ecclesiastical tradition he was held to have been one of the Seventy (cf. Schermann, *Vitae Fabulosae*, p. 169).

11. girdle] Among the curiosities of criticism is the suggestion of Jüngst, *Die Quellen der Apg.* (p. 177), that in the 'source' the daughters took Paul's girdle, but the redactor thought that this was somewhat indelicate for virgin prophetesses, and introduced Agabus. As a matter of fact the absence of any statement as to what the daughters of Philip did or said is a sign that here we have the account of an eyewitness. In fiction a new character is introduced only in order to do or say something. In real life we meet many persons who enjoy local celebrity, but never do or say anything worthy of record. A similar remark may be made of Agabus; he suddenly appears, prophesies, and vanishes. That is not fiction, but real life.

bound his own . . . hands] It must have been a long girdle. The symbolic act reminds us of Isaiah xx., and other passages in the O.T., some of them being acts of doubtful character (cf. esp. Hosea i. 2), and it is often supposed that this is the explanation of the curious passage in *Didache* xi. 11, warning Christians not to judge prophets who enact a *μυστήριον κοσμικόν*, but not to imitate them. I am not convinced that *μυστήριον* is likely to have this meaning, though I have no other explanation to offer. For a similar prophecy see John xxi. 18.

thus shall the Jews, etc.] The prophecy and the event do not fit very well, cf. xxi. 27 ff., for the Jews

did not bind Paul or deliver him up to the Gentiles. On the contrary the Jews tried to lynch Paul, and the Gentiles saved his life, though they arrested him. It is noteworthy that in ii. 23 the crucifixion of Jesus is attributed to the Jews, and that in xxviii. 17 Luke attributes to Paul himself the same mistake as he does to Agabus—"I was delivered as a prisoner from Jerusalem into the hands of the Romans." Nevertheless in all these cases the discrepancy is merely superficial. The Romans would never have crucified Jesus or arrested Paul had it not been for the action of the Jews. Moreover there is probably something missing in Luke's narration of the facts. The official Jews must have brought some sort of accusation against Paul, or he would not have been held prisoner so long, and the case would not have been so obviously 'the Jews v. Paul.' For other discrepancies between narrative and discourse see Addit. Note 32.

12. going up] ἀναβαλεῖν is 'to go up to'; ἐπιβαλεῖν is 'to go on to.' Perhaps there is really little difference between the words, for Codex Bezae reads ἐπιβαλεῖν for ἀναβαλεῖν, but renders it in Latin by *ascendere*. But ἐπιβαλεῖν both here and in vs. 4 seems the more appropriate word. The question was whether Paul should break his journey or should 'go on.' ἀναβαλεῖν was the more natural word in connexion with Jerusalem and is used by the Antiochian text in both places. I suspect that D is right, and that we can trace in B, d, and the later text a progressive change in favour of ἀναβαλεῖν.

13. What are you doing, etc.] The expression is a rebuke, like xiv. 15;

breaking my heart? For I am ready not only to be bound but even to die in Jerusalem for the name of the Lord Jesus."

14 And when he remained unpersuaded, we became silent, and said, "The Lord's will prevail."

15 And after these days we prepared and went on up to Jerusalem.

16 And there came with us some of the disciples from Caesarea,

Mark xi. 5. Possibly it expresses the futility of the action described by the participle quite as much as its unsuitableness.

breaking my heart] *συνθρύπτειν* is a rare word meaning to break up, to pound to bits, and, apparently from the use of washerwomen pounding clothes with stones, etc., in water, to bleach them, to 'whiten.' Zahn thinks this is the implication here—to make Paul go pale from fear. Modern idiom would say 'yellow.' The *θορυβοῦντες* of D seems a paraphrase for a rare word.

for the name] This is hardly the same use of 'Name' as in iii. 6, 16; iv. 18, 30; v. 40. In all these the name of Jesus is a magical formula of which the Jews deny the legality but admit the efficacy. Here it is equivalent to 'for the sake of Jesus.' The transition between the two usages can be best seen in v. 41: 'rejoicing because they had been found worthy for the sake of the name to suffer disgrace.' Here the phrase 'the name' is intelligible in the context, because the apostles had suffered owing to their determination to continue using the forbidden formula. By a natural extension 'to suffer for the name' became a usual phrase to describe any persecution, whether it was caused by the exorcistic use of the formula or by preaching about Jesus and the salvation offered by him. (See also Additional Note 11.)

14. became silent] Note the 'inceptive' aorist, *ἡσυχάσαμεν*.

The Lord's will prevail] A Jewish and Christian phrase of resignation. Cf. Luke xxii. 42. The caveat in xviii. 21 is rather different. So is the prayer in Matt. vi. 10. 'Be done' is *γενέσθω* rather than *γινέσθω*, just as *μὴ πειθομένου* is 'remain unpersuaded,' not 'was unpersuaded,' which would be *μὴ πεισθέντος*.

15. prepared] The reading *ἐπισκευασάμενοι* is to be preferred, but its meaning is not clear. The verb usually occurs in the active or passive and is applied to repairs of buildings, or to preparations (cf. *ἐξαρτίξεν*, vs. 5) or equipment. Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, p. 302, thinks it means providing horses for the journey, and claims Chrysostom for this view. The *Textus Receptus* reads *ἀποσκευασάμενοι* and the A.V. translated 'took up our carriages,' meaning baggage. But *ἀποσκευάζω* might mean getting rid of extra baggage. Perhaps *ἐπισκευασάμενοι* really means 'having packed up.'

we went on up] *ἀνεβαίνομεν*: the force of the imperfect is perhaps sufficiently given by the 'on.' Cf. notes on vss. 6 and 12.

16 ff.] These verses suffer from an excessive use of *γίνεσθαι*. Possibly consciousness of this has affected both the Neutral and the Western texts. Certainly they change sides remarkably in their attestation. The Neutral has *ἀγοντες . . . γενομένων . . . παρεγένοντο*. The Western text has *ἤγαγον . . . παραγενόμενοι . . . ἐγενόμεθα . . . ἤλθομεν . . . ἦσαν . . . συνηγμένοι*. Neither seems to be a satisfactory correction of the other, and possibly the original text was more clumsy than either.

The Western text gives a more diffuse account, "And these (the Caesarean disciples) brought us to those with whom we should lodge, and we reached a village, and were with Mnason, a Cypriote, an original disciple." This is probably a correct paraphrase of the Neutral text *ἀγοντες παρ' ᾧ ξενισθῶμεν Μνάσωνι*, which may be resolved into *ἀγοντες ἡμᾶς πρὸς Μνάσωνα κτλ.* rather than into *ἀγοντες Μνάσωνα, παρ' ᾧ κτλ.* But the journey from Caesarea to Jerusalem must have lasted at least two days, and the meaning ought to be that Paul broke

bringing us to a certain Mnason, a Cyprian, an original disciple, with whom we should lodge, and when we were at Jerusalem the brethren received us gladly. And the next day Paul went in with us to James, and all the elders were present, and he greeted them and explained in detail what God had done among the Gentiles by his ministry. And when they heard they glorified God and said to him, "You see, brother, how

his journey at the Christian road-house of Mnason. The Western reviser understood this, and paraphrased it accordingly. It is another indication that the Western text in Acts is Palestinian in origin. But a linguistically more natural exegesis would place Mnason's house in Jerusalem, as does the Vulgate and Chrysostom ("Αγοντες, φησί, παρ' ᾧ ξενισθῶμεν· ἄρα οὐκ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, τότε μὲν γὰρ ὅτε ὑπὲρ δογμάτων ἀνέστησαν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ξενίζονται, νῦν δὲ παρὰ μαθητῇ τινι ἀρχαίῳ, *Hom. in Act.* xlv. 3).

16. some of the disciples] The translation cannot represent literally the use in the Greek of a genitive (partitive?) as subject. Cf. xix. 33; Luke xxi. 16; Blass-Debrunner, *Grammatik*, § 164. 2; and cf. note on ii. 30.

Mnason] The name was current in the ancient Greek civilization. Jews oftener used Jason, Romans Nason, and both of these variants occur in mss. here. How far back his discipleship went is not clear. Perhaps he was one of the men of Cyprus who, like Barnabas (iv. 36), belonged to the primitive Jerusalem church but later moved away (xi. 20). With ἀρχαῖος cf. xi. 15 ἐν ἀρχῇ, xv. 7 ἀφ' ἡμερῶν ἀρχαίων. The absence of obvious reason for mentioning him has of course led to further guesses. W. Knox, *St. Paul and the Church of Jerusalem*, p. 206, thinks possibly a Cypriote is mentioned that all Paul's churches may be represented in the gift to Jerusalem. Delegates from the rest had been with Paul since he left Troas (xx. 4). Another conjecture about him is that living between Caesarea and Jerusalem, he was the author's source of information for events in that neighbourhood (ix. 32 ff.,

36 ff.; see Ramsay, *Bearing of Recent Discovery*, p. 309 note), just as the cryptic mention of Philip's daughters is said to point them out as the source for the stories of Philip (see Harnack, *Acts*, p. 244).

lodge] On Luke's interest in 'lodging' see H. J. Cadbury in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, xlv. (1926) pp. 305 ff.

17-xxii. 29. ARRIVAL AND ARREST IN JERUSALEM.

17. Jerusalem] In xx. 16 it is stated that Paul was hurrying to be in Jerusalem before Pentecost. Did he arrive in time? It is curious that we are not told, and that the remarkable number of notes of time in this passage are merely sufficient to leave the point doubtful.

the brethren] This was the unofficial reception. There is no necessary antithesis between 'the brethren' and 'James and the presbyters' in the next verse.

18. Paul . . . with us] See note on xvi. 17. In both passages just as the first person is dropped it is detached from Paul by the distinction 'Paul . . . us.'

James] James is obviously the chief, and the presbyters are only assessors, but it is not a meeting of all the church — a πλήθος.

20. glorified God] The implication is that they were not merely thankful, but relieved. The facts were not what had been reported. Compare the similar anxiety expressed by Paul himself in Romans xv. 30, 31. His desire there is (i.) that his life may be rescued from the hostility of the non-Christians in Judaea, and (ii.) that his collection of funds for Jerusalem may be acceptable to the Christians. For the effect of similar reports by re-

many thousands there are among the Jews who have believed,
 21 and they are all zealous for the Law. And they were told about
 you that you are teaching apostasy from Moses to all the Jews
 among the Gentiles, telling them to give up circumcising their
 22 children or walking in the customs. What is to be done, then?

turning missionaries see xi. 18, xiv. 27, xv. 3 f. Cf. Luke x. 17 ff.

said] *εἶπον* or *εἰπόντες* is found in all authorities, though *εἶπεν* would be expected. A collective speech seems to be an ecclesiastical propriety rather than a physical possibility. Cf. the collective prayer in i. 24 which the African Latin puts into the mouth of Peter (see note on i. 24 and 26). For other cases of collective speech in Acts see Harnack, *Acts*, p. 226.

thousands] Literally 'tens of thousands,' but 'thousands' is the English idiom for a great number, just as the Greek idiom is *μυριάδες*.

among the Jews] The Western text has 'in Judaea,' which may be original but is more probably a paraphrase; in the latter case it correctly explains *ἐν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις* in this context. For a similar use of *οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι* in a geographical sense cf. John xi. 54, *οὐκέτι . . . περιεπάτει ἐν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις, ἀλλὰ ἀπῆλθεν ἐκεῖθεν, κτλ.* The Western paraphrase was caused by the tendency to use *Ἰουδαῖοι* more and more exclusively in a religious sense (see Zahn's note *ad loc.*).

have believed] Perhaps it should be rendered 'also have accepted the faith.' E. Schwartz proposed to omit the words entirely, as the numbers seemed too high for Jewish Christians at Jerusalem.

zealous] The word has no technical meaning. The 'Zealots' did not exist as a party with that name before A.D. 66. (See Vol. I. Appendix A, pp. 421 ff.)

21. were told] *κατηχήθησαν*: for use of this word in a bad sense, and its bearing on the purpose of Luke's writings, see Vol. II. pp. 508 f., and cf. E. Meyer, *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums*, i. p. 7 note. See also Strack *ad loc.* for a list of passages from Rabbinical sources which in fact if not in name are an echo of Jewish attacks on Paul, and thus provide an

extra-canonical confirmation of this verse, though of later date.

all] This word should perhaps be omitted, see Vol. III. p. 205.

to give up circumcising] The implication of this passage, like the story of Timothy's circumcision in xvi. 3, is to prove that Paul was not giving this teaching. This is a proof that at the time when Acts was written a Jewish Christianity was still flourishing, and that the Pauline Christians were anxious to establish the compromise that Jews should continue to practise circumcision but Gentiles should not adopt it, and that circumcised and uncircumcised should recognize the correctness of each other's custom. By the second century this question was almost dead, but when Luke wrote it obviously was important, at least in Jerusalem. Was it elsewhere? Probably not after 70. This is one of many confusing factors which have to be remembered in fixing (or preferably in refusing to fix) the date at which Acts was written.

According to Acts Paul accepted the compromise. Did he really accept it? His epistles are logically inconsistent with it, and before long Christian practice recognized this fact and followed the epistles. Yet human nature is so inconsistent, and especially in religious matters we cling to customs so long after we can justify them or wish to enforce them on others, and are so loath to break with a church of which we have inherited the traditions, that I am not sure that Paul may not have been much nearer the standard of custom implied by Acts than his own writings would indicate.

22. What is to be done, then?] Such questions are characteristic of the style of the diatribe as found in Paul (e.g. 1 Cor. xiv. 15, 26), but rarely elsewhere in Luke's writings. See, however, the Western text of Acts vi. 3

Of course they will hear that you have come. Therefore do what we tell you. We have four men who have taken a voluntary vow.

(Vol. III. p. 57). Parallels from secular authors are given in R. Bultmann, *Der Stil der paulinischen Predigt*. For the few examples in Luke's writings see H. J. Cadbury, *Making of Luke-Acts*, p. 152 note.

of course] πάντως originally or etymologically is a word of assurance, 'by all means,' but such words in any language tend to weaken, and there is every probability *a priori*, from the contexts and from the early versions, that in literature such as Acts and Hermas πάντως could be as uncertain in force as our 'probably,' 'perchance.' See H. J. Cadbury in *Journal of Biblical Literature*, xliv. (1925), pp. 223 ff.

they will hear] πάντως ἀκούσονται. The Western text has πάντως δεῖ πλῆθος συνελθεῖν, ἀκούσονται γὰρ κτλ., and this is also found in NA. I suspect that it is original, but left out in some early mss. of the Neutral text. Its omission in Syr-Hl. text with no marginal note is very strange. It should probably be translated 'there must be a meeting of the whole church (see note on πλῆθος in iv. 32) for they will hear,' etc., but it might mean 'a mob will congregate.' Either gives a good sense. (See also note in Vol. III. p. 205, where Ropes argues against the originality of the phrase.)

23. voluntary vow] εὐχή is used in Philo of the Nazirite vow in *De ebrietate* 1. 2, p. 357 M., οὔτοι μὲν οὖν εἰσιν οἱ τὴν μεγάλην εὐχὴν εὐξάμενοι, ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν means 'of their own accord,' ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν is 'on themselves.' See note in Vol. III. p. 206. It is generally supposed that this was a Nazirite vow. In ancient times the Nazirites were a special class who had a life-long obligation to abstain from wine or anything unclean and never to cut their hair. Of this the classical example is the story of Samson (Judges xiii. ff.). But the Law provided for a temporary Nazirite vow, which entailed living the life of a Nazirite for a certain period and at the end of it offering extensive sacrifices. When this had been done the man shaved his head at the door of

the Tabernacle, and burnt the hair in the fire under the sacrifice of the 'peace offerings.' He was then free to drink wine. If during the period of the vow he incurred accidental defilement by touching a dead body, he had to spend seven days in a state of ceremonial impurity, then to shave his head, and on the eighth day to bring pigeons to the priest. The priest offered them as a 'sin offering' and a 'burnt offering.' He also brought a yearling lamb for a trespass offering, and began the period of his vow over again. This interval of seven days does not enter into the ritual of the fulfilment of the vow. It would therefore seem from the allusion to the 'seven days' in vs. 27 that the situation was that the four men who had a vow must have incurred defilement and were anxious to purify themselves. Paul was to pay the expenses of the necessary eight pigeons and four lambs. By thus prominently associating himself with the ceremonial actions of pious Jews he would prove that he was not teaching Jews to abandon the customs. The four therefore shaved their heads and went with Paul to announce the date at which their purification would be completed and the sacrifices offered. The real obscurity in the passage is in the Greek ἐκπλήρωσιν . . . ἕως οὗ κτλ., of which the meaning is clearer than the construction. For the custom of paying the expenses of another man's vow and acquiring merit by so doing the best analogy is that of Agrippa I. who paid the expenses of many Nazirites. He certainly did not take over the vow with the expenses (see Josephus, *Antiq.* xix. 6. 1). For the common practice of a month's (the minimum) Nazirite vow cf. Josephus, *B.J.* ii. 15. 1 ἐπεδήμει (Bernice) δ' ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις εὐχὴν ἐκτελοῦσα τῷ θεῷ· τοὺς γὰρ ἡ νόσφ καταπονουμένους ἢ τισιν ἄλλαις ἀνάγκαις ἔθος εὐχεσθαι πρὸς τριάκοντα ἡμερῶν ἧς ἀποδώσειν μέλλοιεν θυσίας οἴνου τε ἀφέξασθαι καὶ ξυρῆσθαι τὰς κόμας. ἃ δὴ καὶ τότε τελοῦσα Βερνίκη γυμνόπους τε πρὸ τοῦ βήματος ἰκέτευε

4 Take them and be purified with them and pay their expenses that they may shave their head, and all will know that there is nothing in the stories they have heard about you, but
5 that you "walk" and yourself observe the Law. And concerning the Gentiles who have believed, we wrote decreeing that they should keep themselves from what was offered to idols and from blood [and from strangled meat] and from fornication."

6 Then Paul took the men, and on the next day he was purified

τὸν Φλῶρον καὶ πρὸς τῷ μὴ τυχεῖν αἰδοῦς αὐτὴν τὸν περὶ τοῦ ζῆν κίνδυνον ἐπέβρασαν, and for the Jewish custom of vows in general and the Nazirite in particular cf. the Mishna tractates *Nedarim* and *Nazir*. Cf. note on xviii. 18.

24. be purified] It is not clear from what defilement Paul was to be purified. It cannot mean that he actually undertook the Nazirite vow, for the minimum duration of that vow was 30 days; cf. Josephus, *B.J.* ii. 15. 1 and *Mish. Nazir* i. 3. Probably all that is meant—indeed, all that is said—is that Paul joined in the purification and paid its expenses, not that he shared in the original vow.

Loisy thinks Paul had already taken a vow when he started for Jerusalem amid fear and danger, and that the advice to associate himself with others was that he might be less prominent when he was fulfilling it. In this he was accidentally frustrated.

pay their expenses] The cost of the Nazirite vow is a very prominent element in its later development. See G. Buchanan Gray, *Sacrifice in the Old Testament*, pp. 38 f.

shave] It must surely only be an accident that NB read *ἵνα ξυρήσονται* for *ἵνα ξυρήσωνται*; either it is a simple o for ω, a mistake which is very common, or was brought about by the false analogy of *γνώσονται*. See note on xviii. 18 (*κεираμενος*).

stories they have heard] ὧν κατήχηνται, see note on vs. 21.

"walk"] The translation will serve to call attention to the curious absolute use of *στοιχέω* ('agree' or

'conduct oneself') in *στοιχεῖς καὶ αὐτὸς φυλάσων τὸν νόμον*.

yourself observe the Law] The question has often been raised whether Paul could have acted thus consistently with his own principles. Strict logic would probably have forbidden him to do so; and Acts certainly represents him as much more observant of the Jewish Law than the Epistles would have suggested. But two considerations prevent the conclusion that the Epistles must be followed. (i.) The sentimental power of tradition always affects men's conduct in the practice of religion, and frequently overpowers logic. (ii.) After all it was Paul himself who said that he had been 'all things to all men'—in what way was he 'a Jew to the Jews' if not by observing the Law when he was with them? (See also Vol. II. pp. 294, 320 *supra*, p. 271, Addit. Note 17.)

25. The verse appears to be intended to show that while Paul and other Jews are observers of the law, Gentile freedom is not restricted. Only the observance of certain details of the law has been required of them. The Western text, though correct in its omission of *πικτόν* (see note on xv. 20 and Additional Note 16), is otherwise apparently a paraphrase intended to bring out the meaning. It runs: "But concerning the Gentiles who have believed, they (i.e. the Jewish Christians) have nothing to say to you, for we wrote decreeing that they were to observe nothing of the kind, except to keep themselves from what is offered to idols, blood and fornication."

with them and went to the Temple, announcing the completion of the days of purification until the offering was made for each one of them. But when the seven days were on the point of completion, the Jews of Asia saw him in the Temple and stirred up all the crowd and laid hands on him, crying out, "Men of Israel, help! This is the man who is teaching everyone everywhere against the People and the Law and this place. And moreover he brought Gentiles into the Temple and has defiled this holy

26. went] It is tempting to think that the imperfect *εἰσῆει* shows that the meaning is not, as the Western reviser made it (by writing *εἰσῆλθεν*), that Paul went to the temple for the specific purpose of announcing the fulfilment of the purification, but rather that when the arrangements had been made he frequented the temple and made a point of talking about the matter. Or perhaps each of the four (five) men required a separate ceremony. This would explain Paul's repeated presence in the temple and the emphasis in this verse on an offering *ὑπὲρ ἑνὸς ἐκάστου αὐτῶν*. Yet in vs. 18 *εἰσῆει* seems clearly to be used of a specific single act, as though its imperfect meaning had been lost sight of.

completion] That is, the time fixed for the fulfilment. Cf. 1 Macc. iii. 49 *τοὺς Ναζιραίους οἱ ἐπλήρωσαν τὰς ἡμέρας*.

until] Possibly qualifying *διαγέλλων*, but more probably, though rather clumsily, *ἀγνισμοῦ*, which is the 'process of purification' rather than the completed act of purification.

27. the seven days] i.e. of purification. Cf. Num. vi. 9. There is no need for E. Schwartz's delightful conjecture of *ἐβδομάδες* for *ἑπτὰ ἡμέραι*, though it is extremely attractive as it supplies the lack, otherwise so obvious, of any mention of the Pentecost which Paul wished to keep (see note on vs. 17). *αἱ ἐβδομάδες* would mean 'when the Weeks were completed' (see note on ii. 1).

Jews of Asia] Note that it was Jews, not Jewish Christians, as James (vs. 20) anticipated, who made the trouble. Acts has no further reference to James, the elders, or the

Jewish Christians in Jerusalem. That Asian Jews started the protest against Paul may be due not merely to the fact that they recognized Trophimus and Paul, having seen them both in Ephesus, but also to a greater strictness on the part of the Jews of the diaspora. Compare the foreign critics of Stephen in vi. 9. We are told in xx. 19 of plots of Jews in Asia against Paul. Asian Jews would be present at Pentecost (ii. 9), but we are not told that Paul reached Jerusalem in time for that feast (cf. xx. 16).

Temple] This must mean the Temple proper, not merely the Temple area. See iii. 2 and Additional Note 35.

28. the People] i.e. in the usual sense of the Jews. See note on x. 2.

Law and this place] Cf. vi. 13, while vi. 14 should be compared with vs. 21 above.

brought Gentiles] This was a capital offence, and any Gentile found within the barrier which divided the Court of the Gentiles from the Court of Israel risked his life. Notices to this effect were put up in Greek and Latin, and one of these is extant and preserved in the Museum of Antiquities in Constantinople. Its text reads:

ΜΗΘΕΝΑ ΑΛΛΟΓΕΝΗ ΕΙΣΠΟ-
ΡΕΥΕΘΑΙ ΕΝΤΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΠΕ-
ΡΙ ΤΟ ΙΕΡΟΝ ΤΡΥΦΑΚΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ
ΠΕΡΙΒΟΛΟΥ. ΟΣ Δ' ΑΝ ΛΗ-
ΦΘΗ, ΕΑΥΤΩ ΔΙΤΙΟΣ ΕC-
ΤΑΙ ΔΙΑ ΤΟ ΕΞΑΚΟΛΟΥ-
ΘΕΙΝ ΘΑΝΑΤΟΝ

A facsimile will be found in Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*, Eng. trans., 2nd ed., 1927, p.

29 place." For they had already seen Trophimus the Ephesian in the city with him and thought that Paul had taken him into 30 the Temple. And the whole city was disturbed, and there was a concourse of the people, and they took hold of Paul and dragged 31 him out of the Temple, and the doors were shut at once. And when they were trying to kill him a statement went up to the 32 tribune of the cohort that all Jerusalem was rioting. And he at once took with him soldiers and centurions and ran down to them. And when they saw the tribune and the soldiers they 33 stopped beating Paul. Then the tribune approached and arrested

80. It is published in Dittenberger, *OGIS*. 598, and elsewhere. There are references to bilingual warnings in Josephus, *B.J.* v. 5. 2; cf. vi. 2. 4; *Antiq.* xii. 3. 4; xv. 11. 5; *C. Apion.* ii. 8; Philo, *Legat. ad Gaium*, 31 (ii. 577 M.); Mishna, *Middot*, ii. 3; *Kelim*, i. 8. The last two passages are cited in Strack *ad loc.* A poetic Christian reference to this occurs perhaps in Eph. ii. 14 τὸ μεσότοιχον τοῦ φραγμοῦ. Cf. Rev. xi. 2.

29. Trophimus] Cf. xx. 4 and 2 Tim. iv. 20.

30. the whole city] Commentators argue that the news could not spread so fast. They have perhaps never noted the speed at which news of a fire or a good dog-fight will spread even in a modern city.

doors were shut] Presumably by order of the Sagan (see note on p. 40) to prevent further trouble.

31. they were trying] The Greek genitive absolute here has no subject expressed for the participle ζητούντων. In vs. 10 likewise ἡμῶν (not read in the best mss.) is to be implied with ἐπιμενόντων. Where the subject of a genitive absolute can be understood from the context its omission is not unexampled in contemporary writers and in the papyri. See the grammars of Blass-Debrunner, § 423. 6; Radermacher, 2nd ed. pp. 208 f., and Moulton, i. p. 74; and cf. Luke xii. 36.

statement] Doubtless this means a report made by Roman guards, probably those stationed in the towers of the castle Antonia; but this meaning is given by the context, not by

the word φάσις, which means primarily a statement, whether κατάφασις, affirmation, or ἀπόφασις, denial.

tribune] χιλαρχος is the usual rendering of *tribunus militum*. According to xxiii. 26 his name was Claudius Lysias.

the cohort] The garrison of Jerusalem consisted of one cohort of auxiliaries, made up—at least on paper—of 760 infantry with a detachment of 240 cavalry known as a *miliaria equitata*. It was stationed in the Antonia, connected by two flights of steps with the temple, which it overlooked from watch-towers. See Addit. Notes 33 and 35.

rioting] The verb συνχύνεται may mean that crowds were collecting, if συνδρομή in vs. 30 is the real parallel to this passage and to συνέχεον in vs. 27, and if in xix. 32 συγκεχυμένη is explained by συνεληλύθεισαν. But συνχέω (συνχύνω) more probably refers to the confusion and rioting of such crowds as were already collected either in the theatre of Ephesus or the temple at Jerusalem. The author of Acts has an unusual variety of terms for describing a riot. In ii. 6 and ix. 22 συνχέω seems to mean 'bewilder.'

32. centurions] The plural suggests that the tribune called out two hundred men, which shows that it was a disturbance of considerable dimensions, even if we allow for the probability that the detachment allotted to a centurion was not always at full strength.

33. arrested] ἐπελάβετο, cf. xvii. 19,

him, and commanded him to be bound with two chains, and asked who he was and what he had done. And some called out one thing and some another among the crowd, and when he could not learn the facts because of the uproar, he commanded him to be taken into the barracks. And when he came to the steps he was actually carried by the soldiers because of the violence of the mob, for the mass of the people were following, crying out, "Kill him." And as Paul was on the point of being taken into the barracks he said to the tribune, "May I say something to you?" And he said, "Do you speak Greek? What! Are you not the Egyptian who some time ago started a revolt

xxiii. 19; in these passages Acts uses the verb with the accusative.

two chains] Presumably to a soldier on each side, as is explicitly said in Acts xii. 6 (where see note). *ἄλυσις* comes to mean hand-chain (xii. 7) distinct from fetters for the feet (*πέδαι*; both words at Mark v. 4 = Luke viii. 29), and was used to chain a prisoner to the attending guard (cf. the story of Agrippa in Josephus, *Ant.* xviii. 6. 7 and 10, and see J. B. Lightfoot, *Philippians*, p. 8).

34. learn the facts] *γινῶναι τὸ ἀσφαλές*, see Vol. II. p. 509.

barracks] The Antonia; see Addit. Note 35.

35. came to] This is probably the meaning of *ἐγένετο ἐπὶ*. Cf. *γενόμενοι* Luke xxiv. 22.

the steps] Between the temple and the Antonia. Cf. Josephus, *B.J.* v. 5. 8, and also the seven steps of Codex Bezae xii. 10 outside the prison of Peter. Most commentators identify that *φυλακή* with the castle of Antonia, as they do the *παρεμβολή* here, but see note *ad loc.*

he was actually carried] The Greek is *συνέβη βαστάζεσθαι*, which can hardly be rendered in English, but *συνέβη* seems intended to emphasize *βαστάζεσθαι*.

36. Kill him] The Greek *αἶρε αὐτὸν* may well have been a popular cry like *βοηθεῖτε* in verse 28. Cf. xxii. 22; xxviii. 19 *v.l.*; Luke xxiii. 18; Martyr. Polyc. iii. 1, ix. 2, *αἶρε τοὺς ἀθέους*. In like manner *ἄρρον αὐτὸν* in the petulant boy's letter P Oxy,

119. 10; *ἄρον ἄρον σταύρωσον αὐτὸν* of John xix. 15. See Epictetus iii. 3. 14 and 15; 26. 22; iv. 1. 138. The Latin used *apage* (= *ἀπαγε*).

37. speak Greek] Not 'know' Greek, for *γινώσκεις* is an ellipse for *γινώσκεις λαλεῖν Ἑλληνιστί*.

38. What!] This seems to be about the force of *ἄρα*.

the Egyptian] See Vol. II. pp. 357 ff. It should be noted that neither here nor in Josephus is there any justification for the frequent statement that the revolt of the Egyptian was 'Messianic.' Until Bar Cochba there was no Messianic pretender. The Egyptian was merely a rebel who claimed that God would help his insurrection. Unless the meaning of 'Messiah' be extended beyond anything the Jews ever dreamt of, neither rebels nor prophets are 'Messianic.' (See Vol. I. pp. 356 ff. and 424.) For the bearing of this passage on the chronology of Paul's life see Addit. Note 34.

There are two accounts of him in Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 8. 6 and *B.J.* ii. 13. 4f. Their literary relation to each other is not quite certain. Josephus calls him a false prophet, who inspired faith in himself as a prophet, promising that at his command the walls of Jerusalem would fall or that they could force an entrance into Jerusalem and overpower the Roman garrison.

The identity of the Egyptian of Acts with the Egyptian false prophet of Josephus is of course not certain,

and led into the desert four thousand men of the Sicarii? ”
 39 And Paul said, “ I am a Jew, a Tarsian of Cilicia, a citizen of

but the records agree sufficiently in date and in description and, though neither historian gives his name (if it was really Egyptian it might well escape Greek or Jewish tradition), the identification may be accepted, as it was by Eusebius, *H.E.* ii. 21.

Unfortunately less certainty attaches to a suggestion that this Egyptian is mentioned under the name ‘ben Stada’ in Tannaite Jewish sources. The suggestion was made, apparently independently, in 1903, by the Jewish scholar H. P. Chajes (‘Ben Stada’ in S. A. Horodetski’s *Ha-Goren*, Berdichev, iv. pp. 33-37) and by the Christian R. T. Herford (*Christianity in Talmud and Midrash*, p. 345 note), but has not entered the tradition of commentators on Acts. This ben Stada of the Talmud was identified by the Amoraim with Jesus of Nazareth, but that is almost certainly an error. The early passages about him consist of (i.) a baraita from Rabbi Eliezer that speaks of him as a madman who brought spells from Egypt in a cut in his flesh (*Bab. Shabbat* 104b, *Sanhedrin* 67a), and (ii.) an account of his conviction and death by stoning as an impostor at Lod (i.e. Lydda) in the Tosefta (*Sanh.* x. 11 = *Jer. Sanh.* vii. 16). The fuller account in *Bab. Sanh.* 67a identifying him with Jesus adds ‘and hanged him on the eve of Passover.’ See J. Klausner, *Jesus of Nazareth*, Eng. Trans. pp. 20-23.

started a revolt] The same Hellenistic verb is used as at xvii. 6. The tribune probably thought Paul had intended to start the disturbance in the temple, though Knowing thinks the author’s notion was that “the Roman officer thought that the Egyptian had returned after his flight and that he was now set upon by the people as an impostor.”

into the desert] Josephus says he led them to the Mount of Olives ‘out of the desert’ (*B.J.* ii. 13. 5). But the deceivers mentioned just prior to the Egyptian in both the passages of Josephus are said to have

led their followers into the desert, and so did Jonathan the ring-leader of the Sicarii at Cyrene (*B.J.* vii. 11. 1). The presence of small discrepancies of this kind, explicable from the immediate context in Josephus, are the strongest argument for the belief that Luke had read Josephus. But the desert was natural and expected as a place of hiding or rendezvous of such leaders. John the Baptist was in the desert of Judaea, or at the Jordan. The Jordan is mentioned also of Theudas (Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 5. 1). Like the first redeemer (Moses) the second redeemer (Messiah) will lead into the wilderness of Judaea (*Midrash Ruth* ii. 14 (132 b) citing Hosea ii. 14, xii. 9). Of false Christs and false prophets men will cry, “Behold he is in the desert” (*Matt.* xxiv. 26). So Celsus (apud Orig. *c. Cels.* ii. 39, 46) of Jesus.

four thousand] Josephus, *B.J.*, says thirty thousand, and that while a few escaped with the Egyptian, most of those with him were killed (*Antiq.* says 400) or taken alive (*Antiq.* 200) and the rest of the company was scattered. An ingenious reconciliation of the 30,000 and 4000 may be made by supposing a corruption between $\Delta = 4$ and $\Lambda = 30$.

Sicarii] See Vol. I. pp. 421 ff. The word is Latin from *sica*, a dagger, and so ‘knife-men.’ Josephus, like Acts, takes the word over into Greek. It is also transliterated into Hebrew or Aramaic. See S. Krauss, *Griechische und lateinische Lehnwörter im Talmud*, ii. p. 392. The translation ‘assassins’ is to be avoided, as the ‘Assassins’ were a sect of Arabs who were called so during the Crusades from their use of ‘hashish,’ a narcotic which stimulated them to murderous exploits.

39. a Jew, etc.] The ‘triple beat’ is noticeable. Cf. note on xiii. 6. If the text of D correctly represents the Western text, this was removed by the reviser. Apparently d is not the original but has been corrected to the B-text, in a way which D escaped. (See, however, Ropes’s note

no mean city. And I beg you, permit me to speak to the people." And when he gave permission, Paul stood on the steps and ⁴⁰ motioned with his hand to the people. And when complete silence was obtained, he addressed them, speaking in the Hebrew language: "Gentlemen, my brethren and fathers, hear my ²² present defence." And when they heard that he addressed them ² in the Hebrew language, they gave him still more quietness. And he said, "I am a Jew, born in Tarsus of Cilicia, brought up in this ³ city, given a thorough education at the feet of Gamaliel, and

in Vol. III. p. 208.) The two points of importance were that Paul was a Jew, and therefore had a right to be in the temple, and that he was from the Diaspora, which explained his acquaintance with Greeks. It is also an interesting side-light on the scale of values in the Empire that though Paul may have spoken of Tarsus as a place of distinction, it made no impression on the tribune. But directly he claimed that he was Roman, and Roman-born, the situation was changed. Nevertheless it was of Tarsian citizenship, not of Roman, that Paul appears to have spoken with real pride.

no mean city] οὐκ ἀσήμεον πόλις. The litotes and its application to a city or family of origin are both characteristic idioms of current Greek. It is therefore unnecessary to see in the phrase the influence of Hippocrates, *Epist.* 1273, with Hobart, *Medical Language of St. Luke*, pp. 249 f., or of Euripides, *Ion* 8, with Rendel Harris, *St. Paul and Greek Literature*, pp. 11 f. Perhaps the phrase is specially used to express Greek civic pride. For the word 'Greek' in some form occurs in the passages mentioned as well as in Dion. Hal. *Antiq.* ii. 35 just as it is implied here.

40. complete] πολλῆς, but English idiom will not tolerate the literal rendering 'much.'

in the Hebrew language] i.e. Aramaic, not Hebrew in the strict sense (see Addit. Note 7, and cf. xxii. 2 and xxvi. 14).

1. my present defence] ἀκούσατέ μου κτλ. might also be rendered 'hear me in my present defence.' The

question is whether μου depends on ἀκούσατε or ἀπολογίας. (Cf. vs. 18 and i. 4, and see Blass-Debrunner's discussion of this passage and of the similar problem in John xii. 47, *Gramm.* §§ 173. 1; 473. 1.)

2. Hebrew] i.e. Aramaic. See note on xxi. 40.

3. thorough] κατ' ἀκρίβειαν is probably an independent adverbial phrase equivalent to ἀκριβῶς. Compare P Lond 121. 841 (A.D. 3) ἐπ' ἀκριβίας and the use in Luke i. 4 of τὴν ἀσφάλειαν for τὸ ἀσφαλές. If it meant 'according to the strictness of' Luke would surely have written κατὰ τὴν ἀκρίβειαν.

at the feet] In the gospel Luke speaks of persons who sat at the feet of Jesus in viii. 35 καθήμενον . . . παρὰ τοὺς πόδας τοῦ Ἰησοῦ (added to Mark v. 14): x. 39 παρακαθεσθεῖσα πρὸς τοὺς πόδας τοῦ κυρίου ἤκουεν τὸν λόγον αὐτοῦ. This expression for the humble position of the learner seems to be late Jewish (rabbinic) rather than Hellenic. Cf. 2 Kings iv. 38 (*Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. v. p. 656 b; Deut. xxxiii. 3 is different).

Whether παρὰ τοὺς πόδας Γαμαλιήλ should be connected with the previous participle (ἀνατεθραμμένος) or the following one (πεπαιδευμένος) has been much discussed by commentators. There is no decisive evidence, and it makes no real difference to the sense, but Gamaliel was surely concerned in his education, not in his nurture. ἀνατρέφω usually means physical care, though it can be used of education like παιδεύω.

Gamaliel] See note on v. 34. The

zealous for the ancestral law of God, just as you all are to-day.

4 And I persecuted this Way to death, fettering and delivering to
5 prison both men and women, as the high priest and all the Senate
bear me witness. And from them I received letters to the brethren
and went to Damascus to bring bound those who were there to

real difficulty in accepting the statement that Paul was a pupil of Gamaliel is that the Pauline statement of the Jewish doctrine of the Law is so gross a caricature of anything which he could have learnt from Gamaliel. No Rabbis ever taught that salvation could only be obtained by the 'works of the Law.' Their central teaching was the efficacy of repentance. The best exposition of the difficulty of reconciling Paul's writings with the tradition of his rabbinical education is C. G. Montefiore, *Judaism and St. Paul*. See also M. Enslin, 'Paul and Gamaliel' in the *Journal of Religion*, vii. (1927) pp. 360 ff. On the other side is the claim that Paul's letters show rabbinical training in the method of argument used. Cf. H. St. J. Thackeray, *The Relation of St. Paul to Contemporary Jewish Thought*, 1900. The whole point, which is extremely important for the appreciation of Paul, has been greatly neglected by Christian writers.

zealous] Cf. Gal. i. 14 *προέκοπτον ἐν τῷ Ἰουδαϊσμῷ ὑπὲρ πολλοὺς συνηλικιώτας ἐν τῷ γένει μου, περισσotέρως ζηλωτὴς ὑπάρχων τῶν πατρικῶν μου παραδόσεων*. In neither passage, of course, is *ζηλωτὴς* to be taken in the technical sense which it afterwards acquired. (See Vol. I. pp. 421 ff.) A recognition of this parallel probably produced the reading of the margin of the Harclean Syriac (see Vol. III. p. 211). But the combination *ζηλωτὴς ὑπάρχων* is no evidence of Luke's knowledge of Galatians (see also note on *πορθεῖν* in ix. 21). It is more doubtful whether *ζηλωτὴς* should be taken with *νόμου* or with *θεοῦ*, but the latter is impossible if, as argued above, *κατ' ἀκρίβειαν* is an adverbial phrase. If this be rejected parallels for *ζηλωτὴς θεοῦ* can be found in Musonius 37. 3 (ed. Hense) and Epictetus ii. 14. 13 (cf. Num. xxv.

13, Rom. x. 2), and the translation will run "educated in the minutiae of the Law . . . zealous for God." On the other hand, in favour of taking *ζηλωτὴς ὑπάρχων* with *τοῦ πατρῷου νόμου* are xxi. 20 *πάντες ζηλωταὶ τοῦ νόμου, ὑπάρχουσι* and Gal. i. 14 *ζηλωτὴς ὑπάρχων τῶν πατρικῶν μου παραδόσεων*.

ancestral] *πατρώος*, cf. xxiv. 14.

4. this Way] See ix. 2.

to death] It would not be surprising if the phrase *ἀχρι θανάτου* was a generalization by the editor from the single instance of Stephen (cf. vs. 20 and notes on xxvi. 10 and viii. 1). At viii. 3, ix. 1 f. (but cf. *ἐνπνέων . . . φόνου*) etc. Paul's activities lead only to imprisonment. The similar expressions *μέχρι θανάτου* Phil. ii. 8, 30, *ἕως θανάτου* Mark xiv. 34 = Matt. xxvi. 38, Jonah iv. 9, Eccles. xxxvii. 2, *ἀχρι θανάτου* Rev. ii. 10, xii. 11, do not always involve actual death.

5. Senate] Comparison with Luke xxii. 66 shows that *πρεσβυτέριον* is equivalent to Sanhedrin.

bear me witness] B reads *ἐμαρτύρει*, but this reading has no other real support (see note in Vol. III. p. 211). The Western text reads *μαρτυρήσει*, which is probably a correct gloss on the meaning, and the margin of the Harclean adds *Ananias*, an inference from xxiii. 2, though the high priest who commissioned Paul was probably Caiaphas.

there] *ἐκεῖσε* is strictly 'thither' rather than 'there.' But it is doubtful whether this difference is to be pressed either here or in xxi. 3. If it is interpreted strictly it is intended to indicate that the Christians had gone to Damascus, and were not Damascenes. If this be the meaning it was missed by the Western reviser who wrote *ἐκεῖ*, but here again the argument is reversible: possibly *ἐκεῖ* is original and *ἐκεῖσε* a neat emendation. See note on ix. 2. It is also noteworthy that D reads *ἐν Ἱερου-*

Jerusalem to be punished. And it came to pass that as I was journeying and nearing Damascus about noon suddenly a great light shone round me from the sky, and I fell to the ground and heard a voice saying to me, 'Saul, Saul, why do you persecute me?' And I replied, 'Who are you, Lord?' And he said to me, 'I am Jesus the Nazarene whom you persecute.' Those who were with me saw the light but did not hear the voice of him who was speaking to me. And I said, 'What shall I do, Lord?' and the Lord said to me, 'Go at once to Damascus and there it shall be told you about all that it has been assigned you to do.' And when I did not see from the glory of that light I was led by the hand by my companions and came to Damascus. And a certain Ananias, a pious man according to the Law, well reported by all the resident Jews, came to me, and standing by me, said, 'Brother Saul, recover your sight.' And I, in that same hour, looked upon him. And he said, 'The God of our fathers appointed you to know his will

σαλήμ for εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ. This also may be original. If so it is to be taken with τιμωρηθῶσιν. The awkwardness of this construction would lead to the Neutral reading.

6.16. This section repeats the story of Paul's conversion, already told in chapter ix. The slight variations are discussed in the notes to that chapter (see especially ix. 7, 10, and 17, and cf. Addit. Note 15).

6. noon] This note of time appears also at xxvi. 13 (ἡμέρας μέσης) but not in ix. Possibly the reference to blindness at noonday in Deut. xxviii. 28 f. (cf. note on xiii. 10) had something to do with its insertion.

8. the Nazarene] Not in ix. 5 or xxvi. 15. See Addit. Note 29.

10. at once] This perhaps gives the force of ἀναστὰς better than a literal rendering—'arise.' Cf. vs. 16 and x. 13, xi. 7. It is ultimately based on the Hebrew and Aramaic use of עַם. Cf. Dalman, *Words of Jesus*, pp. 23 f.

11. from the glory] ἀπό causal, as in Luke xix. 3, Acts xi. 19, xii. 14, xx. 9.

12. a pious man, etc.] This characterization of Ananias in terms

intended to show his attitude to Judaism in a favourable light is absent in chapter ix. and is inserted here because of the apologetic purpose of the speech. Cf. the characterization of Paul himself in verse 3, and the reference to a vision in the temple in verse 17. But see also Addit. Note 15.

13. looked upon him] It seems impossible to translate ἀναβλέπειν by the same word here as in the preceding verse. It means both 'to recover sight' and 'to look up.' Each meaning is present in each verse; but the εἰς αὐτόν renders it impossible to give the sense of 'recover sight' in translating the second passage. The same shift of meaning occurs between Luke xviii. 41, 42, 43, and Luke xix. 5.

14. appointed] Not fore-ordained; see note on iii. 20.

to know his will] The use of a like phrase in Rom. ii. 18 (idiomatically 'the will'), Col. i. 9, suggests that we have here a current Jewish expression, but the phrase does not appear to be discussed in the books which deal with such points.

and to see the Just One, and to hear a voice from his mouth,
 15 because for him you shall be to all men a witness of what you
 16 saw and heard. Now why do you wait? Be baptized at once,
 17 and wash away your sins, calling on his name.' And it came
 to pass that when I returned to Jerusalem and was praying
 18 in the Temple, I fell into a trance, and saw him saying to me,
 'Hasten and go speedily from Jerusalem, because they will not
 19 receive your testimony about me.' And I said, 'Lord, they
 understand that it was I who was imprisoning and scourging
 20 throughout the synagogues those who believed on you, and when
 the blood of Stephen, your witness, was poured out I was myself
 standing by and agreeing and guarding the garments of those
 21 who killed him.' And he said to me, 'Go, for I will send you far
 22 away to the Gentiles.' " And they heard him up to this word, and

Just One] See note on vii. 52 and Additional Note 29.

15. because] *ὅτι*, but it might be taken as giving the contents of the voice—'that you should be,' etc.

16. why do you wait?] *τί μέλλεις*; This is a distinct and idiomatic colloquial Greek idiom, to be distinguished from *τί μέλλεις ποιεῖν*; in vs. 26.

17. when I returned] Presumably this means Paul's first visit to Jerusalem. As in chap. ix. Luke gives no intimation that it was three years after his conversion and that—according to the most obvious meaning of Gal. i. 17—he had already been preaching in Arabia. Luke implies here, what he states in ix. 25 ff., that Paul went at once from Damascus to Jerusalem and began a mission of testimony to the Jews. But whereas in chap. ix. the end of this mission was due to an attempt on his life, it is here attributed to a vision in the temple, not otherwise recorded, which was the first call given him to preach especially to the Gentiles. It is noticeable that in ix. 15 the call to preach to the Gentiles is entrusted by the Lord to Ananias. It is not stated that Ananias delivered it, but this is implied by ix. 6.

trance] It has been suggested that this trance is referred to in 2

Cor. xii. 2 ff., but there is no evidence, and Paul's own statement (2 Cor. xii. 5) is that he is speaking of some one else. For his phrase 'I know a man' probably does not mean himself, in spite of commentators.

19-20. This reply of Paul is intended as a remonstrance against the suggestion that the Jews would reject him. Paul thinks he is just the man to convince the Jews.

20. your witness] This passage is obviously a step towards the use of *μάρτυς* in the sense of martyr. Cf. Addit. Note 5 and Preuschen-Bauer, *Wörterbuch*, col. 777.

guarding the garments] Cf. vii. 58-60.

21. Gentiles] The suggestion of the preaching to the Gentiles was the last straw to the mob. Not of course because converting the Gentiles was held to be wrong (cf. Matt. xxiii. 15), but because it was held that Paul's preaching was not orthodox. He was converting men to his own doctrines, not to those of Judaism. Paul's defence that his own doctrines were true was not considered, not because the Jews did not wish for the truth, but because to them it was an axiom that Judaism is truth. The same situation constantly recurs in any domain of thought in which

raised their voice, saying, "Destroy such a fellow from off the earth, for it is not proper for him to live." And while they were 23 howling and waving their garments and throwing dust into the air, the tribune commanded him to be taken into the barracks, 24 and ordered him to be examined with scourging to find out why they thus shouted against him. But when they tied him up for 25 the whip, Paul said to the centurion who stood there, "Have

there is a clash between those who think that the institution to which they belong exists to maintain truth, and those who think that it actually is the truth. It has often recurred in Christian history; but it should be noted that an essential difference came with the eighteenth century, by the introduction of the concept of 'finding out' the truth as contrasted with 'accepting' the truth. It is important not to read back this modern point of view into earlier controversies. They were concerned with Revelation; the modern controversies deal with Discovery.

22. it is not proper] καθήκον sup-
planted the Attic form προσήκον in
the sense of 'proper' or 'right,'
and is still so used. No clear light
has ever been thrown on the curious
use of the imperfect καθήκεν, but
both ἀνέκεν and προσήκεν are also
so used; see Lightfoot's note on Col. iii.
18, to which many other examples
could be added. The Antiochian text
has καθήκον here. See Radermacher,
2nd ed. p. 156; Blass-Debrunner,
§358. 2.

23. waving] ῥιπτόντων (or ῥιπτούν-
των) probably means 'waving' rather
than 'throwing off.' To wave them
doubtless they had to take them
off, but the emphasis is probably on
the waving. See F. Field, *Notes on
the Translation of the New Testament*,
p. 136. The casting of dust into the
air, for which no parallel is quoted,
may be compared with Matt. x. 14
where 'casting the dust off the feet'
is a 'testimony.' But probably
throwing dust is merely a natural
gesture. In England mud is more
frequently available, but in America
'throwing dust' is a recognized sign

of a baseball player's disapprobation
of the umpire. See, however, Addi-
tional Note 24.

24. the tribune commanded] Since
Paul's attempt to clear up the situa-
tion had proved a failure the tribune
returned to his own policy. Probably
neither the tribune nor the soldiers
could understand what Paul had said
in Aramaic.

examined] ἀντάζειν is apparently
not used in Greek literature except
here, in vs. 29, in Daniel (Susanna 14
Theodotion), in Judges vi. 29 [cod. A],
and in early Christian writings (Justin,
1 *Apol.* 11; etc.). But it is found in
P Oxy 34. 13 and is employed there
in a manner which suggests official
language.

scourging] Not as a punishment,
but as the simplest method of finding
out the truth or obtaining a con-
fession. It was the legal method of
examining a slave or alien. Cf.
Mommesen, *Strafrecht*, pp. 983 f.

shouted] The verb is ἐπιφωνέω as
in Luke xxiii. 21. The word is used
also in Acts xii. 22 of an acclamation
of praise in accordance with wide-
spread Greek usage illustrated in
E. Peterson, *Eis theós*, 1926, p. 324.
The ἐπι- is not therefore 'against' so
much as 'after,' referring to the
applause or other demonstration
which follows what is said.

25-29. With these verses should
be compared the scene at Philippi,
and the notes on xvi. 37 ff.

25. tied him up] προεἰλεῖν must
mean this or something like it, but evi-
dence to prove its exact significance
seems strangely lacking.

whip] Most commentators agree
that ἰμάσι means the *flagellum* or
lorum, a leather quirt used for
flogging, and translate the dative as

you the right to scourge a man who is a Roman citizen and un-
 26 condemned ? ” And when the centurion heard it, he went to the
 tribune and reported, saying, “ What are you going to do ? For
 27 this man is a Roman citizen.” And the tribune went to him and

above. Cicero, *Pro Rabirio* 4. 12, indicates that beating with the *flagellum* was more severe than beating with rods (*virga*, *ραβδίξεν*, xvi. 22; 2 Cor. xi. 25). The *Digest*, xlviii. 19. 10 and 28, distinguishes between the *flagellum* for slaves and the *fustis* for free men. P Oxy 1186 (4th century A.D.) is part of an edict against the use of the *ιμάντες* for free men and illustrates both the language and spirit of this passage. It reads:

τὸ τὴν διὰ τῶν ἱμάντων λη-
 παρ.ων (?) ἐπιχωρίως οὕτω καλουμένων
 αἰκέλ-
 αν ὑπομένειν ἐστὶν μὲν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν δουλι-
 κῆν τυχὴν εἰληχότων ἀνιάρων, οὐ μὴν κατὰ
 τὸ παντελὲς ἀπηγορευμένον, ἐλευθέρους δὲ
 ἀνδρας τοιαύτην ὕβρειν ὑπομένειν οὔτε τοῖς
 [νόμοις] ἀκόλουθον ἀδικεῖαν τε ἔχον ἐστίν.

See also J. M. Nap, *Nieuw Theologisch Tijdschrift*, xvi., 1927, pp. 246 ff.

Nevertheless, though *loris* may be equivalent to *flagellum*, it need not be so, and *ιμάς* merely means a leather thong. Doubtless for such a common occurrence as an examination by flogging some apparatus for securing the relative immobility of the witness was customary, and *ιμάσι* may refer to this quite as much as to the *flagellum*. It was thus interpreted by the Peshitto, but the Latin is as ambiguous as the Greek. I do not understand why Preuschen says that the ‘Wortlaut spricht gegen’ this Syriac rendering. From the point of view of a translator it is a pity that no equally ambiguous phrase can be found in English—‘straps’ would scarcely suggest flogging. A curious parallel to the ambiguity of *ιμάσι* in this verse is found in Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* viii. 10. 4 ἀνέσσεως γὰρ οὐσης ἀπασι τοῖς βουλο-
 μένοις ἐνυβρίξιν, οἱ μὲν ξύλοις ἐπαιον,
 ἑτεροὶ δὲ ῥάβδοις, ἄλλοι δὲ μάστιγι, ἑτεροὶ
 δὲ πάλιν ἱμάσιν, ἄλλοι δὲ σχοινίοις. The
 meaning seems plain: Eusebius is exhausting his vocabulary to describe the implements with which the populace hit the martyrs. But Rufinus

did not think so, and paraphrases *ιμάσι* just as the Peshitto does in Acts—“verberabantur ergo alii fustibus, alii virgis, flagris quoque alii, nonnulli loris districti, vel funibus adpensi.”

citizen and uncondemned] Cf. xvi. 37 ff. The *Lex Porcia* and the *Lex Iulia* prohibited the beating of a citizen, but there must have been rules of which we are ignorant to modify this law. Too much emphasis has been put on Cicero’s famous epigram “facinus est vinciri civem Romanum, scelus verberari, prope parricidium necare.” There are certainly many examples of Roman citizens being sentenced to death. Perhaps in the provinces the practical force of these privileges was to give Roman citizens immunity from scourging or execution by the exercise of *coercitio*, but not after trial and condemnation. If so, Paul’s question covers the ground more adequately than some commentators have admitted. He claimed immunity from scourging because he was a citizen, if it was an adjunct to examination, and because he was uncondemned, if it was intended as a punishment. This may also be the solution of the problem raised by 2 Cor. xi. 25 *τρίς ἐραβδίσθη*, where *ἐραβδίσθη* at least suggests scourging by lictors. On these occasions Paul had probably been sentenced. There is of course no definite evidence in support of this theory, except the isolated instances of Roman practice. But the *Lex Porcia* did not contemplate the situations arising in the provinces of the Empire, and the enforcement of laws often differs widely in practice from their original intention. (See Addit. Note 26.)

26. citizen] This is the usual meaning of *Ῥωμαῖος*, which does not mean a resident in Rome (cf. ii. 10), but a citizen of the Empire. One of the curiosities of language is that, owing to this, *Ῥωμαϊκά* became the

said, "Tell me, are you a Roman citizen?" And he said, "Yes." And the tribune answered, "I myself obtained this 28 citizenship for a great sum." And Paul said, "But I am a citizen by birth." And at once those who had been going to 29

ordinary word for Greek, and *Ῥωμαῖοι* meant the citizens of the Byzantine Empire. It is only in the last twenty years that *Ἑλληνικά διμλεῖν* has again come into popular use with the meaning 'to speak Greek,' and marks the change from Constantinople to Athens as the centre of gravity of the Greek world.

28. obtained] It was the custom of new citizens to take the family name of the Emperor; thus the reigns of Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian greatly increased the number of Flavii, and the fact that in the papyri and in Egypt Aurelius is the most common name is due to the extension of Roman citizenship in Egypt by Caracalla in 212, and that the Severi Emperors called themselves Aurelii. Thus Blass uses the name of the tribune (Claudius Lysias, xxiii. 26) to suggest that he obtained his citizenship under Claudius. Dio Cassius (ix. 17. 5 f.) says that at first under Messalina and the freedmen of Claudius citizenship was sold for large sums (*μεγάλων χρημάτων*), but that later if anyone gave even a broken piece of glassware he might become a citizen. This hardly enables us to fix the date of the tribune's obtaining of citizenship or the price he paid for it, though the 'great sum' of the Neutral text suggests that he was one of the earlier creations. On the other hand, in the light of Dio's statement, the Western text may be interpreted as a cynical statement, 'I know how cheap citizenship has become.' It should, however, be remembered that citizens made under some of the earlier emperors would also carry the name Claudius, as would manumitted slaves of some of the wealthy private citizens of the Claudian family, like Livia or Germanicus.

great sum] The Western reading is "I know how much it cost to obtain this citizenship" (*ἐγὼ οἶδα πόσου κτλ.*), and is one of the places which are contrary to the

usual rule that the B-text seems intrinsically better. The further expansion "It is easy enough to say that you are a Roman citizen" has scarcely enough attestation to justify us in calling it part of the original Western text (see Vol. III. p. 215), but of course it correctly represents the implication of the tribune's words. The word rendered 'sum,' *κεφαλαῖον*, was used in non-Attic Greek as equivalent to *χρήματα* (cf. Artemidorus i. 17), and in Lev. vi. 5 and Numbers v. 7 it is used of the 'principal' to which 20 per cent interest is to be added in settlement for various 'torts.' In modern Greek *κεφαλαῖον* means 'capital.'

but] *δὲ καί* has caused much discussion among commentators who have tried to read a special sense into the *καί*. Probably, however, here as elsewhere in Acts it is merely used to emphasize the adversative sense of the *δέ*. It is the equivalent of printing the 'I' in italics. It is surely not necessary to suppose, as Wendt suggests, that there was any actual preference given to inherited citizenship, or that 'purchased' citizenship was a legally recognized type. The phrase merely indicates the usual if illogical preference of human nature for rank obtained by inheritance rather than purchase.

birth] Many suggestions have been made to explain how Paul's father became a Roman citizen. There is a relatively late tradition given by Jerome (*In Philem.* 23, *De vir. ill.* 5) that Paul's parents belonged to Gischala and moved thence to Tarsus. If so, possibly they had been of some assistance to Mark Antony in Palestine, and were given the citizenship. A widely spread theory is that they were prisoners of war deported by Pompey. That would explain their residence in Tarsus, but the career of a Jewish slave sent to Tarsus by Pompey is not especially likely to have led to Roman

examine him stood away from him, and the tribune was afraid when he recognized that he was a Roman citizen and that he had fettered him.

30 And on the next day, wishing to know the facts of the

citizenship. If any of them came like Paul to Jerusalem one would expect to find them in a synagogue of Cilicians or of *libertini* (see on vi. 9). Ramsay, *Cities of St. Paul*, believes that a considerable group of Jews had become citizens of Tarsus as early as 171 B.C. (pp. 169 ff.) and that some of these, including Paul's forebears, were given Roman citizenship under Pompey (pp. 205 ff.). It was possible to have both Roman and Tarsian (xxi. 39) citizenship (cf. *Expositor*, Jan., Feb., 1902; *Expository Times*, xvi., 1904, pp. 18 ff.). Paul would bear the triple Roman name as a Roman citizen, though only the cognomen would be generally used. Cf. notes on 'obtained' above, and on xiii. 9. (See Th. Zahn in *Neue Kirchl. Zeitschr.*, 1904, pp. 23 ff., in *Introd. to N.T.*, Eng. trans. i. pp. 67-70, and in Hauck-Herzog, *Prot. RE*. 3rd ed. xv. pp. 61 ff.)

29. was afraid] His fear was not because he had arrested Paul—neither the *Lex Porcia* nor the *Lex Iulia* conferred immunity from arrest—but because he had illegally bound him. It should be noted that even on this point he had not infringed the later of the two laws, which made it an offence for anyone *potestate praeditus civem Romanum antea ad populum nunc ad imperatorem appellantem . . . in publica vincula duci iusserit*. Paul had not yet appealed to the Emperor. Moreover, what is the exact meaning of *publica vincula* in contrast to other *vincula*?

recognized] The grammar of this sentence, ἐφοβήθη ἐπικρυούς . . . καὶ δι, is as clumsy but as intelligible in Greek as in the translation. It does not justify any emendation. But an exegetical difficulty is raised by the absence of any statement of Paul's immediate release from τῶν ἱμάντων. Doubtless Claudius Lysias immediately released him from the triangle, or whatever corresponded to it in Roman usage, and naturally he was no longer handcuffed to two

soldiers. The tying him up for the whip implies that he was not fettered to a soldier at that moment. That he remained in custody is equally obvious, and he is described as a *δέσμιος* in xxiii. 18 and as *δεδεμένον* in xxiv. 27. Possibly these words do not mean more than 'prisoner' and 'in custody.' Clearly they are not contemplated as an infringement of Paul's right, and the *publica vincula* of the *Lex Iulia* probably means fetters as a punishment, not merely handcuffs as a means of secure custody. This, however, is implied, not stated, and confusion has arisen because a superficial reading of vs. 30 and an imperfect visualization of the facts has suggested that in spite of his fear the tribune kept Paul 'bound,' in an illegal sense, until the next day. But in vs. 30 ἔλυσε surely refers to release, at least temporarily, from custody. Had Paul satisfied the Sanhedrin he would have been free. Nevertheless the sentence is admittedly clumsy, and this doubtless is the reason for the Western revision which probably (the evidence is not very good) read " . . . because he had bound him, and immediately released him. And on the following day he sent and commanded the high priests," etc. It is true that this text is fully attested only by the Sahidic version, but D and the African Latin are not extant. (See Vol. III. p. 215, and appendix on the Sahidic version on p. 350.)

30-xxiii. 11. PAUL AND THE SANHEDRIN. The majority of recent writers on Acts have been disposed to doubt the accuracy of this scene, and those who think that more than one source can be detected in this part of Acts generally attribute this section to the inferior source or to the editor. (See Wendt's summary in the Meyer commentary, p. 313, and the longer expositions of F. Spitta, *Apostelgeschichte*, pp. 264 ff.; J. Jüngst, *Die Quellen d. Apostelgeschichte*, pp. 181 ff.;

accusation brought by the Jews, he released him and commanded the high priests and all the Sanhedrin to assemble, and brought down Paul and stood him before them. And Paul gazed at the 25 Sanhedrin and said, "Brethren, I have lived before God with an entirely good conscience up to this day." And the high 2

J. Weiss, *Über die Absicht und den liter. Charakter d. Apostelgeschichte*, p. 43; Hilgenfeld's article in the *Zeits. f. wiss. Theol.*, 1896, pp. 525 ff.; Windisch in Vol. II. pp. 333 f., and the older but still unequalled discussion in Zeller, *Acts of the Apostles*, Eng. trans. vol. ii. pp. 74 ff.; and on the other side Harnack, *Date of the Acts*, pp. 81 ff., and Emmet in Vol. II. pp. 295 f.)

In all this discussion the main difficulty is really psychological, not critical or historical. Paul is represented in this section as defending himself before the Sanhedrin by alleging that he was a good Pharisee, who had got into trouble merely because he preached doctrines which no good Pharisee doubted. That, it is said, was simply not true, and it is inconceivable that Paul would have put forward an untrue defence. Doubtless from the point of view of the Sanhedrin it was not true, but it was from Paul's own standpoint. (See Addit. Note 17.)

30. released] i.e. from prison. He had been already released from the fetters which were improper for a Roman citizen, but he had remained in prison.

1. gazed] A favourite word in Acts. Cf. i. 10; iii. 4, 12, etc.

Brethren] Commentators have sought to find a meaning in the change of address from 'Brethren and Fathers' in xxii. 1, and have suggested that the shorter form here is intended as a denial of jurisdiction, such as was implied by Cranmer who at his trial in the chancel of St. Mary the Virgin in Oxford bowed to the assembled doctors, but not to the Pope's legate. But the evidence is scarcely enough to justify this view. Luke notoriously varies his phrases.

I have lived] *πεπολιτευμαι*, literally to 'live as a citizen.' In the weaker sense in which it is here used it is found in Philipp. i. 27; 2 Macc. xi.

25; Philo, *De carit.* 22 and *De creat. princ.* 13; but it is quite common in later Christian writers, and is in Josephus, 1 Clement, 4 Maccabees, and in a papyrus quoted by Deissmann, *Bibelstudien*, p. 211.

before God] The addition of *τῷ θεῷ* means that Paul claims that his life had been godly. It would be an exaggeration to translate 'I have been a citizen of God' (cf. xxiv. 16, 1 Pet. ii. 19). *ζῆν τῷ θεῷ* or *κυριῷ* is found in Rom. vi. 10 f., xiv. 8; Gal. ii. 19; cf. Luke xx. 38. But in these passages it is used of a changed quality of life, almost equivalent to 'immortality,' while in Acts it seems to mean 'a righteous life.' The natural outcome of the Pauline phraseology is the frequent use of *ζῆν τῷ θεῷ* in Hermas to mean immortality or salvation.

entirely good] *πάσῃ συνείδῃσει ἀγαθῇ*. *πᾶς* is scarcely to be rendered by 'all.' It is little more than an adverbial accentuation of the adjective with which it is connected, and must be translated in various ways according to the context. The adjective *ἀγαθῇ* is frequently found with *συνειδήσις* including 1 Peter (*bis*), 1 Timothy (*bis*), 1 Clement xli. 1, and various non-Christian writings.

conscience] *συνειδήσις* according to Blass is a late word which took the place of the earlier *σύνεσις*. One might better describe it as the synonym and successor of the phrase *τὸ συνέδος*. It is found twice in the LXX (Eccles. x. 20; Wisd. xvii. 11). Cf. 1 Tim. i. 5, 19; 1 Pet. iii. 16, 21; Heb. xiii. 18. An English translation is not easily selected. If *συνειδήσις* is translated 'conscience' it must be recalled that the modern connotation of a moral faculty which is a guide for conduct is not included in the term. It is the individual's conscious record of his past acts, his awareness of

priest Ananias ordered those who stood by him to smite him
 3 on the mouth. Then Paul said to him, "God will smite
 you, you whitened wall. You are sitting there to judge me
 according to the law, and do you break the law by ordering me
 4 to be smitten?" And those who stood by said, "You insult

having done evil or good, the *mens conscia recti* (or *mali*), or in technical language *conscientia consequens moralis*. In Paul and other more philosophical writers it is also used almost as though it were a separate witness to a man's innocence or guilt, a personified accuser, judge, guardian. Here and in the similar passage, xxiv. 16, it is modified by an adjective implying that the record of past action is a clean or clear one. For a discussion of the word see Cremer-Kögel, *Bibl.-theolog. Wörterbuch*, 1915, and other lexica s.v., and (especially for the Pauline use) commentaries on Rom. ii. 15, 1 Cor. viii. 7, 2 Cor. i. 12. The contemporary usage is well shown in the full collection of Latin citations of *conscientia* in the *Thesaurus* and in R. Mulder, *De conscientiae notione, quae et qualis fuerit Romanis*, Leyden, 1908. For other monographs on συνείδησις in the N.T. and in contemporary use see F. Vigoroux, *Le N.T. et les découvertes*, 1890, p. 65 note; Preuschen-Bauer, *Wörterbuch*, s.v. The use of the word in the New Testament is not to be understood as technically philosophical. Cf. M. S. Enslin, *The Ethics of Paul*, pp. 208 ff.

2. **Ananias**] The son of Nebedaeus, or Nedebaeus, and high priest in the reigns of Claudius and Nero (cf. Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 9. 2). He lived until the beginning of the war and was assassinated by ἡσδαί (Josephus, *B.J.* ii. 17. 6, 9), which may, but need not, mean Sicarii (Blass) or Zealots (Strack-Billerbeck). Cf. Vol. I. p. 30.

to smite him] The reason is not plain. Either as a protest against a prisoner maintaining his innocence, or to indicate that the simple address 'Brethren' was insufficient. In John xviii. 22 f. Jesus is likewise struck by an attendant at a hearing before the high priest and utters a protest.

What is the relation between the two episodes?

3. **God will smite you**] This form of 'predictive curse' was held by the Rabbis to be correct on the basis of Deut. xxviii. 20 ff. (see Strack, ii. p. 766). Compare the refinement of Jude 9 from *Ass. Mos.* from Zech. iii. 2. The high priest was assassinated in September A.D. 66. Was this in the mind of the writer when he recorded Paul's prediction? Or was the prediction left without consideration of its fulfilment? See the similar question raised by xx. 25.

whitened wall] The point of the comparison is obscure. The modern reader naturally thinks of Matt. xxiii. 27, but there the phrase is probably used to describe hypocrisy, and it is very far-fetched to read a reference to hypocrisy into the present story. Another suggestion is that there is a reference to Ezek. xiii. 10 ff. (the wall daubed with untempered mortar). The objection to this is that the phrase rendered 'daubed with untempered mortar,' though it might conceivably be freely rendered by κεκοιμημένε, is not so rendered in the LXX, so that Luke can scarcely have intended any reference to it. It is more probable that the term was one of general abuse, of which the origin and exact meaning has been lost. It should be noted that even in Matt. xxiii. 27 the relation of a 'whitened tomb' to hypocrisy is very obscure. The tombs were whitened to draw attention to what they really were—tombs—so that passers-by should not accidentally be defiled. That is the reverse of hypocrisy.

break the law] As so often in Greek the emphasis is on the participle, παρανομῶν, but in English the emphatic word is made the principal verb.

4. **You insult**] Or possibly a ques-

Exod. xxii. 28. God's high priest." And Paul said, "I did not know, brethren, 5 that it was the high priest; for it is written 'thou shalt not speak evil of a ruler of thy people.'" And Paul, 6 learning that one part of them was Sadducees and the other Pharisees, cried out in the Sanhedrin, "Brethren, I am a Pharisee, a son of Pharisees. I am on trial for the hope and resurrection of the dead." And when he said this disturbance 7

tion, 'Do you insult?' There seems no special reason for deciding, but unfortunately English cannot be ambiguous on this point. The Western text in Latin seems to have been *insilis . . . maledicendo* and to have read *sacerdotem*, which may imply the Greek *ιερέα* and some expansive phrase instead of the simple *λοιδορῶν*. The Latin versions were perhaps not consistent in their renderings, and may sometimes have used *sacerdotem* to render *ἀρχιερέα* (cf. h in vii. 1, ix. 14, 21, xxiii. 14, but on the other hand D reads *ιερέως* for *ἀρχιερέως* in iv. 1, v. 27, xix. 14). See note on xix. 14 and Zahn, *Urausgabe*, pp. 177 f.

God's high priest] The addition 'of God' (Lord) is occasionally found with 'priest' (e.g. 1 Kings ii. 27) to denote the high priest. *ἀρχιερέως* is not a biblical expression, either in Hebrew or in the LXX (only in Lev. iv. 3). In the few places when a defining phrase is needed the LXX says *ὁ ιερέως ὁ μέγας*. 'Priest of God' is also found as the title of Melchizedek in Gen. xiv. 18.

5. I did not know] It is often said that this is impossible, for the high priest always presided at the meetings of the Sanhedrin. Such is certainly the evidence of the Mishna, but it is likely that its testimony represents not the actual practice of the Sanhedrin, but an ideal constitution drawn up by Jewish lawyers long after Sanhedrin and high priest had ceased to exist. It is also possible that Paul merely meant that he did not know who had given the order, and not inconceivable that he remembered his own writing *λοιδορούμενοι ἐυλογοῦμεν, διωκόμενοι ἀνεχόμεθα* (1 Cor. iv. 12). Other explanations, none very convincing, are that Paul's

words are ironical—he did not recognize such unworthy conduct as really coming from the high priest, or that he had poor eyesight (as evidence for which Gal. iv. 15, vi. 11 are adduced), or that the high priest was a new incumbent since Paul's earlier visits in Jerusalem, or that since the tribune was presiding the high priest was not in an easily recognized seat.

it is written] Exod. xxii. 28 *θεοὺς οὐ κακολογήσεις καὶ ἄρχοντας τοῦ λαοῦ σου οὐ κακῶς ἐρεῖς*. Josephus, *C. Apion*. ii. 24, explains that therefore anyone who does not obey the high priest shall be punished as if for impiety against God. But it is to be remembered—though the point is not directly important for the meaning of Acts—that in Exod. xxii. 28 'elohim' may mean 'judges' rather than 'God.'

6. learning] This, or 'when he came to know,' is the meaning of *γινούς*.

Sadducees . . . Pharisees] See Vol. I. pp. 110 ff., and note on xxii. 30-xxiii. 11.

a Pharisee, a son of Pharisees] So xxvi. 5 and Philipp. iii. 5. In the latter passage *Ἑβραῖος ἐξ Ἑβραίων* probably means 'son of Hebrews' (i.e. not a proselyte). With the whole passage cf. 2 Tim. i. 3 *χάριν ἔχω τῷ θεῷ ᾧ λατρεύω ἀπὸ προγόνων ἐν καθαρᾷ συνειδήσει*. That Paul the Christian could speak of himself as a Pharisee ought not to be doubted. Acts xv. 5 mentions Pharisees who were Christian believers. (See also Addit. Note 17 on Paul's controversies.)

hope and resurrection of the dead] Apparently the articles are omitted, technical phrases being treated as proper names are (see note below on

arose between the Pharisees and the Sadducees, and the meeting was divided. For Sadducees say that there is no resurrection, nor angel nor spirit, but Pharisees acknowledge both. And there was a great uproar, and some of the scribes of the party of the Pharisees

τῶν Φαρ. καὶ Σαδδ.). The custom seems to have been to write either ἡ ἀνάστασις τῶν νεκρῶν or ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν. Between these two phrases there is no difference of meaning; both mean the raising up of the dead—the resurrection of corpses. Schwartz (*Gött. Nachr.*, 1907, p. 289) argues that ἐλπίδος means ‘the Messianic hope,’ but there is no reference in the context to the Messiah, and though Schwartz’s view is attractive it is probably better to take ‘hope and resurrection’ as practically equivalent to ‘hope of the resurrection.’ In referring to this scene at xxiv. 21 Paul mentions simply the resurrection of the dead. The resurrection is described as the subject of his ‘hope’ in xxiv. 15, xxvi. 6-8, and of his statements (xxv. 19, xxvi. 22 f.). Without these parallels or contexts one might assume at xxvi. 6-8 and xxviii. 20 that ‘the hope of the promise made to our fathers by God, to which our twelve tribes earnestly serving God night and day hope to attain,’ or ‘the hope of Israel’ is the Messianic hope. The parallelism of these several passages is further indicated by the like use of κρίνομαι xxiii. 6, xxiv. 21; ἔστηκα κρινόμενος xxvi. 6; ἐγκαλοῦμαι xxvi. 7; τὴν ἄλυσιν ταύτην περικείμεαι xxviii. 20.

7. the Pharisees] It is noticeable here that Luke follows the tendency of later Greek to omit the article with proper names and to write Ῥωμαῖοι or Φαρισαῖοι where an earlier and stricter writer would probably have written οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, οἱ Φαρισαῖοι. The only apparent exception is the τῶν Φαρισαίων in this verse, but this is not really a breach of the writer’s custom. The article refers back to the previous mention of Pharisees and Sadducees in vs. 6. It would be an exaggeration to render it ‘the aforesaid Pharisees,’ but that is the implication of τῶν. Moreover there is a small point in the Greek which cannot be brought out in English; the τῶν apparently covers

both Φαρισαίων and Σαδδουκαίων so that the meaning is not quite ‘there was a division of the whole assembly into Pharisees and Sadducees,’ but rather ‘that part which was Pharisees and Sadducees was divided.’

meeting] See note on iv. 32.

was divided] See note on xvii. 32, and cf. the phrase ἐσχίσθη δὲ τὸ πλῆθος τῆς πόλεως in xiv. 4.

8. Sadducees say] Cf. Josephus, *B.J.* ii. 8. 14, and see Vol. I. p. 116; G. F. Moore, *Judaism*, vol. i. pp. 67 ff.; E. Meyer, *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums*, vol. ii. pp. 290 ff.; J. W. Lightley, *Jewish Sects and Parties in the Time of Jesus*, and J. Klausner, *Jesus of Nazareth*, pp. 216 ff.; Schürer, *GJV.* 4th ed. ii. pp. 475 ff.; R. Leszynsky, *Die Sadduzäer* (cf. *JTS.* xxviii. p. 394); Strack-Billerbeck, iv. pp. 334 ff., and the discussion about the Sadducees in the *Expositor* by B. D. Erdmans (Oct. 1914), M. H. Segal (Feb. 1917), and G. H. Box (Jan., June, July 1918).

both] ἀμφότερα in Greek, like ‘both’ in English, ought to refer only to two, but the distinction was not always observed any more than it is in colloquial English. See xix. 16. Therefore, said Ammonius (in the Catena), one must not judge the writings of simple and unlettered fishermen by standards of external precise nicety. Chrysostom and others after him reduce the three items to two by making spirit and angel one, and thus vindicate the grammar. It is also noteworthy that while the Sadducees’ denial of a resurrection is attested by Josephus, the rabbinic sources (Strack, iv. pp. 344), and the gospels (Mark xii. 18 = Matt. xxii. 23 = Luke xx. 27), their denial of angels or spirits is not spoken of elsewhere. See, however, L. Finkelstein, *Harvard Theol. Rev.* xxii. (1929), p. 239.

9. scribes of the party of the Pharisees] Cf. Mark ii. 16 οἱ γραμματεῖς τῶν Φαρισαίων. (Cf. Luke v. 30 οἱ

arose and argued, saying, "We find nothing wrong in this man, and what if a spirit did speak to him, or an angel?" And when great disturbance arose the tribune was afraid that 10 Paul would be torn in pieces by them, and he ordered the guard to go down and pull him out of their midst and take him into the barracks.

And the next night the Lord stood by him and said, "Be 11 brave, for as you have testified for me in Jerusalem, so you must also bear witness in Rome." And when it was day the Jews 12 held a meeting and laid themselves under a vow, saying that they would neither eat nor drink until they had killed Paul.

Φαρισαῖοι καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς αὐτῶν.) Not all scribes were Pharisees and not all Pharisees were scribes, though the two groups must have overlapped considerably. See G. F. Moore, *Judaism*, vol. i. pp. 43, 57, 286 f. In the light of this passage perhaps the scene in chap. v. could be understood as a controversy over the policy toward the Christians between the spokesmen of the Sadducees (the high priest and his associates, vss. 17, 21, 27) and of the Pharisees (Gamaliel, vs. 34).

argued] διαμάχεσθαι is a stronger word than διαλέγεσθαι which also has been translated in this commentary 'argued.' διαμάχεσθαι is used at least twice in this sense in Ecclus. (viii. 1, 4; possibly also at li. 19, but at xxxviii. 28 διαμαχήσεται) should certainly be emended to διατακῆσεται) but not elsewhere in the LXX or N.T. except a passage in the LXX (not Theodotion) of Dan. x. 20.

what if, etc.] The B-text gives an intelligibly unfinished sentence. It is completed in the Byzantine text by μὴ θεωμάχωμεν in imitation of Gamaliel's μὴ θεωμάχοι εὐρεθῇτε. The Byzantine text may have taken it from the Western text, as Tertullian, *In Scap.* 4, says "velim ut omnes salvos facere possimus monendo μὴ θεωμαχεῖν," but the African Latin has a different complement (see Vol. III. p. 217).

spirit . . . or an angel] πνεῦμα and ἄγγελος are here tautological. Possibly this is why the Western text

found in the African Latin reads *sanctus spiritus*. The reference is obviously to Paul's vision on the road to Damascus which he had narrated the previous day, but it may be to the vision in the Temple, the account of which in Paul's speech (xxii. 17 ff.) led directly to the riot on the steps of the castle.

10. the guard] τὸ στράτευμα (cf. Luke xxiii. 11) means a detachment of soldiers on duty.

barracks] The Antonia (see Addit. Note 35).

11. the Lord] Here obviously Jesus. Rome] To go to Rome was already Paul's intention according to Acts xix. 21.

12-22. THE PLOT AGAINST PAUL.

12. meeting] Cf. xix. 40, where *συστροφή*, as here, seems to mean 'an indignation meeting,' between which and a riot there is often but a slight difference. In the LXX *συστροφή* seems a synonym for *συνωμοσία* or *ἐνέδρα*, and this may be the meaning here, i.e. conspiracy or plot. Cf. vss. 13 and 16.

laid themselves under a vow] i.e. said that they would be *ἀνάθεμα* if they took food before Paul was killed. Inasmuch as they obviously failed, the question has been raised whether they necessarily starved to death. But the Rabbis decreed that in such cases relief could be given from a vow (Strack, vol. ii. p. 767). As an early Christian example of a similar vow compare the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*, which re-

13 And there were more than forty who made this conspiracy.
 14 And they went to the high priests and elders and said, "We have
 laid ourselves under a vow to taste nothing until we have killed
 15 Paul. Now therefore lay information with the Sanhedrin before
 the tribune that he may bring him down to you as though you
 were going to make a further inquiry into his case, and we,
 16 before he comes near, are ready to kill him." But the son of
 Paul's sister heard of the plot and went and entered into the

ported of the brother of the Lord
 "iuraverat enim Jacobus se non com-
 esurum panem ab illa hora, qua biberat
 calicem domini, donec videret eum
 resurgentem a dormientibus" (Jerome,
De viris ill. 2).

13-15. The Western text of these
 verses undoubtedly gives a better
 narrative than the B-text. "And
 when it was day some of the Jews
 assembled, and made a vow, saying
 that they would neither eat nor drink
 until they killed Paul, and there were
 more than forty who took the vow.
 They went therefore to the priests
 and elders and said, 'We have made
 a vow to eat nothing at all until we
 kill Paul. Grant us this: summon
 the Sanhedrin, and ask the tribune to
 bring him down to you, as though
 you were going to hold a more
 accurate inquiry about him. And
 we will be ready to kill, even though
 we must die too.'" But though this
 is a more lively narrative, is it more
 Lucan? Zahn regards 'some of the
 Jews' instead of 'the Jews' as a
 point in its favour. Doubtless this
 is nearer the facts, but Luke was
 so apt to blame all Jews for each
 Jew that *oi Ioudaioi* may well be
 original. The other variations merely
 straighten out and enliven a rather
 compressed and awkward paragraph.

14. high priests and elders] The im-
 plication may be that the conspirators
 approached the Sadducean section of
 the Sanhedrin. The scribes, who were
 mostly Pharisees, are not mentioned.
 But the scribes are not mentioned in
 many other cases where their omission
 cannot be explained in this way. (Cf.
 Matt. xxi. 23, xxvi. 3, 47, 59, xxvii. 1,
 3, 12, 20; Luke xxii. 52; Acts iv. 23,
 xxv. 15.)

15. lay... before] *ἐμφανίσαι* means
 'to give information' (cf. Esther ii.
 22; 2 Macc. iii. 7). Here it is ap-
 parently used in a semi-technical
 sense, such as is suggested by the
 legal phrase in the translation.
 Parallels to this usage may be found
 in P Par 26. 18; P Eleph 8. 3.
 It occurs in Acts xxiii. 22, xxiv. 1,
 xxv. 1, 15.

with the Sanhedrin] Obviously the
 meaning is that the high priest and
 elders are to secure the co-operation
 of other members and make a motion
 before the tribune in the name of
 the Sanhedrin. Grammatically 'with
 the Sanhedrin' could be linked with
 the tribune, but this would give no
 good sense.

inquiry] But *διαγινώσκω* is really
 rather more than inquiry. It implies
 decision as well as investigation or in-
 quiry. Cf. xxiv. 22, xxv. 21 (*διάγνωσις*
 with note). But it is hard to give this
 double meaning in English.

16. the son of Paul's sister] See
N. Kirchl. Zeitschr., 1904, pp. 23 f.;
 Zahn, *Einleitung*, i.³, pp. 47-50, and
 Hauck-Herzog, *R.E.* 3rd ed. vol. xv.
 pp. 68 ff.

went and entered] The Greek is
 very awkward. It is natural that
 the African Latin reads *venit in*
castra et intravit ad Paulum. The Greek
 might be translated, 'Having heard
 the plot, having been present, and
 entering . . . told Paul.' This gives
 a better construction, and Paul's
 nephew may have been accidentally
 included in the conspiracy. Forty is
 too large a number for successful
 assassination.

It is obvious from this and the last
 verse that though Paul was in custody
 he was being treated with respect.

barracks and reported it to Paul. And Paul summoned one of the 177 centurions and said, "Take this youth to the tribune, for he has something to report to him." So he took him and brought him 188 to the tribune and said, "The prisoner Paul summoned me and asked me to bring this youth to you, for he has something to tell you." And the tribune took him by the hand, went aside, 199 and asked him privately, "What is it you have to report to me?" And he said, "The Jews have arranged to ask you to 200 bring Paul down to-morrow to the Council as though it were going to make full inquiry about him. Therefore do not be 211 persuaded by them, for more than forty men of them are lying in wait for him, and they have put themselves under a vow not to eat nor drink until they have killed him, and they are ready now, waiting for your consent." So the tribune sent the youth 222 away and enjoined on him not to tell anyone that "you laid this information before me."

And he called two of the centurions and said, "Get ready 233

18. the prisoner] Source-analysts have thought that this contradicts xxii. 30, but obviously whatever sense *ἔλυσεν* had in vs. 30 it did not mean complete freedom, and Paul was in custody when his nephew saw him. *δέσμιος* does not necessarily mean 'fettered.' (See note on xxii. 30.)

20. it were going] *μέλλον*. 'You were going' is the only possible translation of *μέλλον*, the text of B, followed by Westcott and Hort and all other editors except Ropes, who reads *μέλλον* with *Σ*. He is surely right in saying that the sense requires the *μελλ-* to refer to the Sanhedrin. (Cf. *μέλλοντος* in the parallel in vs. 15.) His reading must be regarded as an emendation, for the support of *Σ* is probably accidental, but it is convincing. The alternative is to read *μέλλοντες* with the later Greek mss. This might be supported by the African Latin which has *volentes*, but I suspect that this is intended to be an accusative in a 'sense-aposition' to *concilium*, rather than in agreement with *Iudaei*.

full] *ἀκριβέστερον*, see note on xxiv. 22.

21. consent] *ἐπαγγελία* means most frequently a promise; but its original sense is 'a favourable message' and so 'consent' or 'assent,' which is clearly the meaning demanded by this context. In the papyri it is used of business transactions. Cf. Preisigke, *Fachwörter*, p. 80. Elsewhere in the New Testament it is the divine promise.

22. enjoined on him . . . that you] For the change from direct to indirect narration cf. i. 4. The reverse change may be seen in the next verses, *εἶπεν· ἐτοιμάσατε . . . κτήνη τε παραστήναι*. See on these passages H. J. Cadbury, *JBL*. xlviii. (1929) pp. 415 f.

23 ff. PAUL'S REMOVAL TO CAESAREA. There is great variation in the text, and the meaning is obscure. The B-text seems to mean that the tribune ordered 200 'soldiers' and in addition 70 cavalry and 200 *δεξιολάβους* (the meaning of which is wholly unknown) —470 in all. The Western text may be reconstructed by a comparison of the African Latin with the Harclean margin, somewhat as follows: "He called two of the centurions, and said, 'Get ready armed soldiers to go

two hundred soldiers to go to Caesarea, and seventy cavalry and two hundred dexiolabi, from the third hour of the night, and provide animals that they may mount Paul and bring him in safety to Felix, the Governor." And he wrote a letter

to Caesarea, 100 cavalry and 200 infantry,' and they said, 'They will be ready to start at the third hour of the night.' And he ordered the centurions to provide riding-animals and mount Paul and bring him by night to Felix," etc. This gives an intelligible and natural sense, leaves out the mysterious δεξιολάβους and the awkward repetition of 200 with the first mention of soldiers as well as with the δεξιολάβους. A guard of 300 is certainly large enough and more probable than 470. But the suspicion arises that the Western reviser found the same difficulties which we do and emended the text. The question cannot be solved by itself, but is part of the general problem of the Western text.

If, however, the B-text be accepted, there is great difficulty in the details of the story. Who were the 'dexiolabi'? Why were so many troops sent?

But the chief difficulty of the passage remains with either text. The march is almost incredible for a body of infantry. To reach Antipatris in one night is quite outside the range of a legion's march, which was traditionally fixed at twenty-four miles. Auxiliaries, being less heavily armed, would go somewhat faster, but forty miles, the distance of Antipatris from Jerusalem, is an impossible night-march for infantry, and quite a severe task for cavalry, especially for the horses. The phrase *διὰ νυκτός εἰς τὴν Ἀντιπατρίδα τῇ δὲ ἑπαύριον* . . . certainly seems to imply that they reached Antipatris the next day, after a night's march. But possibly the infantry never went all the way to Antipatris. The full force escorted Paul out of the danger-zone, and the infantry returned next day, reporting that the prisoner was safely on his way.

It is possible that there is an ancient corruption in the text to which is due the insertion of infantry. The strange word δεξιολάβους is unique and there-

fore probably genuine. My guess would be that it means 'led horses,' and that Paul was sent with a detachment of 70 cavalry with 200 led horses. The strangeness of δεξιολάβους may have led to inaccurate glosses which affected the text. A cavalry officer who cared for his horses would surely provide second horses for his men if he was sending them at speed from Jerusalem to Caesarea. They would perhaps also need some baggage horses, which the δεξιολάβους would take charge of, but even so 200 seems a large number. On the other hand Luke may have confused the facts.

23. two of the centurions] *τινὰς δύο τῶν ἑκατονταρχῶν*. For the frequent recurrence of two messengers see note on ix. 38. The indefinite pronoun is untranslatable in *τινὰς δύο*. Cf. Luke vii. 18 *δύο τινάς*, xxii. 50 *εἰς τις*, and the reading at Acts xix. 14 *τινες . . . ἐπτά*.

soldiers] See Additional Note 33 for the military organization of the Empire in relation to Palestine.

dexiolabi] *δεξιολάβους* must mean something connected with 'taking by the right,' but there is no evidence as to what was taken or why. The word is not found again until centuries later when its use was probably based on this passage. See Zahn, *Urausgabe*, pp. 114 and 321, and E. Meyer, *Ursprung und Anfänge*, iii. p. 51. The newest edition of Liddell and Scott says *δεξιολάβους* means spearmen, but no evidence is given. That the Vulgate translates it *lancearios* is not conclusive.

third hour of the night] i.e. about 9.30 p.m. at that time of year.

24. animals] Horses or mules.

Felix] Antonius Felix, the brother of Pallas, a favourite freedman of the emperor Claudius. Felix was immortalized by Tacitus as exercising the power of a king with the mind of a slave. (Cf. Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 9 and *Ann.* xii. 54.)

Governor] *ἡγεμών*. He was pro-

to the following effect: "Claudius Lysias to his Excellency, the 26 Governor Felix, greeting. This man was seized by the Jews and 27 was on the point of being killed by them when I intervened with the guard and rescued him, having learnt that he was a Roman citizen. And wishing to know the charge on which 28

curator, strictly ἐπίτροπος, but often rendered loosely by ἡγεμών (cf. vss. 26, 33, xxiv. 1, 10; xxvi. 30 of Festus; Luke xx. 20, Matthew xxvii. 2 etc., and Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 3. 1 of Pilate). 'Governor' seems a fair rendering of ἡγεμών, though it is perhaps a little too definite.

The Western text adds an explanation for his action: "for he was afraid that the Jews would seize him (Paul) and kill him, and afterwards (μεταξύ, see note on xiii. 42) he would incur the accusation of having taken money (i.e. to allow Paul to be lynched)." Josephus says that Cumanus the Procurator was removed from office for accepting bribes, and Acts intimates that Felix hoped for money from Paul. See note on xxiv. 26.

25. to the following effect] ἔχουσιν (περιέχουσιν AHLPS) τὸν τύπον τοῦτον is closely allied to the idiomatic phrase περιέχειν τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον, 1 Macc. xv. 2; 2 Macc. xi. 16; Josephus, *Antiq.* xi. 6, xii. 4, 11, for which the same writers use interchangeably ἔχειν τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον, 1 Macc. xi. 29; 2 Macc. i. 24; Josephus, *Antiq.* xi. 6. 12. The use of τύπος in a like sense can be illustrated by 3 Macc. iii. 30 (Philo, *De decalogo*, 32, § 168, p. 207 M. κεφαλαιώδη τύπον περιέχουσα is different), but is not so common. In all these cases the context gives not only the tenor of the document referred to, but, after the manner of ancient writers, what might well be regarded as the actual wording and form of the letter, an *exemplum* of the verbal contents. As to the genuineness of such letters see Additional Note 32.

26. Claudius] His *nomen*, acquired when he obtained his citizenship. (See xxii. 28 and note *ad loc.*)

Excellency] Οὐκράτιστος of Roman officials see xxiv. 3, xxvi. 25; Vol. II. pp. 505 f.; Preuschen on this passage. E. Meyer, *Ursprung und*

Anfänge, p. 6, translates it by the formal 'Hochwohlgeboren' which is probably better than 'His Excellency.' English is mercifully not rich in adjectives of social distinction, but this is sometimes a drawback in translating.

27-30. Some commentators have needlessly discussed the relation of this letter to the facts. Yet no detail in the letter is actually false; the writer merely suppresses the fact that Lysias was on the point of flogging Paul when he found that he was a citizen. But since when has it been official custom or human nature to report unfavourable facts when it is not necessary to do so? It is of course probable that the letter is a literary fiction of Luke, but he seems to have made a very good guess at what Lysias was likely to say.

27. guard] See note on vs. 10. having learnt] μαθὼν. According to the earlier account the tribune intervened first and learned Paul's Roman citizenship afterwards, and therefore the use of this aorist participle seems to misrepresent the facts, and gives rise to the criticism mentioned above. It may be observed, however, that aorist participles in this context appear to apply to coincident or even subsequent action, e.g. γράψας vs. 25, κελεύσας vs. 35, though the grammarians still deny any case of aorist participle of subsequent action (cf. A. T. Robertson, *Grammar of the Greek New Testament*, pp. 861 ff.). Cf. note on xxv. 13. Perhaps the letter merely means to say that the tribune intervened in the riot, learned of Paul's citizenship, and examined the case.

28. charge] αἰτία is both a general word meaning 'reason' and a legal term. As such, however, it may have several meanings: (i.) the charge on which an accusation is based, (ii.) the crime involved in the charge, (iii.) guilt

29 they accused him I brought him down to their Council, and I found that he was accused about questions of their Law and
 30 was under no accusation deserving death or bonds. And when it was made known to me that there was to be a plot against the man I at once sent him to you, enjoining on his accusers also
 31 to speak against him before you." So the soldiers took Paul according to their instructions and conducted him by night to
 32 Antipatris. And the next day they returned to the barracks, leaving the cavalry to proceed with him, and the latter came
 33 into Caesarea and delivered the letter to the Governor and also
 34 presented Paul to him. And he read it and asked from what province he was, and when he heard that he was from Cilicia,

in that crime. See other instances of the word in Acts xiii. 28, xxv. 18, 27, xxviii. 18, and the apparently synonymous αἰτίων in Luke xxiii. 4, 14, 22, Acts xix. 40, and αἰτίωμα in xxv. 7; also cf. Taubenschlag, *Strafrecht im Recht der Papyri*, p. 5 note 2.

their Council] See note on iv. 15.

29. their Law] The Western text adds "of Moses, and one Jesus." Cf. xxv. 19.

The Western text reads "and when I found (εὐρών) etc. . . . scarcely by force (μόλις τῇ βιᾷ, cf. xxiv. 7) I got him away."

30. a plot, etc.] The construction is mixed, though the meaning is quite plain (see Blass's note *ad loc.*). The writer puts in an unnecessary ἐσεσθαι as though he had been thinking 'when it had been reported that a plot,' etc. (μηνυθέντος ἐπιβουλὴν ἐσεσθαι) though he wrote μηνυθείσης ἐπιβουλῆς, and should either have said no more or continued ὡς ἐσομένης.

enjoining on his accusers] So the Western text of xxiv. 8, but not the narrative of xxiii. It is characteristic of Luke to include in a speech (or letter) of his own composition matters not mentioned in the preceding narrative. See Luke iv. 23 (Capernaum), xxiv. 34; Acts i. 18, 19, xi. 12 (six), xv. 26, xxii. 6 (midday, cf. xxvi. 12), and other instances.

speak against him] πρὸς αὐτόν can well mean 'against him,' but usually the context is clear enough to show

what is meant. Here a superficial reading would take it to mean 'to him.' Hence the emendation of ΝΑ λέγειν αὐτούς and of the Byzantine text λέγειν τὰ πρὸς αὐτόν.

31. Antipatris] Either they went down to Lydda and so along the main road to Antipatris, or kept to the hills through Bethel. The article —εις τὴν Ἀντιπατρίδα—is explained by Blass-Debrunner, *Grammatik*, § 261. 2, as marking a station on a familiar route. (See note on vss. 23 ff.) Though the distance from Jerusalem is usually guessed to be about forty miles (see above, p. 293), the exact location of Antipatris is not certain. See G. A. Smith, s.v. in *Ency. Bibl.* coll. 188 f.

32. leaving the cavalry] There was no further danger, for the conspirators had been outdistanced, and the country between Antipatris and Caesarea was predominantly Gentile. The distance cannot be given exactly, as Antipatris has not been clearly identified, but Caesarea was altogether about sixty Roman miles from Jerusalem.

34. The Western text (see Vol. III. p. 223) has a more lively and less clumsy narrative: "And when he had read the letter he asked Paul, 'From what province are you?' And he said 'Cilicia,' and when he learnt this, he said, 'I will hear you,'" etc.

what province] In Koine Greek πῶς merely is a synonym for τίς used as an interrogative adjective, and in

he said, "I will give you a hearing when your accusers are also present." And he commanded him to be kept in Herod's Praetorium.

And after five days the high priest Ananias came down with

modern Greek *tis* is almost obsolete, except in the nominative singular, though it is used in literary efforts. But some commentators (e.g. Wendt) have forced the original meaning of *ποίας* and thought that Felix was inquiring whether Paul came from an Imperial or Senatorial province. Would this have affected the question?

The inquiry as to the prisoner's province is a natural one if the jurisdiction in criminal cases belonged to the place of the accused's origin rather than of his act. See Mommsen, *Römisches Strafrecht*, pp. 356 f.; *ZNTW*. ii., 1901, p. 92. But why it is introduced here is not evident. A like *motif* occurs in Luke xxiii. 6 f., but there it serves a purpose. Some of the *acta* of the early martyrs purporting to give a transcript of the legal proceedings have such questions (see Preuschen *ad loc.*), and it has been suggested that the question is included here merely because the source on which Acts depends goes back ultimately to a record of proceedings. See further in Addit. Note 26.

35. I will give you a hearing] The compound *διακούω* occurs here only in the New Testament. It was apparently a legal term for 'hold a hearing,' being so used in Hellenistic historians, inscriptions, and papyri, and is appropriately employed here. So Job ix. 33 *διακούων ἀνὰ μέσον ἀμφοτέρων*.

Herod's Praetorium] The palace built by Herod the Great and used as headquarters by the Roman procurators in Palestine. It was probably taken over by the Roman authorities just as at Syracuse (Cicero, *In Verr.* v. 31. 80) the palace of Hiero became the *domus praetoria*. It is curious that Josephus in his description of Caesarea does not mention the palace. For the history and use of *πραιτώριον* see Lightfoot's note in his *Philippians*, pp. 99-102, and M. Dibelius, *Excursus* on Phil. i. 13, in Lietzmann's *Handbuch zum NT*.

1-27. PAUL AND FELIX. Besides the points dealt with in the notes on this section, there are three questions relating to the conduct of Felix which may be asked rather than answered.

(i.) Why is *παράγευμένος* used in vs. 24? Felix adjourned the hearing, but it is not said that he went away. Does the author think of his returning to Caesarea after an absence somewhere else?

(ii.) Why is Drusilla mentioned? This question was in the mind of the Western reviser. Was it because she was a Jewess (vs. 24) and was herself interested in Paul, or because as a Jewess she might be expected by Felix to explain the Jewish *ζητήματα* as her brother Agrippa was expected to do for Festus? If she really plays no part in the action is her mention due to the author's interest in the Herods (Cadbury, *Making of Luke-Acts*, pp. 240 f.) or his interest in women (*ibid.* pp. 263 ff. and note on xxi. 9)? On the presence of women at such trials cf. xxv. 23 and below, p. 304.

(iii.) Why did Felix often send for Paul? Critics and preachers too often do him the double injustice of understanding his phrase 'a more convenient season' as a mere excuse to escape Paul's moral lecturing, and his later contacts as exclusively due to hope of a bribe. But the reference to the bribe in a participial clause is perhaps a mere parenthesis, and the 'wherefore' may indicate the fulfilment of a genuine desire for further interviews with Paul, expressed in the words, "When I have spare time I will send for you." The author of Luke-Acts was not only willing to put Roman officials in a more favourable light than are some of his modern readers, but he was very ready to suggest that they were inclined to accept Paul's position. (Cf. Sergius Paulus in Cyprus and see note on xviii. 17 'troubled at all'.)

1. five days] Presumably reckoned from Paul's first interview with Felix.

some elders and a pleader, Tertullus, who laid information
 2 before the Governor against Paul. And when he was called,
 Tertullus opened the accusation by saying, "Since we enjoy
 great peace owing to you, and since by your forethought
 3 reforms are being carried out for this nation, in every way
 and in every place, we welcome it, your Excellency Felix,

Tertullus] The name, a diminutive of Tertius, and itself the source of the name Tertullianus, is not uncommon. It does not determine whether the bearer is Roman, Greek, or Jew. It is not clear whether the writer regards him as identifying himself with the Jews. In vss. 3, 4, 6 he speaks of himself and his clients as 'we,' but in vs. 2 he speaks of 'this nation,' and in vs. 5 of 'the Jews.' In vs. 7 he speaks of 'our Law,' which would certainly suggest that he was a Jew, though probably a Greek-speaking one, but the authenticity of vs. 7 (omitted in the translation) is doubtful. (See note on vs. 7.)

laid information] ἐνεφάνισαν, see note on xxiii. 15.

2. when he was called] In κληθέντος δὲ αὐτοῦ the subject is ambiguous. Probably it means that Paul was summoned to the hearing as at xxv. 6, 17, 23 rather than that Tertullus was called on to speak, though for the latter we may compare vs. 10. A like ambiguity of antecedent exists in παρ' οὗ in vs. 8 (see note) in the longer text of 6-8. In the present instance B omits αὐτοῦ, leaving a genitive absolute without subject. See note on xxi. 31. The papyri in the records of proceedings at trials frequently begin (after the date) with a genitive absolute. Cf. P Oxy 1204. 13 κληθέντος Πλουτάρχου κρατίστου (the defendant) Ἰσίδωρος (his representative) εἶπεν. For other examples see O. Eger, *Rechtsgeschichtliches zum N.T.*, note 20.

great] πολλῆς, cf. ἐκ πολλῶν ἐτῶν in vs. 10. πολὺς seems to have been the proper word to use in beginning formal addresses. See E. Schwartz, *Nachrichten von der königl. Gesellschaft zu Göttingen, philol.-histor. Klasse*, 1907, p. 294, n. 2, and Cadbury

on πολλοί in Luke i. 1 in Vol. II. pp. 492 f.

peace, etc.] With this *captatio benevolentiae* may be contrasted Tacitus's "per omnen saevitiam ac libidinem ius regium servili ingenio exercuit," *Hist.* v. 9, though it is to be remembered that Tacitus never found it easy to see good in imperial favourites.

nation] See note on xxvi. 4 at end.

3. we welcome it] The object is not expressed and the verb ἀποδεχόμεθα, used seven times in Luke-Acts, may be also translated 'we praise you for it.' It is clearly associated with ἐπαίνω in other authors (Philo, Josephus, etc.). There is a certain tone of courtesy about the word like our 'welcome.' A little known illustration from the papyri of ἀποδέχομαι with an abstract object published in *SAB.*, 1911, pp. 794 ff., is worth quoting fully because of its general interest. In A.D. 18 or 19 Germanicus addressed the Alexandrians deprecating the divine honours of their acclamation: . . . τὴν μὲν εὐνοίαν ὑμῶν ἣν ἀεὶ ἐπιδείκνυσθε, ὅταν με <ε>λῶντε, ἀποδέχομαι τὰς δὲ ἐπιφθόνους ἐμοὶ καὶ ἰσοθέου[s] ἐκφωνήσεις ὑμῶν ἐξ [ἀ]παντος παραιτούμαι [cf. xxv. 11]. πρέπουσι γὰρ μόνῃ τῷ σωτῆρι δυντὼς καὶ εὐεργέτῃ τοῦ σύνπαντος τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένους, τῷ ἐμῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῇ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ, ἐμῇ δὲ μάμμη. τὰ δὲ ἡμέτερα ἐν . . . ἐστὶν τῆς ἐκείνων θεοῦτητος, ὥς ἐὰμ μοι μὴ πεισθῆτε, ἀναγκάτέ με μὴ πολλάκις ὑμῖν ἐμφανίξεσθαι. Cf. Josephus, *B.J.* ii. 21. 7, § 623 ὁ δὲ ἀποδέχεσθαι μὲν αὐτὸν ἔφασκεν τὴν εὐνοίαν, ἀνείργεν δὲ τὴν ὀρμὴν κτλ.

Felix] Φήλιξ, not Φήλις, *pace* Blass, for Felix is a Latin word in which the last syllable is long (*felicem*), so that the analogy of κῆρυξ and φοῖνιξ proves nothing.

with all thankfulness. But that I may not detain you any 4 longer I beg of you of your kindness to give us a short hearing. For we have found this fellow a pest, and one 5 who raises disturbance among all the Jews throughout the world, and a ring-leader of the party of the Nazarenes, and 6

4. detain] The context suggests this rendering. But 'hinder' is the usual meaning of ἐγκόπτω (cf. 1 Thess. ii. 18). But this does not seem appropriate, and the versions render 'that I (or we) may not weary you,' 'delay you,' or the like. Did they read κόπτω (so apparently A*) or did they derive the meaning from the context or from the adjective ἐγκοπος, 'weary,' as in ἐγκοπον ποιεῖν Job xix. 2, Is. xliii. 23? Or has Luke himself used ἐγκόπτω (correctly?) in this sense?

kindness] The word ἐπιείκεια is very frequent in the papyri in just such complimentary expressions in the appeals to officials. The spelling in B, ἐπίεικεια for ἐπιείκεια, accords with the orthography of this and cognate words in other early sources (Nachmanson, *Laute und Formen der magnetischen Inschriften*, pp. 69 f.; Crönert, *Memoria Graeca Herculanensis*, p. 35 note). (Westcott and Hort spelt ἐπιεικία, but apparently without ms. authority.)

short] συντόμως refers to the brevity of the speech. Ancient as well as modern writers or speakers found that a promise of brevity was an ingratiating element in their prefatory remarks.

5. found] For this introduction to the charge against Paul cf. εἵραμεν in Luke xxiii. 2, introducing the charge against Jesus.

pest] Probably the Ciceronian *pestis*; but in this and other expressions usually employed to translate λοιμός as a term of abuse it is assumed that the word (perhaps an adjective) is identical with the noun λοιμός meaning plague or pestilence. The assumption is facilitated by the fact that *pestis* in Latin, 'plague' in English, etc., are used as terms of personal invective. In spite of fairly frequent occurrence from Demosthenes down, its exact force has apparently not been determined and

deserves further investigation. One thinks of λυμή, λυμαινόμεαι; the latter at least in vernacular Greek was often spelt λομαινόμεαι and probably was etymologically assimilated to λοιμός. In the first century λοι-, λυ-, and λι- were probably almost as indistinguishable in pronunciation as they are now. In the LXX λοιμός is used by the several translators for quite a variety of Hebrew terms. In any case the point of this abusive introduction is to create the right atmosphere—Paul was a political, not a theological offender—for if it were admitted that his offence was theological, Felix would certainly dismiss the case.

party] αἵρέσεως, see note on xv. 5. The word had been used of the philosophic or scientific schools of the Greeks, and is doubtless so used of the Pharisees, etc., by Josephus and Acts. Gradually it came to have a bad rather than a neutral meaning, though the transition was not at once complete, and many passages leave it uncertain whether or not the bad connotation is present, and if so whether in the word or in the context. Since the author of Acts uses αἵρεσις of Christians only when quoting their opponents (here, vs. 14, xxviii. 22), we may suppose he puts it on their lips with an adverse meaning. In other Christian writings its bad odour is due to its implication of quarrelsomeness and disunity, and so under standards of Catholic uniformity it comes to mean 'heresy,' not only because in a controversy the minority always seems to others to be self-opinionated, but because, granted an infallibly inspired church, a 'choice' of opinion contrary to established teaching must be wrong. On the history of the word see Mayor's note on 2 Pet. ii. 1 and Burton's note on Gal. v. 20.

Nazarenes] See Addit. Note 30.

7] 8 he tried to defile the Temple, but we arrested him. And by

6. defile the Temple] This is the real accusation, for anyone who did this—specifically by the introduction of foreigners—was liable to the penalty of death (see note on xxi. 28). It is also clear that it was this charge which Paul was especially rebutting in vs. 18—he was not defiling the Temple, on the contrary he was *ἡγνισμένος* and engaged in *προσφορά*. It is also clear that it was in the mind of Lysias, who emphasizes in his letter that this charge was trumped up in order to get rid of a heretic. It is interesting, and may be more than accident, that here, where a Gentile is being addressed, the secular word *βεβηλοῦν* is used, whereas in xxi. 28, where Jews are being addressed, the same charge is expressed by *κοινοῦν*.

we arrested] *ἐκρατήσαμεν*. This is scarcely in agreement with xxi. which says that the crowd seized Paul and was going to lynch him. But it was essential to the case of Tertullus to maintain that Paul was legally a Jewish 'temple-prisoner' with whom Lysias had no right to interfere. This point is emphasized in the Western text.

[7.] The B-text is no more clear than the English rendering given, nor does the Western text remedy the grammar, though it improves the sense. It adds "and wished to judge according to our Law, but Lysias the tribune came (*παρελθὼν* almost means 'interfered') and with great violence took him out of our hands, and commanded his accusers to come before you." The 'before you' is emphatic, and is antithetic to 'according to our Law.' The Western reading was adopted by the Antiochian text, and the middle part of it forms vs. 7 in the traditional numeration. Many commentators think the Western text necessary to the sense, and argue that the Jews would not have rested their case on the admissions to be extracted from Paul. It must in any case be admitted that Tertullus comes to a very much more convincing conclusion in the Western text, even though the string of relatives made Tertullus or Luke forget the need of a verb to complete *εὐφρόντες* in vs. 5. Moreover,

the adjournment of the case by Felix (vs. 22) has more point if the Jews had already appealed to the evidence of Lysias. Against this it is argued that they would scarcely have relied on the testimony of Lysias who was absent (see vs. 22). However, they may well have thought that Paul could be trusted to make a speech which would reveal him as a dangerous agitator.

On weighing the two sets of argument there seems a noticeable preponderance in favour of the Western text. The Jewish case was that Paul was their prisoner. He had defiled the Temple, and by a law which was recognized by the Romans he had incurred the death penalty. It was essential to their case to show that Lysias had exceeded his powers in taking him away. This essential requirement is fulfilled by the Western but not by the B-text. Few places lend themselves better to Prof. A. C. Clark's hypothesis that many of the Western 'expansions' have dropped out by accident. As a rule the weak spot in his case is that the Western reading seems to be really an expansion, and its absence does not create the appearance of a lacuna in the text. Here, however, the appearance of a lacuna is obvious. It should be noted that the problem is complicated by the existence of parallel phenomena in xxiii. 29 where the Western text adds *ἐξήγαγον αὐτὸν μόλις τῇ βίᾳ* = xxiv. 7a, while xxiii. 30 = xxiv. 8a.

In considering the bearing of this passage on the general textual problem two points should be remembered: (a) If it be really a lacuna it establishes the common origin of all the manuscripts of the B-text, and shows that that text is not the original text, but a distinct family containing errors not in the Western text. (b) It remains a question whether this passage ought to be regarded as a Western interpolation at all. It is quite possible that the greater part of the Western additional material is really interpolation, but that this passage and probably others are wholly different, and should really be classified as Neutral omissions. The superficial appearance of a

examining him you can yourself learn from him of all these matters of which we accuse him." And the Jews also agreed, 9 insisting that such was the case.

And Paul replied, when the Governor signed for him to 10 speak, "Since I know that you have for many years been a judge for this nation, I defend my case confidently, for you can 11 ascertain that it is not more than twelve days since I came up

Neutral omission and a Western interpolation is the same, but their origin is due to exactly opposite causes. It is possible that a great part of the textual discussion of the future will be occupied by the attempt to discuss the four classes of readings, Neutral omissions, Neutral interpolations, Western interpolations, and Western omissions, instead of merely the two classes of Western interpolations and 'Western non-interpolations' (Neutral interpolations).

8. examining him] *ἀνακρίνας*, see note on iv. 9. The word is perhaps more suitable to the examination of Paul, as the B-text takes it, than to that of Lysias, as the Western text implies, for it is used more often of the interrogation of a prisoner.

learn . . . accuse] Cf. xxi. 24 and Luke i. 4, in which Luke uses slightly varying phrases for the general meaning of 'to get at the facts of the case.'

9. This verse apparently closes the whole presentation of the case for the prosecution. Doubtless the speech of Tertullus is greatly compressed; no Greek orator confined himself to a speech of two minutes, and presumably the legal side must have been more fully stated, with reference to the *leges* applying to the case. The Jews would then state in detail what Paul had said and done.

insisting] *φάσκω* seems often to mean an assertion against a challenge.

10. to speak] The Harclean margin adds or substitutes "defensionem habere pro se statum autem assumens divinum dixit." Doubtless this is the Western text, though in the absence both of D and of the African Latin there is no other witness to it. No convincing suggestion has been made for the meaning or the underlying Greek of *statum divinum*. Zahn's *σχίσμα θεῶν*

(or *θεῶν*?) does not seem quite satisfactory. Possibly it was a phrase intended to express Paul's exaltation, just as in vi. 15 we are told that Stephen's face appeared as that of an angel.

for many years] Cf. note on *πολλῆς* in vs. 2. For the chronological value or valuelessness of the phrase see Additional Note 34. As an example of a like expression used under circumstances which prove it to be purely conventional, we may cite P Lond 1912 (in *Jews and Christians in Egypt*, by H. I. Bell, not in published P Lond), lines 22 ff., where the Emperor Claudius writing to Alexandria in the opening year of his reign (A.D. 41) refers to his "goodwill toward you which for many years past (*ἐκ πολλῶν χρόνων*, cf. line 84) you know that you have found stored up in me." On the other hand one may claim that perhaps both Felix (Tacitus, *Ann.* xii. 54) and Claudius had had dealings with their subjects in other capacities before they came into office.

11. twelve] Zahn thinks that these twelve days must be reckoned from Paul's arrival in Caesarea up to his arrest. It seems more probable from the actual words of the passage that Paul means that he reached Jerusalem twelve days before the time when he is speaking, but if the meaning of xxi. 27 is that there were seven days between Paul's taking up the vow and his arrest, a longer time than twelve days must have elapsed between his arrival in Jerusalem and his trial in Caesarea. (Cf. the notes of time in xxi. 15, 18, 26, 27; xxii. 30; xxiii. 11 f., 23, 32; xxiv. 1.) In spite, therefore, of the *εἰσι* it is possible that the phrase means 'I had not been twelve days in Jerusalem when the trouble arose,' and the number is merely a literary addition of 'seven' in xxi. 27 and 'five' in xxiv. 1.

12 on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. And they did not find me arguing with anyone, or collecting a crowd, either in the Temple or in the
 13 synagogues, or about the city, and they cannot substantiate to
 14 you the charges which they now make against me. But I admit this to you, that according to the Way, which they call a party, so worship I my fathers' God, believing in all which is written in
 15 the Law and the Prophets, having a hope towards God, which they also accept themselves, that there is to be a resurrection

on a pilgrimage] *προσκυνήτης* is the regular Greek word for a pilgrim (cf. viii. 27), and there is no contradiction between this description and vs. 17. Pilgrimages, for those who could afford it, always have had the double object of visiting a holy place and contributing to its maintenance.

12. collecting a crowd] This translation is merely a guess at the meaning of *ἐπίστασιν ποιούντα ὄχλου*. Cf. the hapax legomenon *ὄχλοποιήσαντες* in xvii. 5. *ἐπίστασις* may have as many meanings as *ἐπίστημι*, perhaps 'an attack,' cf. 2 Macc. vi. 3. Both here and in the other New Testament passage where it is used, 2 Cor. xi. 28, it has a *varia lectio* in *ἐπισύστασις*. Furthermore the author may have intended to combine his words a little differently, "And they did not find me arguing with anyone in the Temple or collecting a crowd either in the synagogues or about the city."

about] *κατὰ τὴν πόλιν* is 'from one point to another in the city,' and has almost the same relation to *ἐν τῇ πόλει* as 'about the city' has to 'in the city.' But the difference is very small. For the variation of preposition here cf. *κατὰ τὸν νόμον* and *ἐν τοῖς προφήταις* (vs. 14).

13. substantiate] *παρστήσαι*, 'to put evidence alongside of argument,' as in the Attic orators.

14. according to the Way] In view of the use of *ὁδός* as a name for Christianity this is the probable rendering. In any case 'according to the way which,' etc. is wrong, for *ὁδόν* is not synonymous with 'manner' in Greek. The Greek for 'according to the way' would be *κατὰ τὸν τρόπον* κτλ. or simply *καθώς*. It should also be noted that there is no evidence for

the Western text at this point, but the Peshitto and Latin (Gigas), which often have Western readings, omit *αἵρεσιν*. This would mean 'according to the Way, as they call it,' and would confirm the suggestion that *ὁδός* was a name given to Christians by opponents. (See note on ix. 2.) Blass thought that this may be the Western text, and may be original. The suggestion is very attractive. If so, *αἵρεσιν* would be a gloss (to explain the strange *ὁδόν*) which has afterwards been taken into the text.

my fathers' God] It is difficult to render *τῷ πατρώῳ θεῷ* without the possessive pronoun, which is not in the Greek. It means the ancestral God of the Jews and would sound familiar to Gentile ears, for *οἱ πατῶροι θεοὶ* is a phrase common in Greek writings. Perhaps the occurrences of the adjective in Acts would carry to Roman readers an argument of defence, since the permission to the Jews or others to practise their own religion was usually expressed in terms like *κατὰ τὸν πατρῶον νόμον* (cf. Acts xxii. 3), *τοῖς πατρίοις ἔθεσι* (cf. Acts xxviii. 17).

15. hope] The content of the hope is here clearly defined as that there will be a resurrection. Cf. note on xxiii. 6.

a resurrection of just and unjust] This is a more remarkable phrase than is obvious at first sight. The Jewish doctrine of a resurrection or resurrections was not clearly formulated. Would all Jews, or all men, or only the righteous, or only righteous Jews be raised? And would this be at the End of the Age, or in the Days of the Messiah? The New Testament shows similar diversity. In the Apocalypse

both of just and unjust. Therefore I am training myself¹⁶ to have continually an unharmed conscience before God and before men. Now after many years I came to bring alms to¹⁷

there are two resurrections, one for Christian martyrs, that they may enjoy the Messianic age of a thousand years, the other for all men, that they may be judged (Rev. xix. f.). Paul himself (1 Cor. xv.) either contemplates a resurrection for Christians only, or two resurrections, the first for Christians at the Parousia of the Messiah, the second at 'the End.' A cognate difference in Matthew, though dealing with judgement rather than resurrection, is in the parable of the Sheep and the Goats (Matt. xxv. 31 f.), where the heathen (τα ἔθνη) are judged, but the Christians (οἱ ἀδελφοί μου) are placed with the Son of Man. In Luke, xiv. 14 and xx. 35 f. seem to contemplate only a resurrection of the just, or at least regard this as a separate event, and the parable of Dives and Lazarus very remarkably regards judgement and punishment as effected immediately after death, which is the least Jewish form of eschatology in the New Testament outside of the Johannine writings. Cf. Strack, vol. iv. pp. 799 ff.

16. Therefore] ἐν τούτῳ often means 'therefore' but it may refer to what follows. The verb ἀσκέω often is defined as to its sphere by ἐν (as well as ἐπὶ or πρὸς), and τούτῳ may simply anticipate the appositional infinitive ἀπρόσκοπον συνειδήσιν ἔχειν. Cf. xxvi. 16 εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ ὤφθην σοι, προχειρίσασθαι σε ὑπέρβην κτλ.

training] The word ἀσκέω here has the flavour of ethics and piety, though it began of athletic training. Cf. the use of γυμνάζω in 1 Timothy iv. 7 f. The development of the word in earlier Greek is traced by Fr. Pfister, *Festgabe für Adolf Deissmann*, 1927, pp. 76 ff., as successively physical, intellectual, ethical, religious.

unharmed] The traditional rendering is 'without offence,' which can be justified by reference to 1 Cor. x. 32. But the accumulating instances in the second-century papyri suggest that the adjective here as in them means 'unharmed,' 'uninjured.' To the in-

stances in Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, may be added P Lond 852 as read by B. P. Grenfell (*Class. Rev.* xxxii., 1918, p. 113) ἐχάρην λαβών σου ἐπιστολὴν ὡς ὑγαίνεις καὶ ἀπρόσκοπος γέγονας (?). This rendering suits the older meaning of conscience better than the modern (see note on xxiii. 1). Of conscience in the old sense the New Testament itself uses verbs like 'defile' (μολύνω 1 Cor. viii. 7; μαινώ Tit. i. 15), 'sear' (καυστηρίάζω 1 Tim. iv. 2), 'smite' (τύπτω 1 Cor. viii. 12), which do not fit our conception of conscience as a guide in conduct. Doubtless the same is true of the phrase ἔχειν ἀπρόσκοπον, which, if we may judge by expressions like σώζουσιν ὑμᾶς ἀπρόσκοπους (P Bad 39, iii. 14), διαφυλάσσουσι ἀπρόσκοπον (P Giss i. 17. 7) in the papyri, refers to the maintenance of an unspoiled record in one's own self-judgement—a clear conscience, as we still say. If we may use the analogy of xxiii. 1, where τῷ θεῷ probably goes with πεπολίτευμαι rather than συνειδήσει ἀγαθῇ, in this passage also πρὸς τὸν θεὸν καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους is not to be limited to ἀπρόσκοπον but refers to the two spheres of conduct in which Paul aims to have an unspoiled record.

17. after many years] See note on the use of διὰ in i. 3.

many] πλείονων, as often, has no comparative force (cf. ii. 40, xiii. 31, etc.), or more accurately has a superlative force. This tendency of Greek to drop the third degree of comparison culminates in modern Greek, in which the superlative is expressed by the comparative form with the addition of the article (as in French), and forms in -τατος have become rare in ordinary speech and are used in what is called by the grammarians an 'elative' or 'excessive' sense (cf. note on vs. 22). A different explanation of these comparative forms is that they represent a correlative or adversative use in contrast not with a lower degree but with an opposite which they contradict. See Schwab, *Histor. Syntax*

8 my nation and offerings. And they found me concerned in
 these, purified in the Temple, not with a crowd, and without
 9 disturbance. But some Jews from Asia, who ought to have
 appeared before you and made accusation, if they had anything
 0 against me,—or let these themselves say what offence they
 1 found when I stood before the Sanhedrin, except for this one
 exclamation which I cried out while standing among them,

der griech. Komparation in der klass. Litteratur, i., 1893, pp. 53 ff.

These comparatives tend to become usual with certain adverbs. Among those found in the Ptolemaic papyri (Mayser, *Grammatik*, ii. 1, p. 49) are precisely ἀκριβέστερον (Acts xviii. 26, xxiii. 15, 20, xxiv. 22) and πικνότερον (xxiv. 26), and among adjectives (p. 48) πλείων, πλείους are especially frequent. There are Hellenistic parallels too for ἄσπον (xxvii. 13, Josephus). See note on vs. 22 and on xviii. 26 and xxv. 10.

alms] Presumably the reference to the collection which he organized in Macedonia, Achaia, Galatia, and doubtless Asia, for the Christians in Jerusalem. This collection is mentioned in 1 Cor. xvi. 1-4 and in 2 Cor. viii. 1 ff. as well as in Rom. xv. 25 ff., and occupied Paul for more than a year. It was probably necessitated by two causes: (a) famines, like that mentioned in xi. 28, and (b) the disastrous outcome of the economic experiment described in chapters ii.-v., which must have permanently impoverished the Christians. From 1 Cor. xvi. 1 ff. it appears that Paul had instituted a weekly collection for the Christians in Jerusalem (cf. also 2 Cor. viii. 1-ix. 14). It is remarkable that Acts is entirely silent on this subject except for this passing allusion, for though in xx. 4-6 it describes the assembling of Paul's agents from Asia, Achaia, and Macedonia, it leaves them, as it were, entirely in the air, and does not explain why all these persons were going up with Paul to Jerusalem. Once more it is plain that Luke's interests and methods of selecting narratives are not those of an historian seeking to give at least the main facts. He omits the 'collection,' just as

he omits the controversy within the church in Corinth. His reason was probably the same in both cases. Neither the collection nor the controversy were quite satisfactory subjects to prove either the inspiration of the Church or the legal innocence of Paul. The mention of the collection, so completely unmentioned in the earlier narrative, is not without parallel in other speeches (see on xxiii. 30), and makes Paul give a more favourable account of himself. The same is true of the 'offerings' here mentioned if they are the same as those spoken of in xxi. 26. For in xxi. 26, so far from being the object of his visit, the 'offerings' are represented as a gesture of self-defence undertaken only after his arrival and at the suggestion of others.

It has also been suggested that the collection in Acts xi. 29 f. is a misplaced reference to the collection of the Epistles. (See also C. R. Bowen, 'Paul's Collection and the Book of Acts,' in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, xlii. (1923) pp. 49 ff.)

19. But some] The text is very puzzling. The B-text has τινὲς δέ, the Western text is not known, the Antiochian text omits δέ. The Antiochian text is grammatical, 'during which some Jews from Asia found me.' The B-text leaves τινὲς δέ etc. without a verb. If it can be defended it must be by supposing some such broken construction as the translation given above. Blass inclines to the Antiochian text, but it seems an obvious correction, rather than the original. If δέ were absent at first why was it ever inserted?

Jews from Asia] Those who had recognized Trophimus (see xxi. 27).

21. This verse is often represented as a partial recognition by Paul that

'For the resurrection of the dead am I on trial before you to-day.' " But Felix reserved judgement, for he had complete knowledge of the facts about the Way, and said, " When Lysias the tribune has come down I will decide your case." And he commanded the centurion that he was to be held and to have privileges, and not to hinder any of his friends from waiting upon him.

And after some days Felix came with Drusilla, his wife, who

his exclamation before the Sanhedrin was wrong. This is not so. The meaning is that if the Jews speak the truth they must admit that they had no case against him except theological difference, which in the eyes of Felix would be none at all. This was always Paul's position—the whole contention between him and Judaism was fundamentally the question of his belief in a Resurrection with the story of Jesus as its foundation. (See Addit. Note 17.)

22. reserved] Blass points out that *ἀνεβάλετο* is the equivalent of the Latin technical term *pronuntiavit 'amplius'* (Cicero, *Verr.* ii. 1. 74), a verdict which merely stated the necessity of further consideration or evidence. *Ἀνεβάλετο* might be rendered 'adjourned,' but the usual Greek word in such circumstances is *ὑπερτίθεσθαι*.

complete knowledge] *ἀκριβέστερον*—another instance of the growing use of the comparative form for the superlative. It is worth noting that this is not merely a degradation of language. There are really four 'stages' in an adjective—positive, comparative, superlative, and excessive—the last being expressed in English by the use of 'very.' Few, possibly no languages have all four, and the general tendency is to make either comparative or superlative do the work of the 'excessive,' and—especially as the dual forms die out—to use one form for both comparative and superlative.

23. privileges] *ἀνεσιν, custodia liberior*, cf. Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 6. 10 (§ 235) *φυλακή μὲν γὰρ καὶ τήρησις ἦν, μετὰ μὲντοι ἀνέσεως τῆς εἰς τὴν διαίταν*, which apparently means leave to communicate with friends and to

obtain food. Food is not necessarily implied by *ὑπηρετεῖν* of Acts. But it was not unusual. Cf. a little later in Lucian, *De morte Peregrini* (cap. xii.), the story of the luxurious meals given to Pergrinus while he was in prison as a Confessor.

his friends] *οἱ ἱδιοί*, cf. iv. 23.

24. Drusilla] The youngest daughter of Agrippa I., and thus sister of Herod Agrippa II. and Bernice. She was formerly the wife of Aziz, king of Emesa. Felix used the mediation of Atomos, a Cypriote Magian (see note on xiii. 8), to persuade her to leave Azizus for him. She was born about the year A.D. 38 and thus married Felix when about sixteen years old. Josephus gives these and various other items of information about her and her connexions. Tacitus, however (*Hist.* v. 9), refers to the Drusilla who was the wife of Felix as *nepte* of Antony and Cleopatra. Probably there is confusion somewhere, though Suetonius (*Claudius* 28) calls Felix the husband of three queens. Were two of them named Drusilla? See also Addit. Note 36.

The Western text, extant only in the Harclean margin, though implied by other authorities (see Vol. III. p. 227), is: "Felix came with his wife Drusilla, who was a Jewess, and she asked to see Paul and hear the word. Wishing therefore to please her, he summoned Paul." The end of the story is given in vs. 27, where the Western text says that Felix left Paul in prison, 'because of Drusilla.' Did the reviser see a parallel to the story of Herodias and John the Baptist? Obviously he thought that Paul's discourse had offended Drusilla. In the B-text three other motives are

was a Jewess, and summoned Paul and listened to him about the faith in Christ Jesus. And while he was arguing about righteousness and self-control and the judgement which is coming, Felix became afraid and answered, "Go away for the present; when I have spare time I will send for you." At the same time he hoped money would be given him by Paul, wherefore he sent for him very often and talked with him. And at the end of

mentioned for keeping Paul bound: delay until Felix could secure evidence from Lysias (vs. 22); hope of being paid for releasing Paul (vs. 26); desire to curry favour with the Jews (vs. 27). These are, of course, not mutually exclusive. Cf. above, p. 296.

25. self-control] Though *ἐγκράτεια* is sometimes used in contexts that imply a sexual meaning like 'chastity' (*Test. XII. Patr. Naph. 8. 8*; cf. *1 Cor. vii. 9*), it is difficult, both here and wherever else it is named as a virtue, to discover what connotation is meant. Luke is probably sensitive to the marital irregularities of the Herods, but he also has an interest in the sins of money, and he presently intimates that Felix was greedy for a bribe. On the history and use of the word and its cognates see Burton's note on *Gal. v. 23*, which says all that need be said. The 'temperance' of the English versions would more nearly represent *σωφροσύνη*. But the latter, which in *xxvi. 25* is used of sanity, is sometimes nearly synonymous with *ἐγκράτεια*. See Lock's note in *I.C.C. Pastoral Epistles*, pp. 148 ff.

for the present . . . spare time] Both these phrases, *τὸ νῦν ἔχον* and *καιρὸν μεταλαβών*, are entirely idiomatic in Hellenistic prose, though they do not occur elsewhere in the New Testament. For *τὸ νῦν ἔχον* examples are given from the *LXX* (*Tobit vii. 11*), *Maximus of Tyre*, *Aelian*, *Lucian*, *Achilles Tatius*, *Plutarch*, *Aristeas*, *Dio Chrysostom*, *Dionysius of Halicarnassus* (*Kypke and Wettstein*). For the *καιρὸν μεταλαβεῖν* see *Polybius ii. 16. 15*, *v. 98. 11*; *Diod. Sic. xix. 69*; cf. *Ps.-Demos. x. 54 p. 145*, *xl. 21 p. 1045*. That *καιρὸν μεταλαβών* means a 'convenient season' (*A.V.*, *R.V.*), or as it is usually now misquoted 'more convenient,' is rather an inference from

the context than a deduction from the words. *Polybius*, for example, in both cases inserts *ἀρπάζοντα* (or *ἀρμάττοντα*). The *μετα-* in the verb implies merely a different (subsequent) occasion. As the sequel shows, this was no excuse to get rid of Paul entirely. With all their faults, the Herods and the procurators are represented by this writer as having repeated interviews or at least a recurrent interest in the heroes of his story. With verse 26b compare *Luke ix. 9*, *xxiii. 8*.

26. money] A law against taking money for either the imprisonment or release of prisoners was the *Lex Iulia de repetundis* in the *Digest*, *xlvi. 11*. But it was often violated by procurators and governors. Of a later procurator, *Albinus*, *Josephus* tells us that he released prisoners left in custody by his predecessors upon the receipt of a ransom from their kinsfolk (*B.J. ii. 14. 1*), and that when he heard that his successor was on his way out to *Judaea* he released upon the receipt of money prisoners who had been committed to prison on minor charges (*χρήματα λαμβάνων αὐτὸς ἀπέλυε*, *Antiq. xx. 9. 5*). (Cf. the Western addition to *xxiii. 24*.)

If such wholesale habits were customary, it is not necessary to suppose that Felix had any real knowledge or even any suspicion of Paul's ability to pay. It is of course a pleasing conjecture that his family (cf. *xxiii. 16*) were now generously meeting his expenses so that in Rome he could hire his house (if that is what is meant in *xxviii. 30*, see note), or that the collection, whether known to Felix by Paul's allusion (vs. 17) or otherwise, gave him an appearance of opulence.

very often] *πυκνότερον*, probably an

two years Felix was succeeded by Porcius Festus, and wishing to ingratiate himself with the Jews, Felix left Paul a prisoner.

Now when Festus entered on his District after three days 23

'excessive' (see note on vss. 17 and 22) but possibly a true comparative, 'all the oftener.'

27. two years] See Addit. Note 34.

Porcius Festus] He is briefly mentioned by Josephus, *B.J.* ii. 14. 1 and *Antiq.* xx. 8. 9, but not elsewhere except in the Acts. His name Porcius is given also in *Antiq.* and is that of a well-known Roman *gens*, to which, for example, the Cato family belonged. The little that is known of Festus is stated in Vol. I. pp. 28 f., as well as the circumstances of the removal of Felix. On Judaea under these procurators see, among others, Schürer, *GJV.* i. 4th ed. pp. 571 ff.; Meyer, *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums*, iii. pp. 47 ff., and for the chronological difficulties see Addit. Note 34.

ingratiate himself] This at least is what *κατατίθεσθαι χάριτα* here and in xxv. 9 (where the best mss. have the accusative form *χάριν*) ought to mean, both by etymology and by classical usage. The verb means 'to put on deposit,' and the emphasis is on the thanks that the party now benefited in the action will feel or show in the future, but an examination of many passages in Hellenistic literature in which *κατατίθεσθαι* is used with like objects raises the suspicion, as Field argued from circumstantial evidence alone, that the verb had lost the implication of something put on deposit and had come to mean 'show a favour,' 'do a kindness,' and even 'to requite a previous kindness.' Perhaps in one or both of these passages in Acts the favour is to be shown by the procurator rather than gained by him.

1. entered on his District] There is some doubt about the exact Greek, as the manuscripts vary between *τῇ ἐπαρχείᾳ* and *τῇ ἐπαρχείῳ*, but there is probably no difference in the meaning of these two phrases. *ἡ ἐπαρχεία* is strictly either the office of a prefect (*ἐπαρχος*) or the district governed by a prefect. It is also used more widely in the sense of a Province of any

sort, or of any unit of administration. *οἱ ἐπαρχικοί*, for instance, means 'provincials.' One of the adjectives formed from *ἐπαρχος* is *ἐπαρχεῖος*, and this is sometimes used with an ellipse of *χώρα* or *ἐξουσία*, or some similar feminine substantive, as a synonym for *ἐπαρχεία*. Cf. *IG.* xiv. 1078a *ἐν πάσι τὴν ἐπαρχίον εὐεργετήσαντα* (= Ditt. *Syll.*² 421); *IGRR.* (ed. by Cagnat) i. 580 (Nicopolis) *ὑπατεύοντος τῆς ἐπαρχίον*; *Athen. Mitteilungen* xlviii. p. 113 (Nicopolis) *ὑπατεύοντος τῆς ἐπαρχείον*; Dittenberger, *OGIS.* 549 (Ancyra) *τὸν πρῶτον τῆς ἐπαρχείον*; *IG.* xiv. 911 (= *IGRR.* i. 402) *ἐπιτροπεύσαντι ἐπαρχείον Βριταννέας*. It is unnecessary to suppose with Ropes, Vol. III. p. 227, that *ἐπαρχεία* is an adjective rather than a noun, or with Liddell & Scott, 9th ed. s.v., that *ἐπαρχείον* is ever derived from a neuter form *τὸ ἐπαρχεῖον*.

The question remains whether *ἐπαρχεία* or *ἡ ἐπαρχεῖος* should in this passage be interpreted geographically or administratively. The fact that it is used with the verb *ἐπιβάς* perhaps suggests the geographical meaning, though it scarcely necessitates it. (Cf. Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 12. 4 *ἐπιβῆναι τῆς ἐπαρχίας ἡμῶν*.) But the point is of only linguistic importance, as in this case there is no real difference between the office of Festus and the district in which he held office. When he entered on one he also entered the other. It may be added that at xxiii. 34 there is little doubt about the form *ἐπαρχείας* and that the instances in the inscriptions of forms in *-εῖος*, *-εῖος* are apparently geographical in meaning.

It is hard to decide on the English translation of *ἐπαρχεία*, because the office of Festus was really that of a procurator, and the rendering 'province' or 'prefecture' gives Festus a somewhat higher position than he really had. For this reason the translation 'District' has been adopted, though it is not quite satisfactory. For the date of the

2 he went up from Caesarea to Jerusalem. And the high priests and the leaders of the Jews laid information before him against Paul
3 and urged him, asking a favour against him, to send for him to come
4 to Jerusalem, making a plot to kill him on the way. Festus, however, answered that Paul was being held at Caesarea and that
5 he himself was going to leave soon. "Therefore," said he, "let the men of power among you come down with me, and if there
6 is anything amiss in the man, let them accuse him." And he stayed with them not more than eight or ten days, and went down to Caesarea. And on the next day he took his place on the
7 Bench and commanded Paul to be brought in. And when he came, the Jews who had come down from Jerusalem stood round him, laying many serious charges which they could not prove.

accession of Festus to office see Addit. Note 34.

2. the high priests] See Vol. I. pp. 30 ff. Not necessarily those who were in office or even had been, but the circle from which the high priests were drawn (see note on iv. 6). For the question of the actual high priest at this moment see Addit. Note 34.

laid information] ἐνεφάνισαν. Cf. note on xxiii. 15.

3. a favour] Probably χάριν must be so translated, but there is surely a connexion between this use and χαρίζεσθαι in vs. 16 (see note on vs. 11), and it may be suspected that χάρις has a legal meaning such as 'rule' or 'order' and that there is behind it some Latin technical term. Could it be *placitum*? It is interesting to compare the Cambridge technical term 'a Grace of the Senate.' The κατ' αὐτοῦ seems somewhat awkward. It is more tolerable in the similar expression in vs. 15 αἰτούμενοι κατ' αὐτοῦ καταδίκην. But we have no right to omit it here or to accept the entirely correct but ill-attested variant παρ' αὐτοῦ, i.e. from the governor.

a plot] Reviving the previous scheme. The Harclean margin adds that this was done by those who had made the former vow to kill Paul. This may be partly due to the use of the same word (ἐνέδρα) both here and in xxiii. 16

4. however] μέν οὖν here is not the characteristic Lucan usage found in so many passages in Acts (see note, i. 6). It does not begin a new incident, and the μέν has a δέ properly opposed to it, though it must be admitted that in more classical Greek the μέν would have been attached to τὸν Παῦλον rather than to ὁ Φῆστος.

5. men of power] δυνατοί, a word used by Josephus (*B.J.* i. 12. 4 and frequently elsewhere) for the Jewish notables (see Schürer, 4th ed. ii. 252, n. 41, and Krenkel, *Josephus und Lucas*, p. 278 n.). Cf. vs. 2 ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ πρῶτοι τῶν Ἰουδαίων. That the word may include ability to speak as well as the prestige of position is suggested by Luke's use of δυνάτος elsewhere: Luke xxiv. 19 ἐν ἔργῳ καὶ λόγῳ, Acts vii. 22 ἐν λόγοις καὶ ἔργοις, xviii. 24 ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς (in proximity to λόγιος). Furthermore a similar scene of Jewish accusers before a Roman ruler in Josephus, *B.J.* i. 12. 4 f. (= *Antiq.* xiv. 13. 1) has Ἰουδαίων οἱ δυνατοί . . . οἱ ἐν τέλει Ἰουδαίων (*Antiq.* οἱ δυνατώτατοι) . . . προστησάμενοι τοὺς ἀξιώματι καὶ λόγῳ σφῶν δυνατωτάτους (*Antiq.* τοὺς δεινωτάτους λέγειν).

amiss] ἀποπον, cf. Luke xxiii. 41 and 2 Thess. iii. 2. Of course it means 'criminal,' but the rendering given preserves the euphemism of the Greek. Cf. the litotes at xxviii. 6.

7. charges] αἰτιώματα, a form less

Paul's defence was, "Neither against the law of the Jews, nor against the Temple, nor against Caesar have I offended at all." But Festus, wishing to ingratiate himself with the Jews, answered Paul and said, "Do you wish to go up to Jerusalem and there be tried on these charges before me?" And Paul said, "Standing before Caesar's Bench I am standing where I must be tried: against Jews have I done no crime, as you know quite well. If, however, I am guilty and have done anything deserving of death, I am not begging myself off from dying; but if there is nothing in the accusations which these make against me, no one is

common than *airla* (vs. 18) and even than *airlama*, is rescued from the category of *hapax-legomena* by the instance in P Fay 111. 8 (A.D. 95).

8. against the Temple] The old and important charge. The addition of wrongdoing against Caesar (*seditio*) seems the revival of the old charges at Thessalonica, and of the Jewish attempt to represent as political propaganda Paul's preaching of Jesus as Messiah.

9. ingratiate himself] Cf. xxiv. 27. It may be doubted whether this verdict of Luke is wholly fair to Festus. After all, the question concerned an offence alleged to have been committed in Jerusalem, and Jerusalem was therefore the most convenient place for trying it. Festus did not propose to hand over Paul to Jewish jurisdiction, but to try the case himself in Jerusalem. This was not what the Jews were asking.

before me] The position of *ἐπ' ἐμοῦ* is emphatic. It seems to imply that Festus undertakes not to give up Paul to Jewish jurisdiction.

10. standing] There is no authority for the double 'standing' except B, but N also supports the first 'standing' which is omitted by all other authorities, though it omits the second. Therefore the evidence is really BN for the first 'standing,' and BAC 81 and all later manuscripts for the second. Thus, in spite of the agreement of Westcott and Hort and Ropes, I think B ought to be followed. This is, I believe, the only passage in which Westcott and Hort abandoned B where

it is possible to follow it. But cf. the note on vs. 13.

know quite well] *κάλλιον* is the 'intensive' comparative (see on xxiv. 17 and 22). On the relation of *γνώσις* and *ἐπιγνώσις* see J. A. Robinson, *Ephesians*, pp. 248-254. W. Bauer regards the presence of the adverb here as evidence that the emphasis given by the *ἐπι-* has been lost so that it is synonymous with the simple verb. But it is, however, possible that *κάλλιον ἐπιγνώσκεις* (cf. x. 28 D *βέλτιον ἐπίστασθε*, 2 Tim. i. 18 *βέλτιον σὺ γινώσκεις*) like *δυσισχυόμενος* in another speech in Acts (xvii. 22) is a somewhat different kind of comparative—the comparative of politely qualified expression.

11. however] *μέν* is here used in the proper sense, with an adversative *δέ* following, and this *μέν οὖν* is not to be classed with the usage discussed in the note on i. 6. As in vs. 4 it seems to be rendered best by 'however.' Blass thinks that *οὖν* should be cut out.

begging myself off] This seems the meaning, rather than 'refuse to die.' The combination *οὐ παραιτοῦμαι* is quite idiomatic in Hellenistic Greek, as numerous occurrences show, including some with just this kind of context and connotation. Besides many examples in Wettstein *ad loc.*, cf. Josephus, *Vita*, 29, § 141 *θανεῖν μὲν εἰ δίκαιόν ἐστιν οὐ παραιτοῦμαι*, and Athenagoras, *Supplic.* 2. 1 *καὶ εἰ μὲν τις ἡμᾶς ἐλέγχειν ἔχει ἢ μικρὸν ἢ μείζον ἀδικούντας κολάζεσθαι οὐ παραιτούμεθα*.

12 able to give me up to them. I appeal to Caesar." Then Festus, after conferring with his assessors, answered, "You have appealed to Caesar, to Caesar you shall go."

13 Now after an interval of some days Agrippa, the king, and
14 Bernice came down to Caesarea to welcome Festus. And as

give me up] *χαρίσασθαι*. The rendering does not sufficiently express the sense of granting a favour; cf. vs. 16, xxvii. 24, iii. 14, and note on vs. 3. But one can hardly say 'make a present of me.'

I appeal to Caesar] See Additional Note 26.

12. assessors] *συμβούλιον* is used in late Greek for the Latin *concilium*, the *assessores* or *consiliarios* who assisted the Roman magistrate. See Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, i.³ pp. 307-319, ii. pp. 245, 269; Mommsen, *Herm.* xx. p. 287; H. Niedermeyer, *Über antike Protokoll-Literatur* (Diss. Göttingen, 1918), pp. 10-24; the literature cited by Schürer, *GJV.* 4th ed. i. p. 469, note 82, and cf. the note on xxvi. 14-xxvi. 32 and Additional Note 26.

13. Agrippa] See Addit. Note 36 and Vol. I. pp. 25 f. The appearances before Agrippa and before Caesar fulfil the prediction of ix. 15 (*ἐνώπιον τῶν ἐθνῶν τε καὶ βασιλέων*). Possibly Bernice is mentioned in order that the plural may be justified in the actual events of Acts. Josephus uses *τῶν βασιλέων* of Agrippa and Bernice (e.g. *Vita* 11). Felix and Festus justify the plural *ἡγεμόνας* (Luke xxi. 12, cf. Mark xiii. 9, Matt. x. 18). These suggestions would seem too far-fetched if Luke had not shown in Acts iv. 27 an interest in the literal fulfilment of such prophecies.

Bernice] The name Bernice was variously spelt, the most famous form being the Latin *Veronica*. Acts spells it *Βερνίκη*, but *Φερενίκη* is the more correct Greek and *Βερενίκη* is the Macedonian spelling. This variant is part of the evidence for regarding Macedonian as primarily an independent Indo-European language rather than a Greek dialect. (See P. Kretschmer, *Einleitung in die Geschichte d. griech. Sprache*, and on the other side of the argument Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*, vol. iii.) This Bernice, daughter of Agrippa I. and

elder sister of Drusilla (xxiv. 24) was first the wife of her uncle, Herod of Chalcis, and then of Polemon of Cilicia, whom she left to become mistress of Titus. According to Juvenal, *Sat.* vi. 156 ff., her relations with her brother Agrippa had raised scandalous rumours in Rome. On her life, which throughout was closely associated with her brother's, see Schürer, *GJV.*, 4th ed., especially i. pp. 585 ff., and Wahl, *De regina Berenice*, Paris, 1893. Her figure has this interest to the modern student that she comes the nearest of any character in the New Testament to providing a known link with Philo of Alexandria, for while still a child Bernice was married, or perhaps only betrothed (Schürer, 4th ed. i. p. 723, note 56), to Marcus, son of the alabarch Alexander of Alexandria, and nephew of the famous Jewish philosopher. Cf. E. R. Bevan in *The Legacy of Israel*, p. 61. An inscription erected in her honour by Athens (*CIA.* iii. 1. 556) calls her *Ἰουλίαν Βερενείκην βασίλισσαν μεγάλην*, *Ἰουλίον Ἀγρίππα βασιλέως θυγατέρα καὶ μεγάλων βασιλέων εὐεργετῶν τῆς πόλεως ἔκγονον*.

to welcome] The verb *ἀσπάζομαι* besides its common use is specially employed of official acts of paying respects to the authorities or less formally to others. Cf. Josephus, *Ant.* i. 19. 4, § 290, vi. 11. 1, § 207, and cases from inscriptions and papyri cited by Moulton and Milligan, *Vocabulary* s.v. *sub fin.* Josephus tells us in different language that in A.D. 66 the same Agrippa and Bernice went to meet the governor of Syria, Cestius Gallus, at Beirut (*Vita* 11; in *B.J.* ii. 18. 5 Agrippa goes to Antioch), and that Agrippa went to Alexandria to visit the newly appointed governor of Egypt, Tiberius Alexander, his sister Bernice being detained at Jerusalem by the requirement of fulfilling a Nazirite vow (*B.J.* ii. 15. 1).

The aorist participle *ἀσπασάμενοι* used to be regarded as a primitive

they were staying there for many days, Festus laid the case of Paul before the king, saying, "There is a man who was left in prison by Felix, and when I was in Jerusalem, the high priests

corruption (cf. Westcott and Hort, *ed. min.* p. 585). The obvious emendation was ἀσπασόμενοι, found in a few late manuscripts, but the aorist participle is probably defensible. It describes the condition of the visit, not any time relation between coming to Caesarea and welcoming Festus. See Vol. II. p. 34. Compare the aorist participles in Luke xix. 6; Acts i. 24, xi. 30, xv. 8, xvi. 6, xxiii. 25, 35, xxiv. 22, some of which at least are far from indicating any priority of time in their action. C. B. Williams, *The Participle in the Book of Acts*, 1909, p. 35, lists twenty-five aorist participles referring to identical action, and twenty-three whose time relation is doubtful. In the case of the present text some such classification seemed formerly the only explanation possible. But the recent discussions of C. D. Chambers and W. F. Howard in *JThS.* xxiv. (1922-1923) pp. 183 ff., 403 ff., in spite of the objections of A. T. Robertson (*ibid.* xxv. pp. 286 ff.), have increased the probability that the aorist participle was used occasionally to express purpose. Their examples are from 2 Macc., 4 Macc., Acta Apocrypha, and the papyri. In some of the latter the form follows in the same sentence a future participle of purpose. While therefore it is true that "it is precisely Luke who alone in the New Testament shows any familiarity with the future participle of purpose," nothing prevents our supposing he would also use the aorist in like manner if it accorded with contemporary idiom. The examples given tend to show that it did so accord, and thus justify the reading ἀσπασόμενοι here and perhaps the reading in Acts xii. 25 ὑπέστρεψαν εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ πληρώσαντες τὴν διακονίαν. In that case "two of the ten cases of primitive error in Acts, enumerated in W.H., smaller edition, p. 585, disappear" (Chambers). On the aorist participle of purpose in the Ptolemaic papyri see now Mayser, *Grammatik*, II. i. (1926) p. 220.

xxv. 14-xxvi. 32. PAUL BEFORE

AGRIPPA AND FESTUS.—This scene with its speech is nearly as famous as the scene and speech in Athens, xvii. 16-34. The hearing is not a real trial, but the author continues to show a certain parallelism with the procedure of trials so far as it is possible to reconstruct it. The associates in the hearing, Agrippa, Bernice, and the men mentioned in vs. 23, are very much like the assessores (see on xxv. 12). For them the usual Greek term is σύνεδροι. In xxv. 24 they are addressed as συνπαρόντες ἡμῖν ἄνδρες, and in xxvi. 30 referred to as οἱ συγκαθήμενοι αὐτοῖς. At the end of Paul's speech they get up and go out to consult privately on a public statement, just as Felix does in xxv. 12, συναλθίσας μετὰ τοῦ συμβουλίου. Cf. P Tebt 286, lines 15 ff., ἀναστάς εἰς συμβούλιον καὶ σκεψάμενος μετὰ τῶν παρόντων ὑπηγόρευσεν ἀπόφασιν, and Philo, *Legat. ad Gaium*, 44, p. 597 M. ἀναστάντα βουλευσασθαι μετὰ τῶν συνέδρων τί χρὴ φανερῶς ἀποφῆναι. These and many other parallels are cited in O. Eger, *Rechtsgeschichtliches zum Neuen Testament* (Basel, 1919) pp. 14 f. note 29. Cf. note 30 on ἀνάκρισις (xxv. 26), note 17 on ἐντυγχάνειν (xxv. 24), notes 33 and 34 on ἀναπέμπω (xxv. 21), note 34 on διάγνωσις (xxv. 21), and the older discussion of Mommsen, *ZNTW.* ii., 1901, pp. 81 ff. (= *Gesammelte Schriften*, iii. pp. 431 ff.).

As a more general parallel may be noted the story in Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 5. 3 ff. (cf. *B.J.* i. 32. 1 ff.), of a hearing before the governor Quintilius Varus, Herod the Great, and his sister Salome which begins: τῇ δὲ ἐξῆς συνήδρευεν μὲν Οὐδάρως τε καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς, εἰσεκλήθησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ ἀμφοῖν φίλοι καὶ οἱ συγγενεῖς βασιλέως Σαλώμῃ τε ἡ ἀδελφῇ (*B.J.* τῇ δὲ ἐπιούσῃ συνέδριον μὲν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀρροίξει τῶν συγγενῶν καὶ φίλων κτλ.). Or we may compare Marcus Agrippa's hearing of the complaints of the Ionian Jews in *Antiq.* xvi. 2. 3 of which it says τοῦ δὲ Ἀγρίπποι Ῥωμαίων τε τοὺς ἐν τέλει καὶ βασιλέων

and elders of the Jews laid information about him, asking
 16 judgement against him. And them I answered 'that it is not
 the custom for Romans to give up anyone before the accused is
 confronted with the accusers and has an opportunity of defending
 17 himself against the charge.' Therefore when they came here
 with me I made no postponement, but on the next day took my
 place on the Bench, and commanded the man to be brought in.
 18 But the accusers stood up and brought about him no accusa-
 19 tion of the crimes which I had expected, but they had certain
 differences of opinion with him about his own superstition, and
 20 about a certain dead Jesus, who Paul insisted was alive. And
 when I was myself perplexed at the dispute on these points, I

καὶ δυναστῶν τοὺς παρόντας αὐτῷ
 συνέδρους ποιησαμένου.

The speech of Festus can be grouped with the letter of Claudius Lysias to Felix as representing Luke's attempt to tell the story as he supposed that Roman officials would have told it. Both are perfectly sound if not perfect Greek, and neither has any suggestion of Semitic idiom.

15. laid information] See note on xxiii. 15.

16. confronted] κατὰ πρόσωπον ἔχει. The use of the optative here in ἔχει and λάβοι, and in βούλοιο in vs. 20, relatively rare in Acts, is probably part of Luke's attempt to imitate the educated Greek of the Governor. The thought of the whole verse is well expressed in the passage cited by Field from Appian, *B.C.* iii. 54: ὁ μὲν νόμος, ὡ βουλὴ, δικαιοὶ τὸν εὐθυνόμενον αὐτὸν ἀκοῦσαι τε τῆς κατηγορίας, καὶ ἀπολογησάμενον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ κρίνεσθαι.

opportunity] τόπος in this sense has been claimed as a Latinism, but the metaphorical use of 'place' is common in most languages. Cf. Heb. xii. 17; Josephus, *Antiq.* xvi. 8. 5 μήτ' ἀπολογίας μήτ' ἐλέγχον τόπον . . . ἐχόντων.

17. came here with me] Cf. vs. 5. By omitting αὐτῶν B gives here as in xxiv. 2 a genitive absolute without subject. See on xxi. 31.

postponement] ἀναβολή, cf. ἀνεβά-
 λετο in xxiv. 22.

19. differences of opinion] ζητήματα may be thus rendered rather than by 'questions,' just as ζήτησις is 'dispute' rather than 'inquiry.' Cf. xv. 2, 7, xviii. 15, and Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 10. 2 ἂν τε μεταξὺ γένηται τις ζήτησις περὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίων ἀγωγῆς, ἀρέσκει μοι κρίσιν γίνεσθαι.

own] Festus would be scarcely polite in using such an ambiguous phrase as δεισιδαιμονίας about the official religion of Agrippa. It is therefore actually, though not linguistically, probable that ιδίας refers to Paul, 'his own rather than to the Jews.'

superstition] δεισιδαιμονία is possibly but improbably 'religion' (see note on xvii. 22). It is very doubtful whether in private life Agrippa had any belief in Jewish doctrine, but it is too far-fetched to suggest that Luke was hinting that the Governor was talking in public the language suitable to Agrippa, the popular member of cosmopolitan Roman society, rather than that which both of them would adopt on official occasions. On the history of the word see P. J. Koets, *Δεισιδαιμονία, a Contribution to the Knowledge of the Religious Terminology in Greek*, 1929.

20. myself] ἐγώ is emphatic. Festus explains that his ignorance of Jewish customs was his reason for suggesting that the venue of the case be changed to Jerusalem. He does not say here that he will preside at the trial, as he does in vs. 9 (ἐπ' ἐμοῦ),

asked if he wished to go to Jerusalem and there be tried on these matters, but Paul appealed that he should be held for the decision of the Augustus, and I commanded him to be held until I should remand him to Caesar." Agrippa said to Festus, "I had wished to hear the man myself." "To-morrow," he said, "you shall hear him."

So on the next day Agrippa and Bernice came with great pomp and went into the audience-chamber with the tribunes and the chief men of the city; and at the command of Festus, Paul

but there is nothing to contradict this. Still, here as elsewhere (cf. the letter of Claudius Lysias) in re-telling a story, Luke introduces a different nuance.

perplexed] ἀπορούμενος . . . τὴν . . . ζήτησιν is a remarkable though intelligible construction.

21. held] i.e. in custody, cf. vs. 4. Note the present, 'go on being held.'

decision] διάγνωσιν = *cognitio*. See Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*, second English translation, 1927, p. 342, note 3. The verb is used in xxiii. 15 (see note), xxiv. 22. With the phrase here—*εἰς τὴν τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ διάγνωσιν*—cf. the late second-century inscription, *IG. xiv. 1072*, which translated the title of an office a *cognitionibus Augusti* as ἐπὶ . . . διαγνώσεων τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ.

the Augustus] 'His Majesty' would almost be the equivalent in English for *Augustus*, which is a title, though we have made a name out of it.

remand] ἀναπέμπω is used in Greek as *remittere* is in Latin to signify sending a prisoner to a superior tribunal, so that 'remand' seems the best rendering.

22. I had wished] Blass renders ἐβουλόμην 'I should like,' regarding it as equivalent to βουλόμην ἄν. But why should it not mean 'I had wished'? Agrippa had doubtless heard the story in Jerusalem, or possibly from his sister, Drusilla. Moreover, was not Luke conscious of the parallelism with another Herod who had wished to see Jesus, as only his gospel narrates (cf. Luke ix. 9, xxiii. 8)? Paul's interviews with Felix and Drusilla (xxiv. 24 ff.) are

similarly due to personal interest or curiosity, and were not official or judicial. For the grammatical question involved in the translation see Lightfoot's note on Philemon 13, and cf. A. T. Robertson, *Grammar*, pp. 918 f., and Radermacher, *Gramm.* 2nd ed. p. 160.

23. pomp] φαντασίας. The noun continues in this sense in modern oriental languages, but Radermacher, *Grammatik*, 2nd ed. p. 12, is wrong in denying it illustrations in antiquity. Many examples are collected in Wettstein *ad loc.*, including some of the prepositional phrase μετὰ φαντασίας (Polyb. xvi. 21. 1). Cf. Vettius Valens, ed. Kroll, p. 38 l. 26 εὐπόρους δὲ καὶ πλουσίους καὶ μετὰ πλείστης φαντασίας διεξάγοντας.

audience-chamber] ἀκροατήριον = *auditorium*, a word used in *Digest* iv. 4. 18. 1 of the room used by the emperor for hearing trials. Here doubtless a room in Herod's palace. Of course the hearing before Agrippa was not a real trial. Festus was merely showing off an interesting prisoner to entertain Agrippa, the chief local dignitaries, and the officers of the Mess.

tribunes] There were five cohorts in Caesarea. All the officers, like the tribune at Jerusalem, would be citizens and probably of Italian origin. See on xxii. 28 and Addit. Note 33.

chief men of the city] That is, according to the B-text, the Caesarean notables, but the Western text in the Harclean margin substitutes 'who came down from the province,' of which the Greek is uncertain (see Vol. III. p. 233). Probably this would in

24 was brought. And Festus said, "King Agrippa, and all you who are present with us, you see this man about whom the whole body of Jews petitioned me, both in Jerusalem and here, 25 shouting that he ought not to live any longer. But I perceived that he had done nothing deserving of death, and when he him- 26 self appealed to the Augustus, I decided to send him. But I have nothing specific to write to my Lord about him, and therefore I have brought him forth before you, and particularly before you, King Agrippa, in order that when inquiry has been made, 27 I may have something to write. For it seems to me absurd to send a prisoner without also indicating the charges against him."

practice mean excluding Jerusalem. It must be remembered that only Jerusalem and the immediate neighbourhood was wholly Jewish; the rest of Judaea was Greek and Syrian. Luke is said to have a tendency to emphasize the cities mentioned in the narrative; if so, this might be an argument in favour of the B-text. (See Cadbury, *The Making of Luke-Acts*, pp. 245-249, and Harnack, *Acts of the Apostles*, pp. 61 f.)

24. body] *πλήθος*. See note on iv. 32. Unless the author varies his representation this includes only the Jewish leaders mentioned in verses 2, 7, 15. We may compare how in xv. 12 *πάν το πλήθος* refers to the apostles and elders in xv. 6. On the other hand, Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, 232, regards *πλήθος* here as 'people' in the official political sense and gives parallels from the inscriptions and precisely this phrase (*τὸ πλήθος τῶν Ἰουδαίων*) from 1 Macc. viii. 20; 2 Macc. xi. 16 (= *ὁ δῆμος τῶν Ἰουδαίων*, 34); Aristeas 308.

and here] The Western text (Harclean margin) has a longer version: "both in Jerusalem and here, that I should hand him over to them for punishment without any defence. But I could not hand him over because of the orders which we have from the Augustus. But, if anyone was going to accuse him, I said that he should follow me to Caesarea, where he (Paul) was being held. And when they came they cried out that he should be put to death, but when

I heard their case and the other, I perceived that on no count was he liable to death. But when I said, 'Will you be judged with them in Jerusalem?' he appealed to Caesar. And I have nothing to write about it to my Lord."

25. I decided] Festus makes it plain that he is not consulting Agrippa or the Caesarean notables on the question of Paul's guilt or of granting his appeal to Caesar, but to obtain material for a report on a case which puzzled him. He saw that Paul had not committed any crime, but he did not understand what the trouble was between him and the Jews.

26. my Lord] *Dominus* was first taken as a title by Caligula, and Domitian went so far as to permit *Dominus deus*. From Claudius on *κύριος* is used increasingly on the Egyptian documents for the emperor. (See Moulton and Milligan, *Vocab.* pp. 365 f., and Deissmann, *Licht v. Osten*, ed. 4, pp. 299 ff.)

you . . . you] The first 'you' is plural, the second is singular, but modern English does not permit distinction (see on xxvi. 8).

inquiry] *ἀνακρίσεως*, strictly a preliminary inquiry, but apparently used more loosely in later Greek. Cf. note on iv. 9.

write] *Digest* xlix. 6 enacts that such a report must be sent. In the *Digest* it is called *litterae dimissoriae sive apostoli*, elsewhere *elogium* is used. Possibly there was no technical term in the first century.

And Agrippa said to Paul, "You have leave to speak on your 26 own behalf."

Then Paul stretched out his hand and began his defence: "Concerning all the charges brought against me by Jews, 2 King Agrippa, I consider myself fortunate that it is before you I am to-day to make my defence, especially since you are expert 3 in all the customs and disputes which exist among Jews. And therefore I beg you to listen patiently to me.

1. Paul] The Western text in the Harclean margin adds 'confident, and consoled by the Holy Spirit,' which may represent *παρρησιασάμενος καὶ τῷ πνεύματι ἁγίῳ παρακληθεὶς*. Possibly this reading was also known to Ephrem (see Vol. III. p. 448); if so, it must have been in the Old Syriac text. It is easy to see why in this famous defence of Paul scribes inserted the fulfilment of such promises of the Holy Spirit's assistance as Mark xiii. 9-11. Possibly behind *παρακληθεὶς* lies the thought of the Spirit as *παράκλητος* (John xiv. 26) in the juristic sense.

2. Jews] The omission of the article with *Ἰουδαῖοι* in xxv. 10, xxvi. 2, 3, 4, 7, 21, is noted by Blass-Debrunner, § 262, 1, who observes that these passages are all in speeches of Paul in defence, and that the Attic forensic speeches likewise omit the article with the name of the opponent. In both these speeches in Acts the article appears with *Ἰουδαῖοι* only in xxv. 8, *τὸν νόμον τῶν Ἰουδαίων*, but there the first article with *νόμον* made the second article almost necessary (according to the general practice that when two nouns occur in genitive relation the article is found with both or with neither).

King Agrippa] One of the most irritating problems in translation is the rendering of such phrases as this. If translation means putting the idiom of one language into the idiom of another, 'King Agrippa' is very doubtful, and 'O King' for *βασιλεῦ* in vs. 7 and 13 is impossible; it should be 'your Majesty.' Similarly in vs. 27, and even more so in vs. 25, where 'most excellent Festus' is an abomination; it should be 'your Excellency.'

I consider myself fortunate] The *captatio benevolentiae* resembles those of xxiv. 2 f. and 10 in expressing confidence in the audience, and the speech resembles the other speeches of Paul asserting his strict Jewish background. His later experiences are commended as due to divine intervention and as being in accord with the Scriptures.

3. especially since] There is some doubt whether *μάλιστα* belongs with the whole participial clause, as it has been rendered here, or with *γνώστην*, 'since you are especially expert.' The analogy of xxv. 26 would imply a translation 'that it is before you especially,' but *μάλιστα* usually precedes that which it emphasizes.

you are expert] With the *γνώστην ὄντα σε* [*ἐπιστάμενος*] should be compared *ὄντα σε κριτὴν . . . ἐπιστάμενος* in the similar part of Paul's speech before Felix in xxiv. 10. But in the present passage the textual evidence is against *ἐπιστάμενος* and the accusatives are left hanging without construction. For the parallelism between these two speeches compare the words that follow there, *εὐθύμω: τὰ περὶ ἔμμαντος ἀπολογεῖσθαι* in xxiv. 10, with the words that precede here, *ἡγημαὶ ἔμμαντον μακάριον ἐπὶ σοῦ μέλλον σήμερον ἀπολογεῖσθαι*. How far there is evidence that Agrippa II. was versed or interested in Judaism is shown by Schürer, *GJV*. 4th ed. i. pp. 591 f.

disputes] See note on xxv. 19.

patiently] The adverb *μακροθύμως* has the same ingratiating effect as *συντόμως* in xxiv. 4 (see note there)—suggesting the brevity of the speaker or the long-suffering character of the listener.

4 "All Jews know the life which from the beginning I
5 led from my youth in my nation and in Jerusalem, for
they have known for a long time, if they are willing to bear
witness, that according to the strictest party of our rite I lived

4. All] The Greek sentence is introduced by *μὲν οὖν*, to show that this is the real beginning of the defence. It is hard to render it in English, and perhaps it is sufficiently represented by making a new paragraph begin here.

life] It may be merely an accident that the three known early occurrences of the word *βίωσις* are used of the life of a Jew: (a) Paul here, (b) the *sopher* Jesus ben Sira as described by his grandson (Ecclus. Praef. *τῆς ἐννόμου βιώσεως*), and (c) the Jews of Phrygia whom their synagogue honoured *διὰ τε τὴν ἐνάρετον αὐτῶν [βίωσιν καὶ τὴν π[ρ]ὸς τὴν συναγωγὴν εὐνοῖαν τε καὶ σπουδὴν*. (See Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, vol. ii., 1897, p. 650, who dated it in A.D. 60–80.) The papyri use the word in the sixth century.

nation] That is, in Cilicia. It is contrasted with Jerusalem. The use of *ἔθνος* in Jewish-Christian Greek is peculiar. In the plural it is the customary equivalent of 'Goyim'—the Gentiles—but in the singular it usually means an organized political entity. Thus it could be used of the Jews in Alexandria, whose head was actually called the *ἐθνάρχης*. Here it is used as *γένος* is in xviii. 2 and 24 of Aquila and Apollos, who though Jews are described as 'Pontic' and 'Alexandrian' by *γένος*. It is also possible that ii. 5 offers an exact illustration of this use of *ἔθνος* as applied to Jews, but it is more probable that it there refers to Gentiles. That *ἔθνος* rather than the customary *λαός* (see vss. 17 and 23 and note on x. 2) may be used of Jews is shown by *τὸ ἔθνος ἡμῶν* in Luke vii. 5, xxiii. 2, and *τῷ ἔθνει τούτῳ* in Acts xxiv. 2, 10, and may be explained by the author's dramatic tendency to use special vocabulary for special occasions—in these cases always in connexion with foreigners. Cf., however, xxviii. 19, and see Cadbury, *Making of Luke-Acts*, p. 228.

Another alternative, applicable especially at xxiv. 2 and 10, is that in official speech *ἔθνος* means province, i.e. Judaea. See O. Eger, *Rechtsgeschichtliches zum N.T.*, note 26 (end), Liddell and Scott, 9th ed., s.v. 2. c.

5. for a long time] *ἄνωθεν* differs from *ἀπ' ἀρχῆς* in that it deals with a condition now existent and of long standing, rather than with one that comes down from the beginning. The two words may be synonyms if that which is primitive (*ἀπ' ἀρχῆς*) continues to the present, or if that which is now of long standing (*ἄνωθεν*) actually goes back to the first. For *ἄνωθεν* see H. J. Cadbury in *Expositor*, Dec. 1922, pp. 409 and 418. For the parallelism between *ἀπ' ἀρχῆς* . . . *ἄνωθεν* in this verse and the preceding and *ἀπ' ἀρχῆς* . . . *ἄνωθεν* in Luke i. 2 see Vol. II. pp. 502 f. Attention is called there to the grammatical excellence of the forms *ἴσασι* here (for *οἰδασι*) and *παρέδωκαν* at Luke i. 2 (for *παρέδωκαν*). Another contact between this speech and the preface of Luke is noted below on vs. 16.

party] *αἵρεσις* is here used exactly as it is in Josephus, and there can be no possibility of the meaning 'heresy.' Cf. v. 17, xv. 5, and xxiv. 14, and see note on xxiv. 5.

rite] *θρησκεία* is *cultus*—not belief, and not moral code—for which there is no adequate translation in English. 'Worship' is better than 'religion,' but can hardly be used in English to express 'a system of worship.' Moreover *θρησκεία* indicates the practical side of religion, its customs, *ἔθνη*, mentioned in vs. 3, so that 'rite' is not really a satisfactory rendering. See the analysis of the religious principles of Judaism in G. F. Moore's *Judaism*, vol. ii. pp. 3 ff. (Cf. James i. 26 f. and see Ropes's note in the *International Critical Commentary* on 'James.' See also E. Hatch, *Essays in Biblical Greek*, pp. 55 ff.)

as a Pharisee. And now it is for the hope of the promise which 6 was made by God to our fathers that I stand on trial, which our 7 twelve tribes worshipping earnestly night and day hope to attain; for that hope I am accused—and by Jews, your Majesty! Why 8 is it judged incredible by you that God should raise the dead? I myself thought it right to do many things in opposition to 9

6. The fragmentary papyrus 29 gives a tantalizing glimpse of the Western text. It clearly read λατρεύει [ἐν] ἐλπίδι καταντῆσαι, but it is not clear what was the object of λατρεύει. It would be very harsh to say ἐπ' ἐλπίδι . . . εἰς ἣν . . . λατρεύει ἐν ἐλπίδι καταντῆσαι, and the suspicion is roused that in the Western text λατρεύει had another object, possibly ὅν. On the other hand Luke may have tried deliberately in this speech to reproduce the clumsy language of a Cilician Jew, and εἰς ἣν etc. may be due to this attempt. If so, it is an argument for the originality of the Western text.

hope] Cf. notes on xxiii. 6 and xxiv. 15.

our fathers] In the N.T. (Luke i. 55, 72; Rom. ix. 5) as in Judaism (G. F. Moore, *Judaism*, i. 542) the name belongs by pre-eminence to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. This reference to the patriarchs explains the use of the antiquarian δωδεκάφυλον in vs. 7. Contrast the more Gentile-sounding expressions λατρεύω τῷ πατρίῳ θεῷ in xxiv. 14; τοῖς ἑθεσιν τοῖς πατράσι in xxviii. 17. See note on xxiv. 14.

7. twelve tribes] In Greek a single compound adjective is used—τὸ δωδεκάφυλον—which gives more sense of unity than the translation. Cf., however, ταῖς δώδεκα φυλαῖς in James i. 1. The word occurs in 1 Clem. iv. 6 (Greek mss., but apparently not the versions, cf. xxxi. 4 τὸ δωδεκάσκηπτρον), Protev. Jacobi 1, and δωδεκάφυλος λαός in *Orac. Sibyl.* ii. 171 (mss.).

earnestly] ἐν ἐκτενείᾳ. See note on ἐκτενῶς in xii. 5. It is characteristic of Luke to vary adverbs with adverbial phrases, and to connect both with the same idea. The parallels in Acts xii. 5 and Luke xxii. 44 suggest the idea of prayer.

and by Jews] Some such device of rendering is needed to bring out the emphasis on Ἰουδαίων and the absence of the article. Pap. 29 omits ἐλπίδος (which may be right), and appears to have omitted also βασιλεὺς τί ἀπιστοῦν κρείνεται παρ' ὑμῖν. At first sight this seems like an accidental omission, but this papyrus and P Mich 1571 raise the question whether the text of Acts in the third century did not vary from any extant authority even more than we had supposed. These two papyri are the oldest extant manuscripts of Acts, they have the 'wildest' Western text known, yet they come not from Africa or Edessa but from Egypt.

8. you] ὑμῖν. Paul turns from Agrippa at this point to address a real or imaginary group of Jews. It is unfortunately impossible to bring out in English the change from singular to plural. Although Agrippa is addressed in vss. 2, 3, 7, 13 and 19, modern usage suggests that, like the 'sir' in Parliamentary speeches, the references to the presiding officer may be formal, and that the real audience to which Paul's words are addressed is betrayed by this (plural) pronoun.

that God should raise] εἰ ὁ θεὸς . . . ἐγείρει. Cf. the construction in xxvi. 23. For the use of εἰ=ὅτι see H. J. Cadbury, *JBL* xlviii., 1929, pp. 421 f.

raise the dead] A general proposition, but Paul's whole argument is that denial of the resurrection of Christ is a denial of the general resurrection; cf. 1 Cor. xv. 12 ff. for the opposite proposition that a denial of a general resurrection is a denial of Christ's resurrection.

9. in opposition to] ἐναντία πρὸς: it is interesting to note the emphasis on 'the name,' which plays so large a part in the early chapters in the

to the name of Jesus the Nazarene, and this I did in Jerusalem, and it was I who shut up in prisons many of the saints by authority I received from the high priest. And when they were being put to death I cast my vote against
 11 them, and through all the synagogues I frequently punished them and forced them to blaspheme, and in my extreme madness against them I persecuted them even in cities abroad.

sections attributed to the source J^a (iii. and iv.). It is especially noteworthy that the struggle between the apostles and the Sanhedrin was centred in the use of 'the Name,' and its use seems to have persisted in Judaism until the second century (see Additional Note 11).

10. this I did] See note on xi. 30. Fr. Pfister, *Festgabe für Adolf Deissmann*, 1927, pp. 68 ff., regards expressions like *δ καὶ ἐποίησεν* as characteristic of the popular style, citing examples from Pseudo-Callisthenes. The *καὶ* merely gives emphasis, and should not be rendered 'also.' The reading of B, *διό* for *δ*, seems to be merely accidental.

the saints] See Additional Note 30.

put to death] This implies a more bitter persecution than anything which is related in the earlier chapters, which do not record any deaths except those of Stephen and James. The death of James, in the reign of Agrippa (41-44), is intelligible, but could the Jews have carried out executions, such as Paul's speech implies, during the Roman period? If it be thought that this is improbable there are only two possibilities: (i.) this sentence is due to the editor of the book; (ii.) the facts are as stated, but the chronology of Paul's life has been confused by some primitive error (see Addit. Note 34). The former is the better explanation, and this may be another case of the generalization from individual instances to which the author is prone. *ἀναρουμένων τε αὐτῶν κτλ.* refers to Stephen (*ἦν συνευδοκῶν τῇ ἀναρέσει αὐτοῦ* viii. 1), and *τὰς ἐξω πόλεις* in vs. 11 is a pluralizing of Damascus in ix. 2 and xxii. 5. Cf. also notes on viii. 1 and Additional Note 31.

cast my vote] Even more in Greek than in English this phrase, appropriate for a court or jury, could be used of unofficial action. (See the examples in Kypke, *ad loc.*, of *ψῆφον φέρειν κατὰ* from Josephus.) *καταφέρειν ψῆφον* with the genitive is used here in the same sense. It is the substitute in this chapter for *συνευδοκῶν* in the two parallels at viii. 1 and xxii. 20. Neither expression proves or excludes Paul's right to a voting membership in the Sanhedrin.

11. blaspheme] i.e. from the Christian point of view, not of course from the Jewish. Moreover *βλασφημεῖν* is a less violent and less religious phrase than 'blaspheme' is in English. It should be noted that the English rendering inevitably suggests that the coercion was successful, but the Greek leaves this open.

An interesting parallel to this passage is Pliny's statement (*Ep.* x. 96) that while non-Christians and former Christians offered supplication with wine and incense to the image of the emperor and the statues of the gods and reviled Christ (*maledicere Christo*), it was those who were really Christians who could not be compelled to do any of those things (*quorum nihil cogi posse dicuntur, qui sunt re vera Christiani*).

madness] *ἐμυαλνεσθαι* is found in Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 6. 5, and nowhere else until Epiphanius in the fourth century.

even in] *ἕως καὶ εἰς* seems merely an emphatic form of *εἰς* (cf. xvii. 14 *ἕως ἐπὶ*, and Luke xxiv. 50 *ἕως πρὸς*), and *εἰς* probably merely means 'in,' though it might be explained as 'I persecuted them out of Jerusalem into the cities abroad.' But in any case *εἰς* is more natural after *διώκω* than 'into' is after 'persecute.'

And at this time, while I was going to Damascus with authority 12
and commission from the high priests, in the middle of the day, 13
on my journey, I saw, your Majesty, a light from heaven, shining
round me and those journeying with me, above the brightness
of the sun, and when we all fell to the ground I heard a voice 14
saying to me in the Hebrew language, 'Saul, Saul, why do you
persecute me? It is hard for you to kick against the goads.'
And I said, 'Who are you, Lord?' And the Lord said, 'I am 15

because διώκω retains something of its original meaning 'to pursue.'

12-20. THIRD ACCOUNT OF THE CONVERSION. See Additional Note 15 and the detailed notes on ix. 1-18 and xxii. 4-16.

12. at this time] ἐν οἷς as at xxiv. 18 v.l.; Luke xii. 1. Perhaps 'under these circumstances.'

13. in the middle of the day] μέσης ἡμέρας, cf. μεσημβρίας in xxii. 6. A comparison of the accounts of the conversion constantly illustrates Luke's tendency to vary his phrase when repeating a story.

shining round] περιλάμψαν. Cf. περιστράψεν ix. 3 and περιστράψαι xxii. 6, which means 'to flash round' rather than shine round.

above the brightness of the sun] Peculiar to this narrative, and merely represented by ἱκανόν in xxii. 6.

14. when we all fell] Cf. xxii. 6; contrast ix. 7.

in the Hebrew language] This detail is not given in the other narratives. It is found in the Harclean margin in xxii. 7, but not in D. Probably Hebrew means Aramaic. See on xxi. 40. The Semitic character of the name Σαούλ seemed perhaps to need apology here in the Greek setting of this scene more than in the parallel accounts of the conversion. See Cadbury, *The Making of Luke-Acts*, p. 226. In his *Jesus-Jeshua* (Eng. trans. pp. 17 f.) G. Dalman illustrates from Rabbinic sources the use as here in a heavenly voice (*bat qol*) of (i.) the Aramaic language in preference even to Hebrew, and (ii.) the double vocative. For the latter add 4 Ezra xiv. 1, Apoc. Baruch xxii. 2, and see note on ix. 6.

it is hard for you, etc.] This

phrase is found in the B-text only in this passage, but it is inserted in ix. 5 in the African Latin and Harclean margin, and in the Harclean margin in xxii. 7. The African Latin is not extant in xxii. 7; D is not extant in ix. 5, but does not have the addition in xxii. 7. The proverb 'to kick against the goads' is found in Greek in Aeschylus, *Agam.* 1624 (cf. *Prom.* 323); Pindar, *Pyth.* 2. 173; Euripides, *Bacch.* 795; in Latin writers, e.g. Terence, *Phormio* 77 (cf. A. Otto, *Die Sprichwörter und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten der Römer*, 1890, pp. 331 f.), and in an inscription in the valley of the Meander (A. H. Smith and W. M. Ramsay, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, viii., 1887, p. 261).

It has not yet been found in any Aramaic source, and seems to be, like the use of the LXX in Peter's speeches, an indication that the speeches in Acts are the composition of the editor, not translations from Aramaic, even when, as here, the speaker is said to have been using that language. That it is actually derived from the Greek poets, especially the *Bacchae* of Euripides, whether directly or as a 'familiar quotation' like the quotations in xvii. 28, is argued by F. Smend, *Ἀγγελος*, i., 1925, pp. 41 ff.; P. Fiebig, *ibid.* ii., 1926, pp. 157 f., and J. Rendel Harris, *St. Paul and Greek Literature*, 1927, pp. 10 f. That the proverb is used in poetry particularly of resisting fate or the will of gods makes its use here even more appropriate. The goad, called in A.V. 'prick,' is usually mentioned in the singular (though here it is plural) and is a sharp-pointed stick. It is known to the Old Testament writers as used to prod an ox

- 16 Jesus whom you persecute ; but rise and stand upon your feet, for for this reason I have appeared to you, to appoint you a servant and witness of how you have seen me and what I will show you, 17 rescuing you from the People and from the Gentiles to whom I

or ass at the plough (or horse, Ps. Sol. xvi. 4). The word 'hard' (σκληρόν) does not mean 'difficult' but indicates that it hurts the one who resists or kicks.

16. rise and stand upon your feet] ἀνάστηθι καὶ στήθι ἐπὶ τοὺς πόδας σου; in xxii. 10 ἀναστὰς πορεύου, and in ix. 6 ἀνάστηθι without ἐπὶ τ. π. σου. B omits καὶ στήθι probably by homoioteleuton, but cf. xiv. 10 ἀνάστηθι ἐπὶ τοὺς πόδας σου ὀρθός and Ezek. ii. 1 and 4 Ezra vi. 13.

for this reason] This takes the place of the episode of Ananias in xxii. and ix., but it must remain an open question whether the editor put in Ananias, perhaps from the Jerusalem tradition, as is suggested in Addit. Note 15, or has omitted him here.

In verses 16-18 the speech of Paul, because embodying the words of God or Jesus, begins to be strongly coloured with the phraseology of the Old Testament. See Vol. II. pp. 99f. Note further the accumulation of infinitives with or without the article τοῦ, another mark of passages where Luke is employing the Biblical style, especially of the canticles of Luke i. and ii. The infinitive of purpose without τοῦ is otherwise rare in the New Testament.

to appoint] προχειρίσασθαι, the same word which Ananias uses in xxii. 14, though there the subject of the verb is ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν, not Jesus. See note on iii. 20.

servant and witness] ὑπηρέτην καὶ μάρτυρα, compare Luke i. 2 αὐτόπται καὶ ὑπηρέται and the note on it in Vol. II. pp. 498ff. αὐτόπτης, the appropriate word in a preface, is replaced here by the μάρτυς, so common in Acts (see note on i. 8). For ὑπηρέτης see note on xiii. 5. As another association of this speech with Luke's preface note in verses 4 and 5 ἀπ' ἀρχῆς . . . ἀνωθεν. ὑπηρέτην might be rendered 'minister' as elsewhere, but in this passage the ecclesi-

astical flavour of 'minister' seems undesirable.

how you, etc.] The Greek is impossible (ὣν τε εἰδὲς με ὧν τε ὀφθῆσομαι σοι) and the rendering indefensible, except on the plea that this must be the meaning of the writer. It represents in xxii. 15 ὧν ἐώρακας καὶ ἤκουσας.

I will show you] There is no evidence that ὀφθῆσομαι can have this causative sense; it ought to mean 'I will appear' or 'I will become visible,' but it is difficult to extract any sense with this meaning. The phrase is usually supposed to refer to experiences (visions of Jesus) subsequent to that near Damascus, like xviii. 9f., xxii. 17f., xxiii. 11; cf. xvi. 6-8, xxvii. 23. The whole question is bound up with the insoluble problem of the relation between 'Christophanies' and the manifestations of the Spirit. To Paul the 'Lord was the Spirit': was this equally true of Luke?

17. rescuing] ἐξαιρούμενος has this meaning everywhere else in Luke's work and usually in the LXX and similar Greek. A promise to rescue Paul alike from Gentiles and Jews is particularly appropriate to the present predicament of Paul, more appropriate than at the time of the conversion, when 'choosing' would seem more suitable, cf. σκεῖος ἐκλογῆς ix. 15. The latter meaning of the verb, known to the classical Greek, is scarcely found in the LXX, in spite of an underlying Hebrew בחר, 'choose,' in one or two passages. Accordingly it is better, with most modern commentators, to translate 'rescuing,' as the immediate context demands, rather than as though the verb referred to Paul's call and commission, as other considerations in context and parallels might suggest.

the People] λαός is as idiomatic in the sense of 'the Jews' as τὰ ἔθνη is for the Gentiles. See note on x. 2.

send you, to open their eyes, to turn from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan to God, for them to receive the forgiveness of sins and a share among those who are sanctified by faith in me.' And therefore, King Agrippa, I was not disobedient to the heavenly vision; but to those in Damascus first of all and in Jerusalem, and all the land of Judaea, and to the Gentiles, I brought word to repent and turn to God, and do deeds worthy of repentance. For this cause Jews seized me in the Temple and tried to do away with me. So finding help from God up

18. There is no parallel to this verse in ix. or xxii., but to the later reader it suggests Col. i. 12 ff. *εὐχαριστοῦντες τῷ πατρὶ τῷ ἱκανώσαντι ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν μερίδα τοῦ κλήρου τῶν ἁγίων ἐν τῷ φωτὶ, ὃς ἐρύσατο ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ σκότους καὶ μετέστησεν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ υἱοῦ τῆς ἀγάπης αὐτοῦ, ἐν ᾧ ἔχομεν τὴν ἀπολύτρωσιν, τὴν ἀφεσιν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν.*

20. The Neutral text of this verse, though intelligible, is quite indefensible: τοῖς ἐν Δαμασκῷ πρῶτον τε καὶ Ἱεροσολύμοις πᾶσαν τε τὴν χώραν τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἀπήγγελλον κτλ. How can πᾶσαν τε τὴν χώραν τῆς Ἰουδαίας be construed?

The Western text, fortunately preserved in Pap. 29, differs widely (see Vol. III. p. 237), and presents no difficulty, but it should be noted that the crucial words (τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ) which replace the difficult πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν τῆς Ἰουδαίας are a reconstruction, probable enough but not certain. Ropes (Vol. III. p. 237) suggests that the difficulty of the verse may be due to a Semitism, but it is hard to see that the Semitic idiom which he quotes would really explain the sudden insertion of an accusative quite outside the construction of the sentence. Emendations such as the insertion of εἰς before πᾶσαν, which was adopted in the Antiochian text, can easily be suggested. Any of them is possible but none probable.

In addition to its grammatical difficulty (see above) the clause πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν τῆς Ἰουδαίας has no parallel in Acts ix. and seems to be positively excluded by Gal. i. 22 (ἡμην δὲ ἀγνοοῦμενος τῷ προσώπῳ ταῖς

ἐκκλησίαις τῆς Ἰουδαίας). But this author may be using Ἰουδαία in a somewhat different geographical sense, he may be referring to a later time, and he is in this speech affected by a love of parallelism. Cf. ὁ λαὸς καὶ τὰ ἔθνη in vs. 17 and 23, and the note on vs. 30. For the interest in geographical sequence which this verse shows cf. i. 8.

brought word to repent] The awkwardness of this phrase is about the same as the awkwardness of the Greek ἀπαγγέλλειν with an infinitive.

to repent and turn to God] μετανοεῖν καὶ ἐπιστρέφειν is a conflate rendering of the Hebrew שׁוּב (see note on iii. 19), and this whole phrase seems selected to show that Paul's preaching was not other than a Jewish missionary would have used in attempting to convert the heathen (cf. iii. 19, ix. 35, xiv. 15, xv. 19).

repentance] τῆς μετανοίας is more than merely 'repentance,' but 'their repentance' would be too strong; it means 'that particular μετάνοια.'

21. do away with] διαχειρίσασθαι, see note on v. 30.

22. help] ἐπικουρία is a good Greek word, though it happens not to be found again in the N.T., and in the LXX only in Wisdom xiii. 18. Hobart, *The Medical Language of St. Luke*, 1881, p. 266, gave a number of examples of ἐπικουρία (mostly with δέομαι) from Hippocrates, Dioscorides, and Galen, implying that it was a medical term. But it is found, and precisely with τυγχάνω, as here, in other writings, such as Polybius, Diodorus Siculus, Josephus, and the papyri.

to this day I stand to testify to small and to great, saying nothing beyond those things which both the prophets said were going to happen and Moses also, that the Messiah must suffer, that he first by resurrection from the dead will announce light both to the People and to the Gentiles." And when he was making this defence, Festus said in a loud voice, "You are mad, Paul. Your great learning turns you to madness." But Paul said,

which both] ὡν τε οἱ πρ. is written loosely instead of ὡν οἱ τε προφήται, but the misplacing of 'both' is common in all languages. The passage is reminiscent of iii. 22-24, though not so harsh; in each case the reader has at first the impression that the sentence is not properly finished; in iii. 24 there seems to be no verb after προφήται, and here καὶ Μωσῆς rouses the expectation that a verb ought to come, though it does not (see note on iii. 24). Probably this feeling that the sentence is unfinished led to the Western text (only found in Latin, but there is no extant Greek), which omits the 'both,' and goes on: "for it is written in Moses 'If Christ be passible he will announce (or has announced) light by the resurrection of the dead,'" etc. From Tertullian's comment in *De resurr. carnis* 39 it appears that Gen. ix. 5 is intended. See Vol. III. p. 237. (*Nam et de resurrectione mortuorum apud Moysen scriptum commemorans corporalem eam norat in qua scilicet sanguis hominis exquiri habebit.*)

23. must suffer] There is no evidence that any Jew at this time thought that the Messiah would suffer. Probably therefore the meaning is that Paul argued that the death of Jesus was not a proof that he was not Messiah. (See G. F. Moore, *Judaism*, i. pp. 551 f., iii. note 255; Strack, *Kommentar*, ii. pp. 273-299.)

In this and in the next clause *ei* is best rendered by 'that,' but there is in *ei* a stronger implication that the proposition which follows is denied and must be argued out, than would be made by the simple *ὅτι*. It is noteworthy that Luke always joins παθεῖν τὸν Χριστόν with δέει or a reference to Scripture (cf. Luke xxiv. 26, 46; Acts iii. 18, xvii. 3). The insistence on

παθὴν ὁ Χριστός is reproduced in Justin's *Dialogue with Trypho* and shows that the suffering of the Messiah was a burning question in the controversy of the Jews and Christians. Rendel Harris thinks that *ei παθὴν ὁ Χριστός* and similar phrases were the recognized subjects of debate with the Jews, and became the rubrics in collections of proof texts in early Christian 'books of testimonies.' (See his *Testimonies*, i. 19 f., ii. 77, and on the use of *ei* see Cadbury in *JBL* xlviii., 1929, pp. 421 f.)

24. mad] Paul has been talking to Agrippa as one Jew to another, and naturally the Roman Festus thought that anyone who had eschatological expectations must be mad; Paul appeared to him to be a γραμματεὺς whose head had been turned by too much study (cf. xxv. 19). Many educated persons hold the same view about eschatology to-day, but history is against them and Festus, and proves that whether eschatological hope be true or false it is no proof of insanity. Moreover it was as central in the Christianity of Paul as it had been in that of Jesus.

learning] γράμματα often has this meaning (see Wettstein). The subtle difference between γράμματα πολλά and τὰ πολλὰ γράμματα might be expressed, though with some exaggeration, by 'all this learning.' By other standards (1 Cor. ii. 4; 2 Cor. xi. 6) Paul did not seem learned, or at least not eloquent.

turns you to madness] For the exact combination Lucian, *Abdicatus* 30 ἐς μανίαν περιέτρεψε, may be cited. Strack-Billerbeck quote a passage in the Targum on Numbers xxii. 5 which says that Balaam had become insane because of the greatness of his learning.

"I am not mad, your Excellency Festus, but I am uttering words of truth and sanity. And the King is learned in these things, and I am talking freely to him, for I do not think that any of these things are escaping his notice, for this has not been done in a corner. King Agrippa, do you believe the prophets? I know that you believe them." But Agrippa said to Paul, "You make little business of persuading me to play the Christian."

25. your Excellency] See notes on vs. 2 and xxiii. 26.

uttering] See notes on ii. 4 and 14. words] *ρήματα*, perhaps in conscious antithesis to *γράμματα*, just as *σωφροσύνης* is to *μανίαν*.

sanity] *σωφρονεῖν* is antithetical to demonic possession in Luke viii. 38 (from Mark v. 15). Cf. Xenophon, *Mem.* i. 1. 16 *ὁ ἐκεῖ σωφροσύνην ἡγοῦνται εἶναι τάληθῃ λέγειν, ἐνταῦθα μανίαν*. In 2 Cor. v. 13 the antithesis is *ἐξέστημεν . . . σωφρονούμεν*. Cf. our expression 'the sober truth.'

With the scene here should be compared an interview between the Roman Emperor (probably Commodus) and a certain Appianus, a legatus of the Alexandrians, in P Oxy 33. The latter, having been condemned to punishment, reviled the Emperor abusively, contrasting his character with that of his father (very much after the manner of Jeremiah xxii. 10-19). Note especially col. iv. lines 9 ff., *Αὐτοκράτωρ. 'Αππιανέ, (εἰ)ώθαμεν καὶ ἡμεῖς μαινομένους καὶ ἀπονενοημένους σωφρονίζειν' λαλεῖς ἐφ' ὅσον ἐγὼ σε θέλω λαλεῖν*. (Contrast John xix. 9 f.) *'Αππιανός. νῆ τὴν σὴν τύχην, οὔτε μαινομαι οὔτε ἀπονενοῆμαι κτλ.*

26. is learned] *ἐπίσταται* is more than 'knows.' The sense of 'learning' has been kept by the word even in modern Greek, in which *ἐπιστήμη* means science and *πανεπιστήμιον* is a university.

are escaping] Not 'have escaped' (*λανθάνειν*, not *λαθεῖν*). Paul regards the whole course of events as still unfinished, and believes that Agrippa is watching it.

in a corner] A good Greek expression (see Wettstein's collection of parallels from Galen and Lucian, to which Field (*Notes*, p. 141) adds two

more from Synesius and Lucian), but no Semitic parallel has been quoted. (Cf. 'to kick against the goads.' See note on vs. 14.) Probably *οὐ . . . ἐν γωνία* is mere litotes (Vol. II. p. 34) like the denials in vs. 19, and in xx. 20 (see note), 27, 33. But it may be remembered that very early, if not as early as the writing of Acts, Christianity had to meet the charge of obscure origin in a single corner. See Origen, *c. Celsum*, vi. 78 *ter* and elsewhere; cf. John vii. 4.

28. The general meaning of this much disputed verse turns on three points: (i.) the meaning of *ἐν ὀλίγῳ*, which is obviously the centre of a play on the words; (ii.) the meaning of *Χριστιανόν*; (iii.) the correctness of the text with regard to (a) *πέλθεις* and (b) *ποιῆσαι*. (i.) *ἐν ὀλίγῳ* generally means 'in a short time,' 'rapidly' (see Blass' note *ad loc.*), but it is argued that here the meaning must be governed by the obvious allusion to it in vs. 29 where *καὶ ἐν ὀλίγῳ καὶ ἐν μεγάλῳ* must mean either 'with little or with great effort' or 'in small points and in great ones.' Both these renderings are possible, but 'in small and great'—meaning 'altogether,' 'wholly'—gives the better meaning. 'With little or with great effort,' which Blass prefers, requires *ἢ* rather than *καὶ*. It is, however, a mistake to argue that *ἐν ὀλίγῳ* must have exactly the same meaning in each place. In all languages words have more than one shade of meaning which are not fully perceived until they are translated into another language, and 'playing on words,' such as is obviously intended in this passage, largely depends on deliberately interpreting a phrase otherwise than it was originally meant. (ii.) 'Christian' in the mouth of Agrippa can only be interpreted as a sneer (see Addit. Note

29 And Paul said, "I wish to God that both in little and in great not only you but also all who hear me to-day should

30). Thus Agrippa certainly does not mean to suggest that Paul is succeeding. (iii.) On the textual question depends the whole problem of what Agrippa means that Paul was attempting to do. Though much discussed, the actual facts are not complex. *πειθεis*, not *πειθῆ*, is the reading of both Neutral and Western texts. If *πειθῆ*, which Blass advocates, be accepted, it can only be as an emendation, anticipated by A but not seriously improved by that fact. The question of *γενέσθαι* is more complicated. *ποιῆσαι* is certainly the Neutral reading, but it is far from clear that *γενέσθαι* is Western. It is found in the European Latin and Vulgate, but the Harclean margin represents *ποιῆσαι*, and very unfortunately there is a lacuna of just the one important word in the only African Latin ms., h. The European Latin has hardly been sufficiently analysed to justify certainty, and it may well contain some Antiochian emendations, but the matter is rendered more uncertain by the apparent use of *γενέσθαι* in Ephrem's commentary (see Vol. III. p. 450). However that may be, *γενέσθαι*, if it be a primitive Western reading—which is very improbable—seems an obvious correction of *ποιῆσαι* made under the impression that just as *ἐν ὀλίγῳ* in Paul's retort refers to *ἐν ὀλίγῳ* in Agrippa's remark, so Paul's *γενέσθαι* ought to have a corresponding *γενέσθαι* from Agrippa. This overlooks the fact that *γενέσθαι* in Paul's retort is really the natural passive of *ποιῆσαι*.

Thus there is not the least external reason for emending the text. The question is whether a reasonable sense can be obtained from the words as they stand. This seems less difficult than has been thought. There are two possibilities. (i.) The literal translation is 'You rapidly persuade me (with emphasis on 'rapidly') to make a Christian'; or more freely 'You make short work of turning me into a missionary,' and the situation fully explains it. Festus had just told Paul that he was crazy; Paul had replied that his arguments were based on facts and doctrines well

known to the Jews, and appealed to Agrippa to corroborate him. He did so in a form calculated to give Agrippa some difficulty. 'Do you believe the Bible?' If Agrippa said 'no,' he might injure the reputation of orthodoxy which he had taken such pains to build up among the Jews. If he said 'yes,' he would incur the ridicule of the Greeks and Romans in the audience by seeming to lend Paul his support. So he rather turned the question by telling Paul that he must not call on him to help him convert Festus, and promptly rising put an end to an inquiry which was becoming inconvenient. Paul gets in the last word by saying that he would like every one present to become (be made) like himself (i.e. a missionary, who *Χριστιανούς ποιεῖ*) in every respect (*ἐν ὀλίγῳ καὶ μεγάλῳ*) except his condition of prisoner. (ii.) Perhaps neater and easier, though insufficiently documented in early writings to be quite certain, is the explanation that *ποιεῖν Χριστιανόν* is colloquial Greek for 'play the Christian.' Cf. 1 Kings xx. 7 B *σὺ νῦν οὕτως ποιεῖς βασιλέα ἐπὶ Ἰσραὴλ* (Cod. A reads *βασιλείαν*, which is probably a correction), Joh. Clim. Migne lxxxviii. 693D *δοκιμάζουσί με οἱ πατέρες μου ἐὰν μὴ μοναχόν*, and Joh. Malalas 338 *οὐδεὶς ποιεῖ βασιλέα Ῥωμαίων ὡς οὗτος*, and see Sophocles, *Lexicon*, and A. Nairne, *JTS*. xxi. (1920), pp. 171 f.

Many more obscure passages are allowed to pass unemended, and there seems no need either for Blass' *πειθῆ* for *πειθεis*, or for Hort's *πέποιθας* for *με πείθεis*. But it must be admitted that the little dialogue between Paul and Agrippa is as obscure, both as to meaning and tone, as is that between Paul and the high priest in xxiii. 2-5. It is unfortunately the delicacy of nuance which the spirit of the narrative carries with it, as well as the exact force of the word-play, which eludes us. See also Field, *Notes*, ad loc.; Potwin, *Here and There in the Greek N.T.*, pp. 147 ff., and G. H. Whitaker, *JTS*. xv., 1913, 82 f., where

become such as I am, except for these bonds." And the King 30 and the Governor and Bernice and those who were seated with them rose, and when they had gone aside they talked with each 31 other, saying, "This man does nothing deserving of death or bonds." And Agrippa said to Festus, "This man might have 32 been dismissed if he had not appealed to Caesar."

And when it was determined that we should sail to Italy, they 2

attention is called to the phrase ἐν ὀλίγῳ ποιέισθαι, 'to make of slight account'; H. D. Naylor, *Class. Rev.* xxviii., 1914, pp. 227 f. The Sahidic in Acts xvi. 15 seems to have read in the Greek εἰ κεκρίκατέ με [Χριστιανὴν καὶ] πιστὴν ποιεῖν τῷ κυρίῳ, but reconstructions of the versions are dangerous.

29. these bonds] With a gesture. Cf. xx. 34.

30. and the King] Literally 'both the King and the Governor, both Bernice and those who were seated with them.' This verse illustrates the author's tendency to throw lists into pairs, probably without much regard to the pairing. Cf. vs. 20 and i. 13, ii. 10 f., xiii. 1. The preceding speech is rich in pairs and in the use of τε.

31. gone aside] Cf. note on p. 310. does] The judgement is not on the charge brought against Paul by the Jews, which the audience seems to recognize as obviously fraudulent, but on the real though suppressed charge that his preaching was a public danger.

32. if he had not] As matters stand Paul's case in the legal sense has still to be heard; he had appealed to the Emperor, and his appeal had been allowed by Festus. The inquiry just ended was merely an informal audience intended to help Festus to send a proper opinion to the Emperor. Obviously the narrative implies that the opinion sent was that there was no case against Paul. Though the point cannot be pressed too far, it suggests that the writer of Acts was leading up to the failure of the Jews against Paul before the Emperor. (See Additional Note 26.)

1-xxviii. 16. PAUL'S VOYAGE AND SHIPWRECK. This section is very obviously a single connected story which either was written by one of

Paul's companions or by someone who wished to describe what one of the voyagers might naturally have felt and written. Much the most natural view is that it really represents the actual experiences of Paul and his friends, but it is possible that the narrative has been coloured in a few details by traditional accounts of shipwrecks.

The only point at which criticism has suggested that the narrative has been rewritten and interpolated is in the two sections, vs. 21-26 and 33-36. It is certainly true that 21-26 could be omitted without injuring the continuity of the narrative, and the same can be said of 33-36. But the reason why they can be omitted without spoiling the continuity is just the reason why they are probably genuine; both are details about Paul's conduct and the way in which he interposed, not to say interfered with the management of the ship. Inasmuch as the writer was interested in Paul rather than in the voyage, these passages are surely to be retained. Ramsay's criticism of Holtzmann (see *Paul the Traveller*, pp. 337 ff.) is convincing. The most important contribution to the discussion of the composition of the section, with the suggestion that Luke used a source describing a shipwreck, is by J. Wellhausen in the *Nachrichten der kgl. Gesellschaft d. Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, phil.-hist. Klasse, 1907, pp. 17 ff. But he has found few supporters. For a discussion of the nautical details of the voyage see especially James Smith, *The Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*, ed. 4, 1880; A. Breusing, *Die Nautik der Alten*, 1886; Balmer, *Die Romfahrt des Apostels Paulus*; J. Vars, *L'Art nautique dans l'antiquité*, 1887; von Goerne in *Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift*, 1898, pp. 352 ff.; A. Trèves, *Une*

handed over Paul and some other prisoners to a centurion named
2 Julius of the cohort Augusta. And we embarked on a ship of
Adramyttium which was just sailing for places along the coast
of Asia, and set sail, Aristarchus, a Macedonian of Thessalonica,

traversée de Césarée de Palestine à
Putéoles au temps de S. Paul, Lyon,
1887; Ch. Voigt, 'Der Romfahrt des
Apostels Paulus,' *Hansa: Deutsche*
nautische Zeitschrift, liii., 1916, pp.
726 ff.

Blass claims of this, as of the
preceding chapter, that it has cases
of specially elegant language. See
especially verses 34 (πρός with the
genitive; ὑμέτερος which occurs here
only) and 41 (see notes). There are
doubtless several quite idiomatic
phrases in the chapter like φιλανθρώπως
χρησάμενος (3), ἐπιμελείας τυχῆιν (3),
τῆς προθέσεως κεκρατηκέναι (13),
οὗτος in resumption of a series of
participles (18), περιηρεῖτο ἐλπίς (20),
διατελέω with the participle (or adjective,
33), εὐχοντο ἡμέραν γενέσθαι (29),
and an unusual number of participles,
especially in the genitive absolute.
But none of the expressions mentioned
are exclusively literary, much less
Atticistic.

1. The Western text remodels the
sentence: "And thus the governor
decided to send him to Caesar, and
the next day he called a centurion
named Julius [of the cohort Augusta]
and handed over to him Paul with
other prisoners." The African Latin
(h) omits 'of the cohort Augusta,'
but the phrase is preserved in the
Harclean margin, and the African
omission is perhaps merely accidental.
they handed over] παρῑδιδόν is
doubly awkward. (a) 'They,' though
intelligible, has no proper grammatical
antecedent, for it certainly means
the Roman authorities and not—as
it ought grammatically to do—Festus,
Agrippa, and Bernice. (b) The im-
perfect rather than the aorist is im-
possible to explain. Unfortunately
this is a point which cannot be
brought out in translation.

the cohort Augusta] See Addit.
Note 33.

2. Adramyttium] A harbour on
the west coast of Asia Minor, south
of Troas and east of Assos. The

spelling of this word in antiquity in
general is as hopelessly varied as
in the mss. of Acts. Stephanus of
Byzantium deals with six forms for
the place name and its gentile. The
alternatives include τ and δ after the
first vowel, β and μ after the second,
and τ, ττ, or ντ after the third.

along the coast] This seems to be
the force of κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν, but it is
extremely hard to render κατὰ. It
scarcely means 'in,' and is more
often equivalent to 'in the direction,'
but sometimes it is difficult to see
any difference between a κατὰ-phrase
and an adjective or simple genitive.
(See G. Rudberg, *Eranos*, xix. pp.
173 ff.) Cf. ii. 10 (τῆς Λιβύης τῆς κατὰ
Κυρήνην=Cyrenaic Libya), xvii. 28
(τῶν καθ' ὑμᾶς ποιητῶν, what is the
difference between this and τῶν
ὑμετέρων ποιητῶν?), and xxvii. 5 (τὸ τε
πέλαγος τὸ κατὰ τὴν Κιλικίαν='the
Cilician sea').

Asia] It may be doubted whether
this means *Asia Provincia*, or Asia in
the local sense of the district of which
Ephesus was the centre (see Additional
Note 18), but in either case it means
the western, not the southern coast
of Asia Minor. The Western text
(African Latin, h) omits 'for places
along the coast of Asia,' perhaps acci-
dentally.

Aristarchus] See xix. 29, xx. 4.
It is curious that his origin is each
time stated in Acts as Macedonian,
Thessalonian, or (in this passage)
both. Philemon 24 mentions an Arist-
archus, and Col. iv. 10 implies that he
was in prison (at Rome? Ephesus?
Caesarea?) with Paul and also with
Epaphras, Mark, Jesus Justus (not in
Philemon), Luke, and Demas. There
is nothing in Acts to indicate in
what capacity he was 'with us,' but
Ramsay thinks of him as a slave
personally attending Paul. Nor is it
clear how far he went; Lightfoot
thought only to Myra, but Chrysostom
suggested that he was carrying news
about Paul to Macedonia.

being with us. And the next day we were landed at Sidon, and ³ Julius treated Paul kindly and allowed him to go to his friends to receive their attentions. And leaving there we sailed under ⁴ the lee of Cyprus, because the winds were contrary. And having ⁵ sailed across the sea along Cilicia and Pamphylia, we reached

3. we were landed] *κατάγειν* means 'to land,' 'to be put off,' just as *ἀνάγειν* means 'to go on board.'

his friends] This seems the natural rendering of *τοὺς φίλους*, but Harnack (*Mission und Ausbreitung*, ed. iv. pp. 433 ff.) argues that it is a designation of Christians—'the Friends.' Possibly, though Harnack himself does not think so, this might be the meaning of *οἱ φίλοι* in 3 John 15. The name was apparently not used by Catholic Christians, but is found in Gnostic circles, for, according to Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* vi. 52), Valentinus wrote a treatise *Περὶ φίλων*. It has been thought that it was the community founded by Epiphane the son of Carpocrates, but this is far from clearly proved. In the Abercius Inscription the circle to which Abercius belongs is referred to as 'the Friends.' See Addit. Note 30.

4. sailed under the lee] To 'sail under,' *ὑποπλεῖν*, obviously means to sail under the lee, but the question is which side of Cyprus was to leeward. This of course depends on the wind. There are two possibilities. The prevalent wind on the Palestinian coast in the autumn is west, with a tendency to be north rather than south of west. Had the wind been NNW. they might just possibly have made Paphos on the starboard tack, but scarcely Famagusta or Salamis. In no case could they have made Myra, which was almost dead to windward, and it is very improbable that boats in the first century could sail nearer the wind than seven points. Moreover, if they had taken this course they could not have sailed through the 'sea along Cilicia and Pamphylia.' On the other hand, if we assume, what is actually more probable, that the wind was west or only slightly north of west they could have come reasonably near Cyprus by sailing on the port tack, and would

have had the advantage of a land breeze for a run out from Sidon, especially if they started at night, and again if the draught of wind was deflected by the Cyprian hills. This course would bring them to the coast of Cilicia, and then they must have tacked, or else sailed on to Mersina (the harbour of Tarsus) which was quite out of their course. Presumably, then, they tacked as soon as they made the Cilician coast. Their destination was then dead to windward, if they kept out to sea. Further progress was however possible, because there is almost always a land breeze at right angles to the coast, especially at night, owing to the difference of temperature between the mountains and the sea. It is really a down-draught down the valleys, which spreads for a few miles along the surface of the sea, if there is no strong wind blowing (cf. Heliodorus, *Aeth.* iv. 16 *πολὸν γὰρ τι καὶ νύκτες εἰς πλοῦν ἀνύουσι, ἀπογείλοι αἰθραι ἀκύμονα τὰ σκάφη παραπέμπουσιν*). Moreover there is a strong current westwards, perhaps two miles an hour, along the southern coast of Asia Minor, and practically no tide. Thus the probability is that they coasted, largely by night, as far as Myra, and the statement in the Western text that this voyage lasted a fortnight is eminently probable. This is exactly what *διαπλεύσαντες τὸ πέλαγος τὸ κατὰ τὴν Κιλικίαν καὶ Παμφυλίαν* ought to mean.

5. sailed across] *διαπλεύσαντες* probably means to sail across, as distinct from hugging the shore. The 'Stadiasmus' distinguishes *παραπλοῦς*, which is the distance along the coast from *διαπλοῦς*, which is the distance from headland to headland. The Western text adds 'for fifteen days.' As Ropes says, it is very hard not to accept this as genuine; but if so its omission must be merely accidental.

6 Myra of Lycia. And there the centurion found an Alexandrian
 7 ship sailing to Italy and embarked us on it. And sailing slowly
 for many days and making Cnidus with difficulty, as the wind
 did not favour us, we sailed under the lee of Crete off Salmone,

Lucian (*Navig.* 7) gives ten days for a voyage from Sidon to the coast of Lycia.

along Cilicia] See note on xxvii. 2.

Myra] It was also called Ἀδμυρά (Stadiasmus), Ἀδμυρά, and Λιμυρά or Λιμύρα (*Geographici minores*, ed. Müller, i. p. 492). Breusing, *Nautik d. Alten*, p. 150, suggests that this accounts for the strange reading Λύστρα in NA vg (see Vol. III. p. 241). The importance of Myra was due to the prevalence of west and north winds in the eastern Mediterranean during the late summer. Alexandrian corn ships could rarely sail directly to Italy from Egypt, but a west wind, or even one slightly north of west, made it possible to fetch Myra, and thence a north wind would take them to Sicily, from which another shift of wind back to the west would make it possible to reach Pozzuoli, or even Ostia. (See Ramsay in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, v. pp. 379 ff.) The spelling with ρρ in B is unusual. Note also accusative singular feminine here in -αν, though the word is generally neuter plural in other cases. Like metaplasasmus may be observed in the word Λύστρα in Acts (see xiv. 6 *al.*) and in other proper names in -ρα. See e.g. Thackeray, *Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek*, § 11. 10.

It is an interesting evidence of the difficulty of sailing directly or indirectly westward that Myra is due north of Alexandria. Yet Lucian (*Navig.* 7) tells of an Egyptian grain ship that was sailing from the Pharos for Rome being driven as far east as Sidon (and indeed the ship of Adramyttium may have been on its way from Alexandria). Lucian's whole account (*Navig.* 1-9) dealing with similar conditions in the same eastern Mediterranean should be read in comparison with this chapter, and so should his account of a man overboard in a storm in *Toxaris* 19 ff.

6. Alexandrian] See previous note.

7. sailing slowly] There seems no evidence to prove that βραδυπλοεῖν is a technical term, but it is conceivable that it means 'beating,' just as εὐθυδρομεῖν, xvi. 11, xxi. 1, may mean 'to run.'

making Cnidus] γενόμενοι κατὰ τὴν Κνίδον means that they approached Cnidus, not that they landed there. (See also note on κατὰ in vs. 2.) Probably they had had difficulty in getting through the channel north of Rhodes, perhaps used a land breeze during the night to get to windward as far as Cnidus, and bore away in the morning when the true wind began to blow, and reached on the starboard tack for Crete. They would naturally not bear away before making Cnidus, as otherwise they would be sailing with Rhodes making a dangerous lee shore to the east of them.

with difficulty] There is apparently no local reason why more difficulty was found in this part of the journey; the current runs strongly north of Rhodes, and the land breeze would be the same. Probably there were unusually strong westerly winds.

Salmone] The eastern end of Crete, but exactly what part of that end is not clear. Nor is the name certain: Σαλμώνιον, *Salmonium*, Σαλμωνίς, *Σαλμώνιον* are also found.

So far any wind north of west would be favourable, as no one would venture to sail along the north coast of Crete, but would try to get under its lee, which is exactly what they did. This explains the comment of Eustathius, quoted in commentaries on Acts, and by James Smith, *δυσ-λίμενος ἡ Κρήτη πρὸς τὴν Βορρᾶν*. It is not true that there are no good harbours on the north coast. Suda bay, as Smith says, is excellent. But the question is whether a boat sailing on a lee shore can make any harbour. Eustathius does not say that it has no harbours, but that it is badly supplied with harbours—which is true.

and coasting with difficulty along it we came to a place called Fair Havens, to which the town Lasea was near. And when a long time passed and the voyage was already dangerous because even the Fast was already over, Paul advised them, saying to them,

8. coasting] παραλεγόμενοι. See note on διαπλεύσαντες in vs. 5. Doubtless by hugging the shore, and using every breath of land breeze they managed to creep slowly along.

along it] αὐτὴν might mean Salmone or Crete, but the latter is obviously the more probable. (See Field, *Notes ad loc.*)

Fair Havens] This place is not mentioned in any ancient writer. There is a place which recent commentators state to be now called Στουσκαολιμένας (a corruption of εἰς τοὺς καλοὺς λιμένας just as Stamboul is εἰς τὴν πόλιν), but George Brown (James Smith, *op. cit.* Appendix I. pp. 251 and 259) says that it was called Calolomonia, and this may well be the true local name, of which Καλολιμένας is an emendation made by Greeks who knew the text of Acts. Probably this is the place mentioned by Luke.

Lasea] Probably the ruins found by Spratt in 1853 and identified as Lasea by H. Tennant and George Brown in 1856. (See Spratt, *Travels and Researches in Crete*, ii. pp. 7 ff., and James Smith, *op. cit.*, Appendix I. pp. 251 ff., and see Bursian, *Geogr. Griech.* ii. p. 567.) The *Stadiasmus* calls it Ἀλαί, and Ἀλάσσα is also found. The latter is the reading of A minn Holmg. The Vulgate has *thalassa* or like forms beginning with *th*. A similar variation in *h* by addition of *θ* apparently occurs in vs. 13, while other variants there seem to refer to this city. See note there. According to Pliny, *N.H.* iv. 12, the name of the Cretan city is *Alos* or *Lasos*. See in general Woodhouse, *Ency. Bib.* col. 2710.

9. the Fast] The Day of Atonement on 10 Tishri, in September or October. According to Vegetius (*De re militari*, iv. 39) navigation was doubtful after September 15, and ceased on November 11. Thus at the best there was less than a fortnight's

navigation remaining, and there was no chance of reaching Italy. See E. Schwartz, *Abh. d. kgl. Gesellschaft d. Wissenschaften zu Gött.* viii. 6, p. 149, and W. P. Workman, *Expository Times*, xi., 1900, pp. 316 ff. The latter, calling attention to the *καί*, argues that the Day of Atonement as well as the equinox had passed, and that in any case the Fast was later than usual this year. He believes that this was the case in A.D. 59 rather than any adjacent year. Unless Luke has omitted some intervals of time, it was only about three and a half months (xxvii. 27, xxviii. 11) between the time the storm struck them and their start in the spring. It is striking that in such a non-Jewish setting the close of navigation is described by dates from the Jewish calendar. Cf. i. 12 (Sabbath day's journey), xii. 4 (Passover, cf. xviii. 21 *v.l.* the Feast, xx. 6 Unleavened Bread, xx. 16 Pentecost). Elsewhere we may suppose the festival named was actually observed by some of the actors. Possibly here Paul and his Christian associates observed the Day of Atonement. Or were there Jews at Lasea who had just done so? Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*, 4th ed., Eng. Trans. 1927, pp. 419 ff., finds evidence in a stele from Rheneia that about 150 years earlier the Jews at Delos were in the habit of celebrating the Day of Atonement. Paul himself in 1 Cor. xvi. 6, 8 seems to combine references to time which as here alternate 'winter' in one case with a Jewish festival (Pentecost) in another. In the rabbinic literature the Feast of Tabernacles which falls five days later than 'the Fast' is often referred to as marking the end of safe navigation, and a rabbi who lived about A.D. 280 is quoted as explaining Isaiah xliii. 16 thus: "'Who maketh a way in the sea,' that is, 'from Pentecost to Tabernacles,' and a path in the mighty

“Gentlemen, I see that the voyage will be with injury and loss
 11 not only to the cargo and the ship, but also to our lives.” But
 the centurion was persuaded by the captain and the owner rather
 12 than by what Paul said. And since the harbour was unsuitable
 for wintering in, the majority proposed the plan of sailing thence
 so as if possible to get to Phoenix and winter there—a harbour

waters,’ that is, ‘from Tabernacles to Dedication.’” See Strack, ii. pp. 771f. and G. Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina*, i. 2, pp. 156 f.

10. The Greek *ὅτι . . . μέλλειν* is impossible, but it is found in all the B-text mss., and was not corrected in the Antiochian text. There is no evidence for the Western text, as there is no Greek witness, and the point is one which naturally disappears in a translation, as it does in the rendering given above. The mistake is one which any writer might make and overlook in correcting his own manuscript, though he would scarcely pass it in that of anyone else. A similar construction has good manuscript support in Xenophon (e.g. *Anabasis* iii. 1. 9; vii. 5. 8) and other good Greek writers, as also in Latin. Codex Bezae in Acts xvi. 19 reads *ὅτι ἀπεστερήσθαι*. See H. J. Cadbury, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, xlviii., 1929, p. 419.

injury] *ἔβρις*, cf. Josephus, *Antiq.* iii. 6. 4 *συνδόνες . . . τὸ τε καὶ μα καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν θυβρων ἔβριν ἀπομαχόμενα*.

11 f. It is not clear what was the exact difference of opinion between Paul and the ship's officers. Apparently it was agreed that the voyage could not be completed, and the sailors proposed to move from the harbour of Lasea to Phoenix, only a few miles away, on the reasonable ground that it was a safer harbour in which to winter. What did Paul wish? Apparently to stay where they were.

The alternative to this is to suppose that the sailors were divided into two parties. The majority (*οἱ πλείονες*) wished to move to Phoenix and stay there for the winter; the rest wished to push on to Sicily or Italy if possible. When, rather unusually, a moderate wind blew from the South they made

an effort to continue the voyage as the minority wished. It is certainly true that this was the best possible wind for making Italy. It was, however, an equally good wind for making Phoenix, and the arguments are equally balanced, for it seems far more natural to suppose that the *πρόθεσις* referred to in vs. 13 was that of going to Phoenix rather than the original *πρόθεσις* of reaching Italy, but on the other hand Paul's words in vs. 21 suggest that their intention in sailing really was to ‘leave Crete.’

11. the captain] *κυβερνήτης* is the ‘master’ of the ship, the officer responsible for its safe navigation and for the discipline of the crew.

the owner] Or at least the owner's representative, called in old English books (i.e. *Robinson Crusoe*) the ‘super-cargo.’ Plutarch, *Praec. gerend. rei-publ.* xiii. p. 807b, defines exactly his relation to the captain, *ναύτας μὲν ἐκλέγεται κυβερνήτης, καὶ κυβερνήτην ναύκληρος*. For discussions of the term as found in Egyptian papyri see s.v. in F. Preisigke, *Fachwörter des öffentlichen Verwaltungsdienstes Ägyptens*, 1915, and N. Hohlwein, *D'Égypte romaine: Recueil des termes techniques relatifs aux institutions politiques et administratives de l'Égypte romaine*, 1912. Cf. Besnier in Daremberg-Saglio, s.v. *Navicularius*. As the transport of Egyptian grain was doubtless a government enterprise under the Empire, the *ναύκληρος* may have been a private contractor for state transport as he was under the Ptolemies (see Rostovtzeff in *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, iv., 1908, pp. 298 ff.).

12. Phoenix] Unlike other place names in this section, Phoenix is mentioned by ancient geographers and without much variation of spelling. See Strabo, p. 475; Ptolem. iii. 17. 3; *Stadiasmus*, 328, and W. J.

of Crete looking to the south and north of west. And when a light ¹³ breeze sprang up from the south they thought they had obtained their purpose, weighed anchor, and coasted close in along Crete.

Woodhouse in *Ency. Bibl.*, coll. 3690 f., where the location is discussed and the meaning of the description of the harbour. It is generally held that this is the harbour of Lutro. The identification is supported by (a) the fact that it is the best harbour on the south coast of Crete west of Cape Matala, (b) by the alleged preservation of the name in local tradition (James Smith, *The Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*, pp. 88 ff.), (c) the indication in Ptolemy, iii. c. 15 (ed. Müller, vol. i. p. 562). He makes the whole length of Crete 3° 5'. As Crete is 140 miles long this gives 45½ miles to a degree. Therefore Phoenix, ¼ of a degree east of the western end, is 34 miles from that point. Lutro is actually 32 miles from it.

But this identification, first maintained by James Smith (pp. 88 ff.), cannot be reconciled with the description of the harbour, βλέποντα κατὰ λίβα καὶ κατὰ χῶρον. κατὰ λίβα καὶ κατὰ χῶρον means, roughly speaking, 'westward' (see next note), and βλέπειν when used of a place means 'looking towards' and is used indifferently with πρὸς, ἐπὶ or κατὰ. But Lutro looks almost due east.

The most popular suggestion has been that of Breusing that κατὰ λίβα καὶ κατὰ χῶρον means 'pointing down the south-west and north-west winds.' The only argument for this reversal of the usual meaning of a quite ordinary phrase is that κατὰβόρρος means 'protected from the north' as opposed to πρὸςβόρρος 'open to the north' (*Nautik d. Allen*, p. 163), and this very doubtful analogy does not weigh against the many passages in which κατὰ means 'in the direction of.'

More probably the solution is to be found by consulting the map. It will be seen from the sketch map, taken from opposite page 97 of James Smith's *Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*, that Lutro is formed by a promontory called Muros which divides it from another harbour which on Smith's map is called Phineka. This would be about a mile farther west

than the harbour of Lutro. It would correspond slightly more accurately with the distance given by Ptolemy, and it looks almost due west.



Without archaeological research it is impossible to say whether this is a conceivable view. It was first suggested by Wordsworth in his edition of the Acts. Smith's answer to Wordsworth was that Phineka Bay is not open to the wind *Caurus*, but to judge from the map Phineka is open to any westerly winds, and Lutro to any easterly ones. He also says that no ship could winter in any harbour except Lutro. That may be true now, but it is quite possible that Phineka was a good harbour in the first century. Moreover, the modern name Phineka is obviously Phoenix.

south and north of west] For the justification of this rendering, and the doubts attaching to it, see Additional Note 27.

13. weighed anchor] This is a natural rendering of ἀραντες, but though this word is used with an object in vs. 17, it need not be supposed necessarily to require one (e.g. ἀγκύρας) to be supplied here. An apparently intransitive or absolute use is well attested in contemporary and earlier Greek with the meaning of starting out on journeys by land (Philo, *Vita Mosi* i. 15, § 85, Mangey, p. 94; Josephus, *Antiq.* iii. 1. 3, § 9; vii. 5. 1, § 97; ix. 11. 1, § 229; x. 9. 5, § 175) as well as those by sea (Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 4. 3, § 86 ἀρας ἀπὸ τῆς Κρήτης κατέπλευσεν εἰς Κιλικίαν, Plutarch, *Cicero* 47, p. 885 ἐκεῖθεν δὲ

14 But in a short time a tempestuous wind called Euraquilo struck
 15 down from it, and the ship was caught by it and unable to head
 16 up, so that we yielded to the wind and were driven by it. And
 running under the lee of a little island named Cauda, we were

βουλομένων εὐθὺς αἶρειν τῶν κυβερνητῶν) and in the air (Lucian, *V.H.* i. 29 τῇ δὲ ἐπιούσῃ ἄραντες ἐπλέομεν ἥδη πλησίον τῶν νεφῶν). It is characteristic of Luke to repeat the same word and even the same form of it in a different usage, though in close proximity to its other occurrence. The absolute use of αἶρω is fully discussed by Kypke *ad loc.*

coasted] ἄσσον παρελέγοντο, a comparative formed from ἀγχοῦ found in poetical Greek, and in Josephus, *Antiq.* i. 20. 1, etc. It is curious that just as in xx. 13 in some manuscripts ἄσσον, the name of the place, is corrupted into θάσσον (probably meaning the island of that name), so here the African Latin rendering *celerius* seems to imply a Greek θάσσον, the irregular comparative used for ταχίον. But a deeper corruption may be behind it, for the Vulgate reads *de Asson*, and the Bohairic from *Assos*, the Sahidic from *Alasos*. It must be remembered that *Alasos* may be the right orthography of *Lasea*.

14. called] As in vi. 9 the use of λεγόμενος suggests that the word with which it is connected is strange or foreign. This may be taken to support the bastard word Εὐρακύλων rather than an apparently good Greek word such as Εὐροκλύδων. See also Addit. Note 27.

Euraquilo] This must mean north-east. The wind is well known, but the name is not found elsewhere. It is remarkable that in two verses we get two ἀπαξ λεγόμενα for winds—Χῶρος and Εὐρακύλων—both apparently Latinisms. It is not inconceivable that the wheat trade between Rome and Egypt had introduced Latinisms into Egyptian Greek. But cf. E. J. Goodspeed in the *Expositor*, August, 1903, pp. 130 ff.

it] Crete. The situation is quite clear to anyone who has sailed in the mountainous districts of the Mediterranean. It is possible to sail in calm water with a gentle breeze along one side of a mountain, and on

doubling the promontory to find a violent storm rushing down a ravine almost vertically on to the sea. Mount Athos has always been famous for such storms, and the situation in Crete was just the same. From Lasea to Cape Matala was doubtless perfectly fair weather; on rounding the cape the ship was met by a violent squall which seemed suddenly to have fallen on Mount Ida and came rushing down on to the water. Apparently it settled down to the typical Bόρρα or *Maltem*, but more probably the squall off Mount Ida drove them from the lee of Crete into the steady gale which had passed right over them while they were coasting.

15. head up] This may have been due to either of two causes. Apparently ancient boats did not readily luff into the wind, and many of the modern boats in the Levant carry a little lee-helm, so it may be that they were unable to shorten sail and lay to. The other possibility is that the boat would not stand the pounding of the head seas. This view is rendered probable by the fact that it was found necessary to frap the hull or otherwise strengthen it. (See note on vs. 17.)

yielded to the wind] τῷ ἀνέμῳ might go with ἀντοφθαλμεῖν, but it seems more probably to go with ἐπιδόντες. The sense is the same in either case. The Western text has what seems an explanatory expansion, "gave the ship up to the wind which was blowing, and furling the sails were carried along as chance would have it" ("juxta id quod contingebat," Syr.hcl.^{ms}, for which Blass suggests κατὰ τὸ συμβαῖνον), see Vol. III. p. 243. If this text were right the explanation of the whole would be rendered easier, but with the B-text it is not clear whether they furled the sail when the squall struck them, or merely turned and ran before it. (See note on vs. 17.)

16. under the lee] ὑποδραμύντες, cf. ὑπεπλεύσαμεν in vs. 7. The lee of

with difficulty able to get control of the dinghy, and they lifted it up by using their tackle, setting up the ship. And being

Gozzo with a north-east wind would be reached by sailing south of it and bearing up on the starboard tack.

little island] The diminutive *νησίδιον* is used, but there is always a probability in Hellenistic Greek that the force of the ending is lost or that *-ιον* is not diminutive at all. Colloquial modern Greek seems at first hearing to be entirely composed of diminutives. See J. H. Moulton, *Grammar of N.T. Greek*, ii. pp. 340 ff., and more fully, W. Petersen, *Greek Diminutives in -ιον: a Study in Semantics*, Weimar, 1910.

Cauda] The oldest evidence for the spelling of this island varies between *Καῦδα* (N^cB vg Pesh) and *Κλαῦδα* (N^{*} 81 (Κλαύδην LP^s etc.) hcl boh sah; see Vol. III. pp. 242 f.). Moreover this variation seems to represent an orthographic divergence which can be traced back to a remote antiquity. The present name of the island is *Γαῦδο* in Greek and Gozzo in Italian (not to be confused with the island of a similar name near Malta). It is spelt *Gaudus* in Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* iv. 12 (61), and by Pomponius Mela, ii. 7. It will be noted that both these authorities are writing Latin. On the other hand the Greek writers Hierocles, *Synecdemus*, 651. 2, and Ptolemy, iii. 15. 8, both adopt the form *Κλαῦδος*. This suggests that *Καῦδα* may be the Latin and *Κλαῦδα* the Alexandrian form. According to Rendel Harris, relying on Fick, *Vorgriechische Ortsnamen*, both forms of spelling were found in the earliest times, and he suggests that the name was Cretan or possibly Carian. See Rendel Harris, *Expository Times*, xxi., 1909, pp. 17 ff.

dinghy] The boat which was sometimes towed, sometimes kept on deck. Running before a gale it was probably full of water. It was used for landing, and sometimes also for pulling the ship's head round when tacking, for a boat with a single square sail does not tack except under protest.

17. lifted it up] That is, put on deck instead of towing or carrying at the stern. For this there was a double purpose: (i.) the dinghy was doubt-

less water-logged, and suffering from the waves; (ii.) running before the wind there was danger of a following sea catching the dinghy and smashing the stern of the ship with it. A practical problem is presented by the raising of the dinghy to the deck. Did they have davits, or did they use the yard-arm as a derrick? Possibly the foremast, which sloped forward, was used in this way.

tackle] *βοηθείαις*. It is usually supposed that *βοηθείαι* means ropes, though the books of Smith and others on this chapter offer little material on this phrase. Naber, *Mnemosyne*, xxiii., 1895, pp. 267 ff., conjectured *βοείαις*, meaning ox-hide (covering for the dinghy). E. Nestle, *ZNTW.*, 1907, pp. 75 f., thought it meant 'props.' The best key to the passage is Philo, *De Josepho* § 33, Mangey p. 46 ὥσπερ γὰρ κυβερνήτης ταῖς τῶν πνευμάτων μεταβολαῖς συμμεταβάλλει τὰς πρὸς εὐπλοῖαν βοηθείαις, and Aristotle, *Rhetorica* ii. 5=1383 a (cited by Hobart, *Medical Language of St. Luke*, p. 274) διχῶς γὰρ ἀπαθεῖς γίγνονται οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἢ τῷ μὴ πεπειρᾶσθαι ἢ τῷ βοηθείαις ἔχειν ὥσπερ ἐν ταῖς κατὰ θάλατταν κινδύνους οἱ τε ἀπειροὶ χειμῶνος θαρροῦσι τὰ μέλλοντα· καὶ οἱ βοηθείαις ἔχοντες διὰ τὴν ἐμπειρίαν. In both these passages, as in Acts, the word is used as though it were customary in describing nautical technique, but it may be explained either as an abstract or a concrete noun. If it be the former, which is more consistent with Greek noun-formation, it must mean the different ways of using sails, ropes, etc., and the skill necessary for doing so. This seems the more probable meaning of the passage in Aristotle. If it be the latter, it means the sails or ropes, etc., themselves, for which 'tackle' is the most convenient rendering. This is perhaps the more probable meaning of the passage in Philo. But a reasonable sense can be obtained from either passage with either meaning. The same may be said of the present passage. It may mean 'tackle' or it may mean the manœuvres dictated by the profes-

afraid lest they should run on to the Syrtis, they loosed the gear,
 18 and away they drifted. And since we made very bad weather,
 19 on the next day they began to throw things overboard, and on
 the third day they threw out the gear of the ship with their own

sional skill of the sailors. It is also not clear from the Greek whether the βοηθεῖαι were used for raising the dinghy, or for the υποζωννύναι of the ship, and even for the loosening of the σκεῦος.

The difficulty is that we cannot find either a word or a construction in English which preserves this ambiguity of the Greek.

setting up] υποζωννύντες. See Addit. Note 28.

Syrtis] The shoal west of Cyrene, known as the *Syrtis maior* in distinction to the *Syrtis minor* farther west (see Polybius xxxiv. 15; Strabo ii. 5. 20). It was about three times as far as they had already come, and dead to leeward with the wind from the north-east, so that the danger was a serious one.

loosed the gear] The meaning is unknown. The Peshitto and some Greek minuscules read ἱστία, 'sails,' for σκεῦος. If so, χαλάσαντες means 'setting sail,' in opposition to συστειλάντες, the point being that the ancients did not lower the sails but brailed them up to the yard. The European Latin *Gigas* reads "vas quoddam dimiserunt quod traheret." Both these variants show an intelligent appreciation of the situation, combined with uncertainty as to the meaning of the Greek. When a captain finds himself off a lee shore in a howling gale he can do one of two things: try to ride it out by staying 'hove to,' that is with a minimum of sail, pointing as near the wind as possible and making little or no headway. He will drift slowly to leeward, and the storm may abate before he is driven ashore. He can help matters by dropping a sea anchor which drags below the water and retards the ship. Such a manœuvre is described in Plutarch, *De garrul.* p. 507 (Breusing, p. 177). This is the policy which the maker of the European Latin, possibly preserving the African text, which we do not possess, thought that the captain of Paul's ship pursued. Or he can adopt a bolder

policy, set sail and try to claw his way into safety. This is what the captain did according to the Peshitto.

In favour of the theory of the Peshitto there is one salient fact. If the wind really was continually north-east, it is impossible for the boat if it were hove to to have drifted to Malta, and a change of wind to due east, which the course requires, is improbable. If, however, he set a small amount of sail, and kept the boat heading as near the wind as possible, she would have been sailing very slowly about north-north-west, and drifting with about equal speed south-west, and may well have brought up in the neighbourhood of Malta after a fortnight. Against this is the fact that if the storm was really as bad as Luke paints it, the captain would not have dared to take a course which must have so often risked getting in the trough of the seas.

away] This is the force of οὕτως, which does not emphasize the fact that the result was reached in this particular way, but rather that this and not anything else was the result. (Cf. H. J. Cadbury, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, xlv., 1925, p. 223.)

18. began to throw things overboard] Literally 'they made an ejection.' The technical terms for 'jettisoning the cargo,' as given by Julius Pollux and collected by James Smith (p. 114), are ἐκθέσθαι, ἀποφορτίσασθαι, κουφίσαι τὴν ναῦν (cf. vs. 38), ἐπελαφρύναι, and ἐκβολὴν ποιήσασθαι τῶν φορτίων. Cf. Jonah i. 5 ἐκβολὴν ἐποίησαντο τῶν σκευῶν τῶν ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ εἰς τὴν θάλασσην τοῦ κουφισθῆναι ἀπ' αὐτῶν. But there is considerable difficulty in understanding this verse in relation to vs. 38 (see note there).

19. the gear] Presumably spare sails and tackle; but as with σκεῦος in vs. 17 we are uncertain whether σκευή here has not a technical meaning which is now lost. Cf. the passage from Jonah quoted in the previous note.

hands. And when neither sun nor stars were seen for many days, 20 and a great storm raged, at last all hope that we should be saved was being taken away. And when they had eaten nothing for 21 some time, then Paul stood up in the midst of them and said, "Gentlemen, you should have been persuaded by me not to start from Crete and to avoid this injury and loss. Now I advise you 22 to be cheerful, for there will be no loss of life among you, but only the ship. For to-night an angel of the God whose I am and whom 23 I worship stood by me, saying, 'Do not fear, Paul, you must 24 appear before Caesar, and behold, God has granted you all those who are sailing with you.' Wherefore be cheerful, gentlemen, for 25

20. at last] *λοιπόν*, one of the most common adverbs in modern colloquial Greek, about equal to the French *enfin*. The omission of the word by B is surely accidental.

was being taken] Note the force of the imperfect: the situation seemed, at least to the passengers, to be getting worse and worse. But it should be noted that from the captain's point of view they were not far from their true course to Italy. He probably hoped that the wind would abate and that he would make Syracuse. The real difficulty was not so much the storm as the clouds which prevented any bearings being taken. Ancient navigators had no compass and no sextant. They could only steer from point to point, or in open sea by the sun and stars. In cloudy weather they were lost. Winter was perhaps avoided for navigation as much for its long nights and cloudy days as for its storms.

21. they had eaten nothing] *ἀσურία* means this, not that there was no food. The same phenomenon can often be noticed on a rough voyage, even when there is no thought of shipwreck. Zeller and others think that Paul's speech cannot be genuine, because an appeal to courage is no cure for seasickness. Nevertheless it is often tried, and the passage shows rather that Paul—whose speech roused no response—was not above the weakness of human nature. It seems unnecessary to accept the sug-

gestion that this phrase has been displaced from vs. 33, though it would certainly be more appropriate there.

avoid] For the apparently contradictory expression (oxymoron) *κερδῆσαι* . . . *ζημίαν* two interpretations are possible. (i.) As in the translation above, *κερδῆσαι* may be understood in the sense of gain by avoiding what would be detrimental. So Euripides, *Cycl.* 312, with *ζημίαν* as here; Diog. Laert. vii. 14 *κερδαίνοντα τὸ γοῦν ἕτερον μέρος τῆς ἐνοχλήσεως*; Josephus, *Antiq.* ii. 3. 2, § 31 *τὸ γὰρ μὴ μανθῆναι τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῶν κερδαίνειν*; Aristotle, *Magn. Mor.* ii. 8 *ὃ κατὰ λόγον ζημίαν ἦν λαβεῖν, τὸν τοιοῦτον κερδάναντα* (if he escape the loss) *εὐτυχῇ φαιμέν*; Lucian, *Tyrranic.* 8; Plutarch, *Cleomenes* 31. Besides other examples in Greek may be noted the Latin *lucror*, *lucrifacere* in the same idiom, e.g. Pliny, *N.H.* vii. 39 "quam quidem iniuriam lucrificet ille." (ii.) *κερδῆσαι* may mean 'incur,' 'obtain,' though the object is not to the advantage of the subject. So in Josephus, *Antiq.* vii. 8. 1, § 168 *παῦσαι δ' οὕτως ἀδίκου καὶ μιαιῶς ἐπιθυμίας, ἐξ ἧς οὐκ εἶδεν καὶ κακοδοξίαν ὁ οἶκος ἡμῶν κερδανεῖ*. With (ii.) the *μή* negatives both *ἀνάγεσθαι* and *κερδῆσαι*, with (i.) it affects only *ἀνάγεσθαι*.

injury and loss] Referring back to vs. 10.

24. appear before Caesar] Cf. xxiii. 11.

granted you] For *κεχάρισται* cf. iii. 14, xxv. 11, 16.

26 I trust God that it shall be as it has been told me. But we must
 27 run on to an island." But when the fourteenth night came, and
 we were drifting across in the Adriatic, in the middle of the
 28 night the sailors thought that land was approaching them. And
 they sounded and found twenty fathoms, and on sounding again
 29 after a short interval they found fifteen fathoms. And fearing lest
 we should fall on to rough ground, they cast out four anchors from
 30 the stern and wished for day. And the sailors tried to abandon
 the ship, and lowered the dinghy into the sea on the pretext

27. fourteenth] This is almost exactly the time and the course which a ship would take if she was almost hove to, drifting to leeward, and making a minimum of headway on the starboard tack in a strong north-east gale. The only criticism possible is if she were making any headway at all she would have been farther north, and I should imagine that the wind must have shifted towards the north, so that the course of the boat was not straight from Gozzo to Malta, but an elliptical curve, which had the hollow of the arch to the south.

drifting across] This, not 'being driven up and down,' is the meaning of the word. They were making a *διαπλοῦς* across the Adriatic.

the Adriatic] The objection has been made that the Adriatic does not extend so far south, but the fact seems to be that at its maximum the Ionian Sea extended all the way west to east from Gibraltar to the Levant, and that the Adriatic Sea at its maximum stretched north to south from Venice to Northern Africa. Hence the area between Italy, Sicily, and Epirus sometimes was all Ionian, sometimes all Adria, sometimes Adria in the northern part, Ionian in the southern part. Ptolemy distinguishes the Adriatic Gulf from the Adriatic Sea, which is the whole marine district down to Sicily and Crete (Ptolemy iii. 4. 1; iii. 15. 1), and Pausanias uses the same terminology. On the scope of the term *'Adpla* in antiquity from its first use for the northern part of the Ionian Sea in the fourth century B.C. see H. Treidler, 'Das Ionische Meer im Altertum'

in *Klio*, xxii., 1928, especially pp. 86-91.

approaching them] This inversion of idiom is very harsh, and *προσάγειν* is a curious word. It is possible that *προσαχεῖν* in B is a corruption of *προσηχεῖν* 'to echo,' and is represented by the remarkable *resonare sibi aliquam regionem* of gig (similarly s). Sound often reveals the presence of cliffs or of reefs.

28. fathoms] A fathom is six feet.

after a short interval] *βραχὺ διαστήσαντες*, cf. v. 34 and Luke xxii. 58.

29. stern] As they were so close to the land and did not know whether they would not be driven ashore sooner than they expected, they took a seaman-like precaution to ensure the ship striking bow on, the only safe position in which to do so, and let go anchors from the stern. It is obvious that the wind had greatly moderated, as they were able to put the dinghy into the water, and there would be no undue danger in such a manœuvre, especially with the high stern of an ancient ship. They had been riding for the last thirteen days nearly in the trough of the sea, or only about one point off it. To have swung her round by the stern would not have aggravated the already existing motion much, or if it did, only for a short time, and this was a preferable risk to rolling broadsides on to the rocks.

30. on the pretext] It seems quite likely that the sailors had no intention of deserting. The boat was safe enough where she was, and they would be in much greater danger in a dinghy in the dark off an unknown shore. Probably the captain was by

that they were going to carry out anchors from the bow. And 31 Paul said to the centurion and to the soldiers, "If these do not stay in the ship you cannot be saved." Then the soldiers cut the 32 ropes of the dinghy and let her fall away. And when it was nearly 33 day, Paul exhorted all of them to take food, saying, "To-day is the fourteenth day you have spent waiting without food and have taken nothing. Wherefore I entreat you to take food, for this is 34 for your health. For no hair of your head will be lost." And 35 when he had said this, he took bread and gave thanks to God before them all, and broke it and began to eat. And they all 36 became cheerful and themselves took food. And we, that is 37 all the souls in the ship, were about seventy-six. And when 38

no means pleased to lose his dinghy, which might have been very valuable in making the shore.

32. cut] This was the direct cause of the shipwreck. If they had kept the dinghy there was no reason why they should have lost the ship. They were anchored safely, and they had plenty of provisions on board. It was only necessary to wait for the end of the gale, and row ashore in comfort. But without a boat they could not make the shore without running the ship aground. Moreover, though they had food they may have been short of water, and without the dinghy they could not get any from the land.

33. when] *ἄχρι* gives no good sense if it be rendered 'until.' For an instance of a similar looseness in the use of *μέχρι* see x. 30, and perhaps compare the African rendering of *ἄχρι* in i. 2 together with the notes in Vol. III. on pp. 96 and 256 ff.

take] *μεταλαμβάνειν τροφῆς* is used here and in the next verse, but *προσλαμβάνεσθαι τροφῆς* is used in vs. 36. Cf. also at the end of this verse *μηθὲν προσλαβόμενοι*. A distinction between the verbs is not apparent.

without food] See note on vs. 21.

34. health] *σωτηρίας*. The context makes it clear that the word is used of physical well-being; cf. the use of the word in chaps. iii.-iv.

no hair of your head] *οὐδενὸς γὰρ ὑμῶν θρίξ ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀπολείται*. The expression is proverbial in the

Old Testament—1 Sam. xiv. 45, 2 Sam. xiv. 11, 1 Kings i. 52. So Luke xxi. 18 *θρίξ ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς ὑμῶν οὐ μὴ ἀπόληται*, cf. Matt. x. 30 = Luke xii. 7. See the commentaries on the passages. It means the saving of life, which agrees with vss. 24 and 44 but not with vs. 10. A like contradiction appears in Luke xxi. 16, 18, and in other passages in Acts where the prediction is not strictly in accord with fulfilment. See on xxi. 11.

35. gave thanks] In accordance with the usual Jewish custom of offering thanks before food. It would be absurd to see in this passage any reference to the Eucharist.

37. seventy-six] B and the Sahidic version read 'about seventy-six'; the other authorities read 'two hundred and seventy-six.' The difference in Greek is merely between *πλοιωocos* and *πλοιωocos*, but Luke seems to have a preference for qualifying numbers (cf. ii. 41, v. 36, xix. 7 *ἦσαν δὲ οἱ πάντες ἄνδρες ὡσεὶ δώδεκα*), and in spite of the general opinion of editors I incline to B's reading. But there is nothing impossible in the larger number. There were 600 on the boat which took Josephus to Rome (Josephus, *Vita* 3). Cf. Kromayer in *Philologus*, 1897, pp. 481 ff. Why is the number of 'souls' given just here, when so many other places (e.g. after vss. 6, 34, or 44) would have been appropriate? Breusing thinks it was because the food had to be rationed.

they were satisfied with food they lightened the ship and
 39 cast the wheat into the sea. And when it was day they did
 not recognize the land, but perceived a bay with a beach on
 40 which they planned if possible to run the ship ashore. And
 they slipped the anchors and let them go into the sea, and
 at the same time loosed the lashings of the rudders and set

Or was Luke influenced by the similar position of the reference to the numbers of those fed by Jesus? Mark vi. 44 is changed by Luke ix. 14 to an earlier position. The larger number, like some other large New Testament numbers, is a 'triangular' number. It is the sum of all digits from 1 to 24, just as 120 (Acts i. 15) = $1 + 2 + 3 + \dots + 15$, or 153 (John xxi. 11) = $1 + 2 + 3 + \dots + 17$, or 666 (Rev. xiii. 18) = $1 + 2 + 3 + \dots + 36$. This was pointed out by F. H. Colson, *JTS.* xvi., 1914, pp. 72 ff., but it is hard to suppose that the numbers were chosen for this reason, or that these readings are just on this account to be preferred to the variants, viz. to 76 here and 616 in Rev. *loc. cit.* Nevertheless the recurrence of triangular numbers is very curious. A writer like Philo (e.g. *Quaestiones in Genesin*, i. § 83) would have called attention to any such number.

38. the wheat] Some commentators interpret this as meaning 'the provisions on board.' But what use would that be for really lightening a ship which had a cargo of wheat as well as two hundred and seventy-six persons, or even merely seventy-six? Doubtless they jettisoned the cargo. But had they not done this already in vs. 18? Possibly they had already thrown out some part, and the tense used in vs. 18 (ἐποίησαντο) perhaps implies this, and the meaning may be that they now finished the process; but even so the narrative is rather clumsy. It may be suggested that the purpose of lightening the ship was not now to prevent its swamping, as it was the first time, but rather, we may imagine, that it should draw as little water as possible, and therefore run aground well up the beach. No more than at vs. 18 is it necessary to follow J. C. Naber's conjecture here,

where he would read ἱστόν, 'mast,' for σῖτον, 'wheat.'

39. recognize] In the absence of correct charts personal knowledge is the only guide. Even now Greek sailors of the smaller sort are quite at a loss a hundred miles away from their homes.

beach] Cf. xxi. 5.

run the ship ashore] ἐξῶσαι, the reading of NA and the late mss., is used in Thucydides of running a ship ashore. But the reading of BC ἐκῶσαι may be right. It would apparently mean 'to save' the ship. If they had lost their dinghy and were in no condition to continue their voyage without some repairs, and moreover did not know exactly where they were, the only possible way of saving the ship was to beach it; it might be possible to push it off again later. The fact that no one was drowned in getting ashore shows that there was no longer a serious storm.

40. slipped] This is the usual and doubtless correct interpretation. περιαιρέιν naturally means 'to take away' (cf. xxvii. 20), but if the reading of N* B be right it is used in xxviii. 13 either of 'weighing anchor' or of 'sailing round.' (See note *ad loc.*) Doubtless they buoyed the anchors, but the passengers would probably not notice the fact.

lashings] The word ζευκτηπλᾶς was described in dictionaries as not found elsewhere. More recently the substantive neuter of the adjective ζευκτηπλῆς has been admitted as a parallel found in the papyri (Moulton-Milligan, Preuschen-Bauer, s.v.). Since, however, all the instances listed in the papyri are in the genitive plural, they may quite as well be accented ζευκτηπλῶν instead of the ζευκτηπλῶν of the editors and be attributed to a nominative singular

the foresail to the wind and made for the beach. But coming 41

feminine in *-la*. The instances are P Oxy 934. 5; P Flor 16. 26; P Lond 1177. 167 and 171; *PSI*. 286. 20; C P Herm 95. 18. It means in the papyri straps for cattle, apparently in connexion with waterwheels, "Riemenwerk (Joch) womit das Rind an den Drehbaum des Wasserrades oder an den Wagen angeschirrt wird" (Preisigke, s.v.). Here the word may confidently be assumed to mean the tackle which hoisted or lowered the rudders. Ancient ships had a rudder, or rather a steering oar, on each side. Two rudders are mentioned both earlier on Athenian triremes of the fourth century B.C. (A. Böckh, *Urkunden über das Seewesen des attischen Staates*) and also later (cf. P Lond 1164 h 8). Presumably, as with lee-boards on a barge, the lee-ward one was used, and both would be hoisted up and lashed firmly if the boat was anchored.

the foresail] ἀρτέμωνα. The word is not known elsewhere in Greek, except in lexicographers probably dependent on this passage. But the *Thesaurus Ling. Lat.* ii. col. 685 s.v. shows that *artemo* is a well-established word in Latin. Is its use here another Latinism? Cf. on vs. 14. It means either the forward mast or the sail on it. That mast, formerly known in Greek as ἀνάρειος ἱστός, sloped forward almost like a bowsprit. It was not always in position but was removable. That the mast itself, and not the sail, is meant here is not impossible, but if so, it was raised only to be used for a sail, so that the meaning remains the same. The scholiast to Juvenal, commenting on the 68th and 69th lines in the 12th satire,

"vestibus extensis, et quod superaverat unum,
velo prora suo,"

says "vestibus: funibus aut vestibis velis accipe aut quod dicunt artemonem. velo: id est artemone solo velificaverunt." The word was used in mediaeval Italian and in French. In Italian it was the foresail, in French it was the mizzen. This seems strange, but the names of sails change their meaning very curiously, thus for in-

stance 'mizzen' was originally the Italian 'mezzana,' 'middle-sized' sail (or possibly sail on the middle mast) in distinction to the 'vela grande' (which at that time was the foresail), but in French the same word, *misaine*, means the foresail. For the best discussions of the subject see James Smith, *Voyage and Shipwreck*, Dissertation iii.; Breusing, *Nautik der Alten*, p. 79, and Lübeck in Pauly-Wissowa, ii. coll. 1448f. The evidence of the lexicographers (e.g. Hesychius) is generally favourable to the view that the artemon was the small sail on the foremast. This gives an entirely reasonable sense; some sail was necessary to give the ship steerage way if they wished to select a suitable spot for beaching her. The accompanying picture of a coin of Commodus (taken from Smith, p. 201) gives some idea of what the artemon probably was in Luke's time.



41. coming upon] περιπεσόντες, the regular word for an unexpected, and usually unpleasant, encounter. Thus there is a probability that the διθάλασσος τόπος was something in the sea (a shoal, or 'bar'), not on the land. (See note on 'of two seas'.)

place] The traditional site in Malta is called St. Paul's Bay, and though such traditional identifications may usually be treated with caution, this has everything in its favour. If we suppose that there was at least not a howling gale the breakers on Point Koura may have been audible at a distance of a mile and a half by a boat coming in from the east. This would account for the sailors'

upon a place of two seas they beached the ship, and the bow was hard and fast and remained immovable, but the stern was
 42 being broken up by the surf. And the plan of the soldiers was to kill the prisoners lest any of them should swim off and escape,
 43 but the centurion wished to rescue Paul and hindered them from their purpose, and ordered those that could swim to cast
 44 themselves overboard first and get to land, and the rest, some on planks and some on some of the crew. And so it came to pass that all escaped to land.

suspicion that land was near. If they then sounded, twenty fathoms soon followed by fifteen is about what they would have found.

of two seas] διθάλασσον. This translation is literal but meaningless. Any other may have a meaning, but is a conjecture. διθάλασσος is used quite intelligibly by Strabo (ii. 5. 22) of the Bosporus, πέλαγος δ' καλοῦσι Προποντίδα, κάκεινο εἰς ἄλλο τὸν Εὐξείνιον προσαγορευόμενον πόντον. ἐστὶ δὲ διθάλαττος τρόπον τινὰ οὗτος. Dio Chrysostom, *Orat.* v. § 9 says that the Syrtis was famous for βραχέα καὶ διθάλαττα καὶ ταινίαι μακραί. Liddell & Scott render διθάλαττα here by 'with cross currents,' but Blass and Breusing take it to mean 'shoals,' and think that this is its meaning here. This may be the meaning of the note (or interpolation?) in the Harelean margin, 'eo ubi erat syrtis.' The ship ran on a shoal before it reached the beach (for the confirmation given to this view by the verb περιπεσόντες see note on 'running on to'). But if so how was it that no one was drowned? James Smith thinks that it means the strait between Malta and the little island of Salmonetta, which is the northern boundary of St. Paul's Bay.

beached] ἐπέκειλαν. According to Blass this is an Homeric form not found in prose-writers, who used ὀκέλλω and ἐποκέλλω, as the later text does here. He compares *Od.* ix. 148 . . . πρὶν νῆας εὐστέλμους ἐπικέλσαι and 546 νῆα μὲν ἐνθ' ἐλθόντες ἐκέλσαμεν ἐν ψαμάθοισιν. It is also remarkable that the word ναῦν is used only here in Acts, which always has the ordinary Hellenistic word πλοῖον. Blass' sug-

gestion that there is a conscious reminiscence of Homer in this collocation of two unusual words is very attractive. If Luke was acquainted with Aratus and Epimenides, his knowledge of Homer is easily credible.

was hard and fast] ἐρείσασα, cf. Pindar, *Isth.* i. 1. 52. The cumulation of classical words not found elsewhere in the N.T. is remarkable.

was being broken up] ἐλύετο. Even if the wind had fallen the waves of the storm would be sufficient to break up the ship in a short time.

42. The primary authorities for the Western text are deficient, but Gigas reads "tunc cogitaverunt milites ut omnes custodias," etc., which probably implies a Greek τότε ἐβουλεύσαντο (or ἐνόμισαν) οἱ στρατιῶται ἵνα πάντας κτλ. The characteristic Western τότε is noticeable, see note on x. 47.

plan] This rather than 'wish' is the meaning of βουλή, while βούλημα means 'purpose.'

43. On the evidence of Gigas the Western text was δὲ δὲ ἑκατοντάρχης ἐκώλυσε τοῦτο γενέσθαι μάλιστα διὰ τὸν Παῦλον, ἵνα αὐτὸν διασώσῃ.

44. planks] Breusing and Blass think that these were used for keeping the cargo in place. The word is used in similar scenes; cf. Xenoph. *Ephes.* ii. 11 καὶ τῆς νεῶς διαπαραγείσης, μόλις ἐν σανίδι τινὲς σωθέντες ἐπ' αἰγιαλοῦ τινος ἦλθον; Galen, *De meth. med.* v. 15 (Kühn, vol. x. pp. 377 f.), *Test. XII. Patr.*, *Naph.* vi. 6 and *Anthol. Pal.* vii. 289, an epitaph very similar to that quoted below on xxviii. 4.

some of the crew] The traditional rendering is 'parts of the ship,' but τινά (neuter plural) without a noun or

Having escaped, we then recognized that the island was called 28
Malta. And the foreigners showed us extraordinary kindness, for 2

adjective is rare. On the other hand Luke uses the masculine *τινές* often, and even *τινὲς τῶν ἀπὸ* occurs in Acts (xii. 1 *τινὰς τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας*; xv. 5 *τῆς αἰρέσεως*). It is therefore best to accept the suggestion of Zorell (*Biblische Zeitschrift*, ix., 1911, p. 159) that *τινων τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ πλοίου* is masculine here, 'some of the ship people,' so that all the prisoners reached shore, some by swimming, some by floating on rafts, some by riding on (*ἐπὶ*) the backs of sailors. This may explain why *ἐπὶ* is used with the genitive case *τινων τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ πλοίου* but with the dative *σανσιν*.

1. Malta] It is uncertain whether the Greek text is *Μελίτη* or *Μελιτήνη*, but probably it makes no difference to the meaning, for *Μελιτήνη* may well be merely the adjective of *Μελίτη*, though *Μελιταῖος* is the usual form on coins and in inscriptions. If so, an interesting parallel may be found in the Scottish island Iona, which was originally Hy, from which the Latin adjective *Hiona* was made and became its name. It should also be remembered that the variation between *Μελίτη* and *Μελιτήνη* may have been increased by confusion with the well-known Melitene, a district north-east of Antioch, where Christianity was very strong in the early centuries.

There is no real doubt that *Μελίτη* is Malta, which was then in the province of Sicily. The suggestion that it is Meleda on the Dalmatian coast is as old as Constantine Porphyrogenitus (*De adminis. imper.* 36), and is based mainly on the probably erroneous theory that 'Αδρα in xxvii. 27 means the Adriatic in the modern sense. In like manner the Melitene to which Oppian's father was banished is spoken of in one version of the *Vita* of the poet as an island in the Adriatic, in another version as an island of Sicily, both quite correctly.

It is true that in Ptolemy ii. 16. 9 Meleda is called *Μελιτήνη*; but against its identification with the island of Paul's shipwreck is the fact that the wind which caused the trouble was 'Euraquilo,' which must

mean North-east, and that, naturally enough, the sailors were afraid of being blown on the African Syrtis south-west of Crete. To have made their way into the Adriatic as far as the Dalmatian coast in the teeth of a north-easterly gale would have been quite impossible. Malta is said to be the Phoenician *εἰς* 'escape' (J. R. Harris, *Expos. T.* xxi., 1909, p. 18 f.). This may bear testimony to the earlier history of the island as a refuge from storm, but Luke is scarcely playing with the name: "when we were escaped we knew that the island was called Scape." (On Malta in general see A. Mayr, *Die Insel Malta im Altertum*.)

2. foreigners] This rather than 'barbarians' is the meaning of *βάρβαροι*. It specially implies a difference of language, and is characteristic of Luke's Greek standpoint and also of his attention to language (cf. ii. 5-11, xiv. 11, xxii. 2). The Maltese were Phoenicians speaking some dialect of Punic or Phoenician (see Strabo xvii. 832 ff.; Diodorus Siculus v. 12; Cicero, *In Verrem*, iv. 46 f., and Zahn's full collection of material, *Apostelgeschichte*, pp. 841 ff.). It is interesting to notice that then as now they were famous for lace, and for a breed of small dogs (Strabo vi. 2. 11) which, at present at least, are remarkable for great canine degeneracy covered by a profusion of white hair. Out of many articles and monographs on the meaning and use of *βάρβαροι* mention may be made of J. Jüthner, *Hellenen und Barbaren: aus der Geschichte des Nationalbewusstseins*, 1923, and the authors there cited, pp. 122 ff., including J. U. Steinhof, 1732; Friedr. Roth, 1814; R. Zahn, 1896; A. Eichhorn, 1904; H. Werner, 1918.

extraordinary] *οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν*, cf. xix. 11.

kindness] *φιλανθρωπίαν*, cf. *φιανθρώπως* in xxvii. 3, is still the ordinary word for 'kindness' in modern Greek, and common in Hellenistic Greek; see F. Field, *Notes*, pp. 147 f., and H. J. Cadbury, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, xlv. (1926), pp. 201 f.

they lit a bonfire and brought us all to it because of the rain-storm which had set in and because of the cold. And when Paul had twisted up a faggot of sticks and put it on the fire, a viper came out owing to the heat and fastened on his hand. And when the foreigners saw the snake hanging from his hand, they said to one another, "Perhaps this man is a murderer, and though he has escaped from the sea, Dike did not permit him to live." He,

bonfire] πυρά, a fire of brushwood in the open.

brought us all to it] προσελάβοντο, but Σ reads προσανελάμβανον, which is supported by the European Latin and Vulgate *refecerunt, reficiebant*, 'brought us round,' 'restored us.' Blass accepts this as the original text; it certainly gives the stronger meaning, but though it may be the Western text it cannot merely on the authority of Σ be taken as the Neutral reading.

had set in] An alternative rendering of ἐφεστῶτα might be 'threatening,' but the context is against it.

3. twisted up] συστρέφειν means this, rather than merely 'collected.' The scene is vivid, and the words used in this verse, like so much else in this passage (see Cadbury, *Making of Luke-Acts*, pp. 341 ff.), are demonstrably idiomatic and appropriate to the situation.

a faggot] πλῆθος, see note on iv. 32.

viper] i.e. ἐχίδνα need not necessarily mean a poisonous snake, but obviously native opinion thought that it was so in this case.

fastened on] That is, bit him. In medical books (see Hobart, p. 288) the same verb is used, but in the middle, καθήψατο. The active is rare, but cf. Epict. iii. 20. 10. The view that the viper merely coiled round his hand does justice neither to the meaning of καθήψε, nor to vs. 4, nor to vipers, which do not coil, and least of all to the intention of the writer, who is intending to describe the fulfilment of Luke x. 19 and of Ps. xci. 13. Ramsay, *Luke the Physician*, pp. 63 ff., undertakes to identify the serpent with *Coronella Austriaca* known in Sicily in modern times, and tries thus to explain how it hung without biting or coiling.

4. perhaps] πάντως, see H. J. Cadbury, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, xlv. (1925), pp. 223 ff.

escaped from the sea] Wettstein quotes from the *Anthology* the epitaph (now referred to as *Anthol. Pal.* vii. 290) by Statyllius Flaccus of one who, after escaping from a storm at sea, was shipwrecked on the sands of Libya and killed by a viper (ἐχίς). The text runs:

Λαίλαπα καὶ μανίην ὁλοῆς προφυγόντα
θαλάσσης

ναυηγόν, Διβυκαῖς κείμενον ἐν ψαμάθοις,
οὐχ ἐκὰς ἡνῶν, πυράτῳ βεβαρημένον
ὑπνῳ,

γυμνόν, ἀπὸ στυγερῆς ὡς κάμε
ναυθορίας,

ἔκτανε λυγρὸς ἐχίς. τί μάτην πρὸς κύματ'
ἐμόχθει,

τὴν ἐπὶ γῆς φεύγων μοῖραν ὀφειλομένην;

Dike] The translation 'Justice' is to be avoided, for the writer does not mean an abstract principle, but a goddess. Doubtless the islanders attributed this action to some Semitic deity of their own, but Luke translates it into Greek mythology, just as in xiv. 12 he translates Lycaonian gods into Zeus and Hermes. In Greek literature ἡ δίκη (often with the article as here) played a great rôle in which we cannot distinguish personification and deification. See the full analysis in R. Hirzel, *Themis, Dike und Verwandtes*, 1907. In many respects the concept was as alien to Judaism as it was doubtless to the Maltese, but it occurs in the Wisdom of Solomon, i. 8. In Philo δίκη is used with all the approved Greek epithets (see the numerous passages in *Leisegang's Index Philonis*, s.v.) and ἡ θεὰ δίκη is frequent in 4 Macc.

however, shook off the snake into the fire and suffered no harm. But they waited, expecting that he was going to swell up or fall 6 down dead suddenly; but when they waited a long time and saw that nothing amiss was happening to him, they changed their minds and began to say that he was a god. Now in the neighbourhood 7 of that place were properties belonging to the Chief of the island named Publius. And he took us in and entertained us hospitably for three days. And it happened that the father of Publius was 8 afflicted with attacks of fever and with dysentery, and Paul went

5. snake] *θηρion* is still commonly used in modern Greek for a snake.

6. waited] Notice the instructive changes of tense—*ἀποτινάξας . . . ἔπαθε . . . προσεδόκων . . . γινόμενον*. The *γινόμενον* is peculiarly interesting. It is not 'had happened'—*γενόμενον*—but 'was happening.' This led to a definite change of opinion, marked by another aorist participle—*μεταβαλόμενοι*—which results in another imperfect—*ἔλεγον*, 'they began to say.'

god] Just as to be harmed by a serpent seemed to be 'an act of God' in vengeance, so to be unharmed by one was an evidence of divine protection or something more. Somewhat different is Plutarch's story of Cleomenes (39, p. 823), that when those who guarded the body of Cleomenes as it hung upon the cross saw a huge serpent wind about his head and cover his face so that no carnivorous vulture could attack him, some said that the slain man was *θεοφιλῆς καὶ κρείττων τὴν φύσιν* or *ἥρωας καὶ θεῶν παῖς*. Of course the serpent was a symbol for many gods.

7. Chief] *πρῶτος* seems a natural and informal word for leading persons, though not often used in the singular. The discovery of two inscriptions using it to denote an official of the Maltese gives colour to the suggestion that it is the name of the chief representative of the Roman government on the island (which belonged to the province of Sicily) or some native officer. The inscriptions are: *IG. xiv. 601 A. Κα[στρί]κιος Κυρ(εῖνα) Προύδης ἱππεὺς Ῥωμ(αίων) πρῶτος Μελιταίων καὶ πάτρων, ἀρχας καὶ ἀμφιπολεύσας θεῶ Αὐγούστῳ; CIL. x. 7495 [munic]ip[us] Mel[itensium] primus omni[um]*. If so, the word in

Acts is another instance of correct local nomenclature comparable to the politarchs in Thessalonica. In the inscription for L. Castricius Prudens, quoted above, the offices associated with the *primus* are (i.) *patronus*, an honorary title for public benefactors at Malta, (ii.) probably *duumvir* (*ἀρχων*), a magistracy, and (iii.) *flamen Augustalis*, a priesthood of the imperial cult. See Mayr, *Die Insel Malta im Altertum*, p. 106.

Publius] This is the usual name transliterated by *Πόπλιος*. It is curious that Luke does not give his full name, though Zahn points out the interesting coincidence that Polybius usually refers to Publius Cornelius Scipio as *Πόπλιος*, with no further name. If, however, he was not the governor but merely a local magnate, he may have been not a citizen. Ramsay suggests that *Πόπλιος* may represent *Popilius* (*Paul the Traveller*, p. 343), but the equation of Publius and *Πόπλιος* is too frequent for his suggestion to be probable.

three days] Perhaps the suggestion is that after these three days they moved into the town in the interior of the island.

8. afflicted with attacks] *συνεχόμενον* is literally 'held by.' Cf. Luke iv. 38 where Luke substitutes *συνεχομένη πυρετῷ μεγάλῳ* for Mark's *κατέκειτο πυρέσσουσα*, and Matt. viii. 14 puts *βεβλημένην καὶ πυρέσσουσαν*. The advocates of Luke's 'medical knowledge' insist that the plural *πυρετοῖς* means 'attacks of intermittent fever,' and argue that the phrase is a medical technical term. But even if the plural be proved to have this meaning, few can have travelled much in the Medi-

to him and prayed and laid his hands on him and healed him.
 9 And when this happened the rest also of those on the island who
 10 had diseases came to him and were cured. And they honoured
 us with many honours, and when we left put on board what we
 should need.
 11 And after three months we set sail in an Alexandrian ship
 with the Dioscuri as a figure-head, which had wintered in the

terranean without recognizing the intermittent nature of malaria and its cousin 'sand-fly' fever, often attributed by the natives to the vicinity of chestnut-trees.

fever and dysentery] These words are of course found in medical writers, but they prove as little for Luke's technical knowledge of medicine as they would for a modern writer. For the phenomena which they describe are well known throughout the Mediterranean, and Malta has always a peculiarly unpleasant fever of its own.

laid his hands] Cf. ix. 17, Luke iv. 40, and Mark xvi. 18, and Additional Note 11. Luke seems to have had the story of Peter's mother-in-law in his mind in choosing the vocabulary of this story. The other instances in Acts where prayer and laying on of hands are connected (vi. 6, xiii. 3) have to do with appointments for Christian office. In James v. 14 prayer with anointing is mentioned in the cure of the sick, but not laying on of hands. Luke's interest in prayer is often spoken of by modern scholars in connexion with the gospel of Luke.

healed] *ἰάσατο*, cf. cured, *ἐθεραπεύοντο*, in the next verse. The words are probably synonymous, but Harnack suggests, ingeniously if not convincingly, that *ἐθεραπεύοντο* means that they received medical treatment from Luke. See the discussion by H. J. Cadbury in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1926, p. 196, n. 20.

10. honours] The context rather than the language is opposed to the possible rendering 'paid us large fees.' The same problem recurs in Ecclus. xxxviii. 1. Does the *τιμὴ* which is due a physician mean his fee? Cf. Cicero, *Ad Fam.* xvi. 9 "ut medico honos haberetur," and 1 Tim. v. 17.

put on board] *ἐπέθεντο*, or perhaps merely 'bestowed' on us.

what we should need] Or, more literally, but less neatly, 'provision for our needs.'

11. three months] The renewal of navigation began, according to Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* ii. 47, on Feb. 7 with the advent of spring. Vegetius, *De re militari*, iv. 39, says the seas were closed from Nov. 11 to March 5, and dangerous as early as Sept. 14. The only reference Acts gives to an exact date is xxvii. 9, more than a fortnight before the shipwreck, when the seas were declared dangerous because 'the Fast' (Day of Atonement) had passed. But that date (Tishri 10) cannot be translated into the Roman calendar. In fact it would vary considerably in successive years. This winter-closing of navigation played an important part in the plans of an active man like Paul. Cf. 1 Cor. xvi. 6; Acts xx. 3; Titus iii. 12; 2 Tim. iv. 21. Josephus, *B.J.* ii. 10. 5, § 203, gives three months as the time lost by winter-bound messengers from Rome to Judaea.

Dioscuri] The twin gods, Castor and Pollux, were favourite objects of worship by sailors. They were called on for aid or vowed to in time of storm. Cf. Epict. ii. 18. 29 τοῦ θεοῦ μέμνησο, ἐκείνον ἐπικαλοῦ βοήθην καὶ παραστάτην ὡς τοὺς Διοσκόρους ἐν χειμῶνι οἱ πλέοντες. Their shrines were naturally important at port cities; their constellation *Gemini* was a sign of good luck in storm (Horace, *Od.* i. 3. 2; iii. 29. 64). Hence there is no difficulty in explaining the choice of this figure-head. It can scarcely have been uncommon. We may notice further that this was an Alexandrian ship and that the papyri (Muolton and Milligan, *Vocabulary*, p. 159) show how common in Egypt were personal names

island. And when we landed at Syracuse we stayed three 12: days, and sailing round arrived at Rhegium. And after one day, 13: when the south wind set in, we came to Puteoli in two days. And there we found brethren and were invited to stay with 14:

like Κάστωρ, Πολυδεύκης, Δίδυμος, Διόσκωρος, Διοσκουρίδης. The Dioscuric worship was presumably common in Egypt also. The παράσημον therefore might be due to some personal or family reasons or to local religious connexions. Cf. the Egyptian connexions of the ship mentioned in P Lond 256 a, 2 (A.D. 15) ἡς παράσημος ἴβις. Lucian, *Navig.* 5, also describes the prow of a ship τὴν ἐπ' ὀνόματι τῆς νεώς θεὸν ἔχουσα τὴν ἴσιν ἐκατέρωθεν. Cyril (in the *Catena*), writing perhaps from actual knowledge of his own time, says such carvings (γραφαί) on the prow, right and left sides, were customary, especially on ships of the Alexandrians. See also Rendel Harris, *The Cult of the Heavenly Twins*. That these gods were not limited in their interests to one field of human life, nor in their worship to one area, may be seen by a glance at Bethe's article in Pauly-Wissowa, v. coll. 1087 ff.

figure-head] That this, not the name, is the meaning is probably shown by Plutarch, *Mor.* 162 a, who distinguishes the two, πυθόμενον τοῦ τε ναυκλήρου τοῦδ' ὄνομα καὶ τοῦ κυβερνήτου καὶ τῆς νεώς τὸ παράσημον, and that it is figure-head rather than 'flag' is indicated by Plutarch, *Mor.* 247 f πλοῖα λέοντα μὲν ἔχοντι πρόραθεν ἐπίσημον, ἐκ δὲ πρύμνης δράκοντα, but ἐπίσημον not παράσημον seems the somewhat more usual form. Blass, who quotes these passages, is doubtless right in saying that ships took their names from their figure-heads, just as the name of taverns used to correspond to their signboards.

He is unwilling to accept the reading of the mss. which all read παρασήμῳ Διοσκούροις, but though it is doubtful grammar if παρασήμῳ be a substantive, the phrase seems an intelligible if incorrect attraction. The writer began in the dative and continued in it. Or it surely might be a dative of specification like the frequent ὀνόματι, e.g. vs. 7 τῷ πρώτῳ τῆς

νήσου ὀνόματι Ποπλίῳ. It is, however, possible that παρασήμῳ is an adjective, in which case the grammar causes no difficulty.

12. Syracuse] In Sicily; see map.

13. sailing round] περιελόντες is the reading of NB; presumably it means 'sailing round,' as would the alternative reading, περιελθόντες, but the use seems unparalleled. It is used in xxvii. 40 of slipping the anchors, but τὰς ἀγκύρας is inserted.

Rhegium] The modern Reggio di Calabria.

Puteoli] Pozzuoli, near Naples, the regular port of entry for Rome from the East. Here arrived the Alexandrian grain fleet—perhaps the most impressive sight of the harbour's busy life (Seneca, *Epp.* 77). Among other descriptions of the ancient city reference may be made to the collection in Friedländer, *Cena Trimalchionis*, 2nd edit., 1906, pp. 73-76. The harbour at Ostia was about this time being so well dredged as to provide for large ships, and soon supplanted to a large degree the maritime importance of Puteoli. It is a curious and thrilling coincidence that the first Roman town which Paul entered was the site of the first Augusteum—the temple of the cult which was destined in the following centuries to dispute with Christianity the spiritual mastery of the Empire, until Constantine reconciled the two religions.

14. brethren] ἀδελφοί. How did they come to be in Rome? Obviously there had been Christian missionaries in Italy before Paul. If so, why not Peter? He had probably been in Corinth five years before this (1 Cor. i. 12). See also note on xviii. 3.

were invited to stay] The verb παρεκλήθημεν perhaps carries with it some of its force 'comforted' (xx. 12), so much so that in some mss. we read 'staying' instead of 'to stay.'

- 15 them for seven days, and thus we came to Rome. And the brethren heard news of us, and came thence as far as Appii Forum and Tres Tabernae to meet us, and when Paul saw them he thanked
 16 God and took courage. And when we entered Rome Paul was allowed to remain by himself, with a soldier guarding him.
 17 Now it happened that after three days he called together the local leaders of the Jews, and when they met he said to them,

Rome] τὴν 'Ρώμην. It is held by Ramsay and others that this means the district Rome as distinct from the city Rome. The difficulty which wrecks this theory is the ἐκείθεν in the next verse, which must refer to τὴν 'Ρώμην. Therefore the probable meaning is merely 'and from Puteoli we went straight to Rome.' After this general statement, in which the οὕτως emphasizes the fulfilment of prophecy, the writer goes on to give the details of this last stage of the journey.

15. Appii Forum] 43 miles from Rome on the Appian Way, immortalized by Horace's (*Sat.* i. 5. 3) "inde Forum Appi | differtum nautis, cauponibus atque malignis."

Tres Tabernae] 33 miles from Rome on the Appian Way, a road-house mentioned by Cicero, *Ad Atticum*, ii. 10.

16. Rome] 'Ρώμην, not τὴν 'Ρώμην. Ramsay (*Paul the Traveller*, p. 347) thinks that this means the actual city. But it is not certain that Ramsay is right. The absence or presence of the article is not sufficient proof. Paul must have passed in by the old Appian Way, through what is now the Porta Capena, leaving far to his right the hill on which was afterwards (if not already) the palace which became St. John Lateran, "mater omnium ecclesiarum urbis et orbis."

was allowed] The Western reading (preserved also in the Antiochian text) is ὁ ἑκατοντάρχης παρέδωκεν τοὺς δεσμίους τῷ στρατοπεδάρχῃ τῷ δὲ Παύλῳ κτλ., and the European Latin renders στρατοπεδάρχη by *principi peregrinorum*, which has been shown by Mommsen and Harnack, *Sitzungsber. d. Berlin. Akademie*, *ph.-hist. Kl.*, 1895, 491 ff., to be the title of the officer of the praetorian guard in charge of

soldiers who had been detached for special missions outside of Rome, chiefly, though not exclusively, in connexion with the provision ships. It is noticeable that the ship which was wrecked at Malta had a cargo of grain, though perhaps not destined for Rome itself. But στρατοπεδάρχης would also be an appropriate translation for the better known officer *praefectus praetorii*, into whose keeping prisoners from the provinces were entrusted. In Pliny, *Epp.* x. 57, Trajan directs Pliny concerning a person who had been sentenced to exile by Julius Bassus "vinetum mitti ad praefectos praetorii mei." Afranius Burrus was the prefect between A.D. 51 and 62. The same office, though a later incumbent, may be intended by the word στρατοπεδάρχης in P Lond 196. 5. It is used in a more general sense in other writers and of other places.

by himself] Verse 16 ends the 'we-sections,' and the writer adds a concluding paragraph, summarizing the next two years, which Paul spent in Rome, not in prison, but καθ' ἑαυτὸν, in charge of a soldier detailed to guard him. The Western text adds the explanatory note 'outside the barracks' (see Vol. III. p. 353).

soldier] According to Mommsen, *Römisches Strafrecht*, p. 317, note 5, the *Digest* uses *militi tradere* (*committere*) in contrast to *carcer* or *vincula*. Cf. *BGU*. 151 ὑπὸ στρατιώτῃν δυντα.

17-31. PAUL AT ROME.

17. local] τοὺς ὄντας (see note on v. 17), though here it might be rendered 'those who were the leaders.'

leaders] πρώτους is here probably not a title, though it may be interpreted as such. See xiii. 50, xxv. 2, and Luke xix. 47.

"I, brethren, though I had done nothing hostile to the People or to the customs of our fathers, was surrendered into the hands of the Romans as a prisoner from Jerusalem. And they examined me and wished to dismiss me because there was no capital charge in my case. But when the Jews objected I was forced to appeal to Caesar, not that I had any accusation to bring against my nation. That therefore is the reason why I asked you to see me and talk with me, for because of the hope of Israel am I wearing this chain." But they said to him, "We have received no letters about you from Judaea, nor has any one of the brethren come here and reported or spoken any evil about you, but we think it right to hear from you as to your opinions, for with regard to this school it is known to us that it is objected to everywhere."

And they fixed a day for him, and many of them came to his hospitality. And to them he testified in explanation of the

brethren] Here obviously not in the technical sense of 'Christian.'

our fathers] See note on xxiv. 14.

surrendered] The rendering is too strong, but 'given over' would be too weak. *παράδιδωμι* seems, when used in this sense, always to carry the suggestion of treachery, or at least injustice.

18. examined] See note on xxiv.

8. The Western text 'after a long examination' may be a gloss, but is certainly an attractive one.

19. not that I, etc.] It was perhaps more necessary than it would at first appear to show that Paul was strictly on the defence. The Romans had severe laws against prosecutors who failed to make good their accusations. Hence perhaps the anxiety of the Roman Jews to dissociate themselves from the case. (See vs. 21.)

20. hope] See note on xxiii. 6.

chain] Is this metaphorical? If not, what was the force of the *Lex Iulia*? (See note on xxii. 29.) There may be a reference here to the words of Agabus in xxi. 11. On *δλυσις* see xxi. 33, and cf. xxvi. 29.

21. any one of the brethren] Such a messenger might have been one of the Jewish 'apostles.' (See Addit. Note 6.)

reported or spoken] 'reported' officially, or 'spoken' unofficially.

22. school] *αἵρεσις*, see note on xxiv. 5.

23. hospitality] This is the usual meaning of *ξενία*, and *καλεῖν* or *παρακαλεῖν ἐπὶ ξενίαν* is a customary formula of invitation. (Cf. Achilles Tatius, ed. Fr. Jacobs, 1821, p. 760 note; J. La Roche, *Wiener Studien*, xxi. (1899) pp. 27 f.) The traditional rendering is 'inn,' and this rendering may be supported by its use in Clem. *Hom.* viii. 2, xiv. 1, and in Palladius, *Histor. Lausiaca* (ed. C. Butler in *Texts and Studies*, vi. 2 (1904), pp. 74. 7; 136. 16), as the equivalent of 'cell.' But these passages are much later than Acts, and the usual meaning of the word should not be given up without reason. In Philemon 22 the noun *ξενία* is again ambiguous. (Cf. also H. J. Cadbury, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, xlv. (1926) p. 319, and see the note on *μίσθωμα* in vs. 30.)

Kingdom of God, and persuaded them about Jesus both from the Law of Moses and from the Prophets from morning till
 24 evening. And some were persuaded by what he said, but some
 25 disbelieved. And they disagreed among themselves and dispersed, after Paul had made one statement, "Rightly did the Holy
 26 Spirit speak through Isaiah the prophet to your fathers, saying, 'Go to this people and say, With your hearing you shall hear Is. vi. 9 f. and not understand, and looking, you shall look and not see,

Kingdom of God] Is this the eschatological kingdom, or does it mean the church? Either interpretation is possible. See note on i. 3.

Jesus] Apparently his argument was, as might have been expected, the proof from Scripture that Jesus was the Messiah, and that his death and resurrection were the fulfilment of prophecy. Once more the absence of any mention of the teaching of Jesus as a system is most noticeable. Paul and Acts are wholly absorbed in the Messianic claim of Jesus, and in the eschatological expectation. It should also be noted that in the epistles the moral teaching of Paul is never based on the teaching of Jesus, to which he seldom alludes, but is the traditional Jewish doctrine. Moreover, his revolutionary teaching about the Law was not based on the teaching of Jesus, which indeed does not support it, but is a corollary from the Messianic claim.

24. persuaded . . . disbelieved] ἐπειθοντο . . . ἥπιστον reverse the more usual variation πιστεύω . . . ἀπειθέω. See on xiv. 2.

25. one statement] It is a typical and doubtless lifelike touch in Acts that Paul always gets the last word—generally with devastating effect.

rightly] Cf. Mark vii. 6 (=Matt. xv. 7) καλῶς ἐπροφήτευσεν 'Hσαίας περὶ ὑμῶν. In Mark vii. 9, 2 Cor. xi. 4 the initial καλῶς is perhaps ironical; here scornful or indignant.

26. Isaiah vi. 9 f. is quoted here almost verbatim from the LXX. See Vol. II. p. 88. The latter part of the passage is quoted verbally in Matt. xiii. 15 on the basis of a suggestion in Mark iv. 11, 12 (the parallel passage on the parables (see below)). In

John xii. 40 the latter part is quoted, but the wording is quite independent of the LXX, and it is used for the same purpose as here—to prove that the refusal of the Jews to accept Jesus was the fulfilment of prophecy.

An attempt to work out this theme, and to solve the doctrinal problem to which it gives rise, is given in Rom. ix.-xi. In the earlier tradition found in Mark it is used for the startling suggestion that Jesus taught in parables in order that he might not be understood—"in order that (ὥστε) seeing they may see and not perceive, and hearing they may hear and not understand, that they may not turn and be forgiven" (Mark iv. 12). The words cannot be otherwise rendered without grammatical violence, but it is not strange that many critics have felt this passage to be so contrary to the general teaching and practice of Jesus that they regard it as a later addition, belonging essentially to the period of strife between Christians and Jews. The best exposition of this view is Jülicher's *Die Gleichnisreden Jesu*, vol. i. chap. iv., with which should be read W. Wrede's *Das Messiasgeheimnis in den Evangelien*. The only real alternative to this view is to think that Jesus really wished to conceal the 'Messiasgeheimnis' during his life, and used obscure methods of teaching in order to effect his purpose.

To me it seems probable that the latter was the view which Mark desired to put forward, but I do not think that this was the real meaning of Jesus. On this point the evidence of Q is decisive. But the whole question

for the heart of this people has grown thick and they hear dully 2 with their ears and they have shut their eyes, lest they should see with their eyes and hear with their ears and understand with their heart and turn back and I should heal them.' Therefore 2 be it known to you that this salvation of God has been sent to the Gentiles; it is they who will hear."

And he stayed the whole of two years on his own earnings [and welcomed all who came to him, preaching the Kingdom 3 of God and teaching the story of the Lord Jesus Christ quite openly, with no hindrance.

is very complicated, and—like the general problem of the relation of Mark to Q—is obscured by our ignorance of the details of the transition of the teaching of Jesus into the teaching about Jesus.

27. I should heal] The oldest mss. read *λάσσωμαι*, though we should expect *ιάσσωμαι* 'I should heal.' The original Hebrew, which does not easily continue the verbs in subordinate clauses, is perhaps responsible for the Greek, not any intended emphasis or different meaning. Cf. R. R. Ottley, *Isaiah according to the LXX*, vol. ii. p. 135. But mss. are so inclined to confuse *ο* and *ω* that no opinion can be strongly held on this point, and it seems unnecessary to translate 'I shall heal.' It should be remembered that *λάσσωμαι* and *ιάσσωμαι* are absolutely identical in pronunciation.

28. salvation] Note the characteristic change of phrase from xiii. 26 *ὁ λόγος τῆς σωτηρίας ταύτης*.

Gentiles] The transition from Jew to Gentile had marked Paul's preaching in other cities (see xiii. 46, xviii. 6. See note on xiii. 46 and Vol. II. p. 319). It is part of the author's purpose to show that the Christians have become the true heirs of Jewish promises.

it is they] Not 'and they.' *καί* is not a conjunction but emphasizes the *αὐτοί* and the *ἀκούοντες*. We have no perfectly parallel idiom in English, but 'ook' (=also) is used in much this way in Dutch.

29. The Western text adds 'and when he said this the Jews went away, with much argument among

themselves.' This was taken over into the Antiochian text and is verse 29 in the A.V.

30. two years] See Additional Note 26.

on his own earnings] *μισθωμα* is 'money paid,' and it must mean either money earned by Paul or money paid by Paul. If the latter view be accepted it should be rendered 'at his own expense.' There is no evidence that *μισθωμα* ever meant 'a hired house' (A.V.). The reference to Philo, given by Wettstein, is a mistake. (Cf. H. J. Cadbury, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, xlv. (1926), pp. 321 f.)

31. quite openly, with no hindrance] The point of this fine rhythmic phrase is to show that though Paul preached openly, the authorities made no objection. Both *παρησία* and *ἀκωλύτως* are treated by O. Eger, *Rechtsgeschichtliches zum N.T.*, pp. 41 f., 19, note 38, as technical terms. The noun with its verb *παρησιάζομαι* is used frequently in Acts. See on ix. 27; G. F. Greene, 'The Word Parresia in the Acts,' *The Bible Student*, vii., 1903, pp. 137 ff.; E. Peterson, 'Zur Bedeutungsgeschichte von *παρησία*' in *Reinhold-Seeberg-Festschrift*, 1929, i. pp. 283-297; E. Lohmeyer, in Meyer's *Kommentar*, 8th edit., 1930, on Phil. i. 20 and Philemon 8. If *ἀκωλύτως* is used primarily in the papyri of the unhindered use of rented property, a corresponding English idiom 'without let or hindrance' suggests itself. But still the question arises, is *μισθωμα* the rented object here?

The Western text gives a fuller conclusion, "saying that this is the Messiah, the Son of God, and that by him the whole world will be judged." Thus the B-text ends on the apologetic note, the Western text on the eschatological. Which is intrinsically more probable? Surely it must be admitted that the apologetic motive—the attempt to prove that Christianity had a right to exist in the eyes of Roman law—is more likely to be primitive, and to be emended by a generation which had no longer hope or interest in Roman law. But assuming that the Western text is later, it is still the earliest commentary on Acts. It represents, as nothing else does, the mind of the Church in the second century on the teaching of Paul. Its doctrine is that of 2 Clement i. 1, "We must think of Jesus Christ . . . as of 'the Judge of the living and the dead,' and we must not think little of our salvation." The view that the earliest Christianity was mainly concerned with eschatological doctrine is to-day regarded with suspicion; it is interesting to reflect that for some centuries to doubt or to explain away this doctrine was heresy.

THE END OF ACTS. The present conclusion of Acts satisfies neither the curiosity of the modern reader nor his literary taste. He wishes to know how Paul's trial ended, and he feels that it is inadequate literary technique for a biography—which is what Acts at this stage has become—to leave its hero's life incomplete. The following suggestions have been made; none is entirely satisfactory, and their variety is a warning against a too easy acceptance of any.

(i.) The work was left unfinished owing to the author's death. This theory has often been overworked as an explanation for incomplete writings, though undoubtedly it is sometimes correct. But Acts has not the abrupt termination which would justify this conjecture; its closing sentence resembles the summaries with which the author divides his work (see Additional Note 31 and Harnack, *Acts of the Apostles*, pp. 38 ff.) and is a carefully constructed finale.

(ii.) Acts went on to tell at once of Paul's martyrdom, but this original ending has been removed to make room for his traditional later journeys and for a second Roman imprisonment. See Addit. Note 26 *sub fin.*

(iii.) The author intended to write a third volume to Theophilus, in which he would have carried to a conclusion the story of Paul, and perhaps that of Peter, left unfinished at xii. 17 or xv., and possibly would have included much more. This theory does not require that the third book was written and subsequently lost. That it was planned is held to be the explanation of the unsatisfactory termination of Acts; but whether it were actually written or not would make little difference. The use of *πρῶτον* instead of *πρότερον* in i. 1 (see note *ad loc.*) has been appealed to as evidence of Luke's plan and would be important if it could be supposed that the author observed strictly the usage of classical Greek. But, like modern Englishmen, writers contemporary with Luke used 'first' quite as much as 'former' when only two things were in view (cf. xii. 10). Another argument for supposing that Luke's work was planned as a trilogy might be drawn from the absence of a reference to Theophilus at the end of the second volume, for it was customary in works of several volumes to mention the person addressed not merely at the beginning of the first and of each subsequent volume, but also at the end of the whole work (cf. the end of Josephus, *c. Apion* ii.; Plutarch, *Quæst. conviv.* ix., etc.). But the custom is not universally followed. In support of the theory that a sequel to Acts was projected see especially Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, pp. 27 ff., and Zahn, 'Das dritte Buch des Lukas' in *Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift*, xxviii., 1917, pp. 373 ff.

(iv.) A variety of theories depend on the view that the author's information was exhausted. This might be due to any of several causes. (a) There was nothing more to relate: the narrative had caught up with the events. It was composed at the end of Paul's two years in Rome (so finally Harnack, *The Date of the Acts*, pp. 90-125). (b) Luke was not an eye-witness of any later events and in Acts only

writes of what he had seen himself. This was probably the view of the Canon of Muratori (see Vol. II. pp. 210, 258). (c) A modern critical view would be that Luke's source stopped here. Of course different scholars have different views as to what this source may have been.

(v.) Somewhat different views explain the failure of the author of Acts to continue his narrative by assuming, not that he knew no more, but that he did not need to tell more since the readers knew the rest. If the book was written as a brief for Christianity, to be submitted to a Roman official (Theophilus) responsible for the decision of Paul's case, it would be enough for the Christian advocate to bring his account up to its present conclusion. If, on the other hand, the book was addressed to a group of Christians, possibly at Rome, to whom the result of the trial was well known, the author may have seen no reason to relate more than the story as we have it. From xx. 25 it might seem that the readers of the book knew that the result of the trial was fatal. It has also been suggested that after two years in prison without active legal prosecution being undertaken against him Paul must have been automatically set free. If the readers of Acts could be expected to know of any such general statute of limitations the last sentence of Acts indicates the end of Paul's case, even though it leaves his career unfinished. (See Addit. Note 26.)

It is easy for us to see reasons why the author of Acts might have wished to tell the sequel of Paul's story. If he was executed for his faith, to tell the story would have been like the author and in accordance with the interest of the early church in its martyrs. If Paul was acquitted, it would have suited the author's purpose. He desired to show the political innocence of Christianity, and the account of Paul's trial would have made a fitting climax. If the case was merely quashed, a statement to that effect would be even more characteristic of a book that continually shows how the malice of the opponents of the Church, especially of the Jews, was frustrated by the technicalities and the mere neutrality of the govern-

ment. After the decision, rather than before it, would seem a better place to end, even if the outcome was not fatal.

Nevertheless, the author need not be expected to carry Paul to his death. That he did not do so requires no explanation. We may compare Xenophon's *Memorabilia* and other works. We ought not to read into the author's expression of purpose too complete, too conscious, or too modern a plan. Perhaps the terminus he set himself was a place (i. 8, xix. 21, xxiii. 11, xxvii. 24). It was enough for him to have brought Paul to Rome to bear witness to the gospel there. The last sentence has a note of triumph, of triumph in chains. It is not a casual sentence. It may have been the author's deliberately chosen conclusion. If it does not suit our taste, *de gustibus non disputandum*. Cf. p. 24.

That the end of Acts was the end of the whole work may receive a slight confirmation from the preface to the first book. In more than one respect the preface has contacts with and references to the later chapters in Acts. Prefaces then, as now, were probably written after the work was completed, and hence would be likely to reflect the leading ideas of the last written part of the work. Conversely, a book would incline especially to emphasize at its close the objects expressed in the preface. If not the last sentence of Acts, at least the last chapters of the book may be regarded as according well enough with the preface to the whole. After all, the absence of report about other apostles and their labours is not to be held as a mark of incompleteness. We now call the book the *Acts of the Apostles*, but that was doubtless not Luke's name for it (see pp. 1 f.), and still less was it the *Acts of All the Apostles* as in the Canon of Muratori.

[On the end of Acts see especially Cadbury, *The Making of Luke-Acts*, pp. 321-324; J. de Zwaan, 'Was the Book of Acts a Posthumous Edition?' in *The Harvard Theological Review*, xvii., 1924, pp. 95 ff. Earlier discussions of the problem are reviewed by H. Koch, *Die Abfassungszeit des lukanischen Geschichtswerkes*, 1911, pp. 3-17, and M. Goguel, *Le Livre des Actes* (= *Introduction au N.T.* iii.), 1922, pp. 326-341.]

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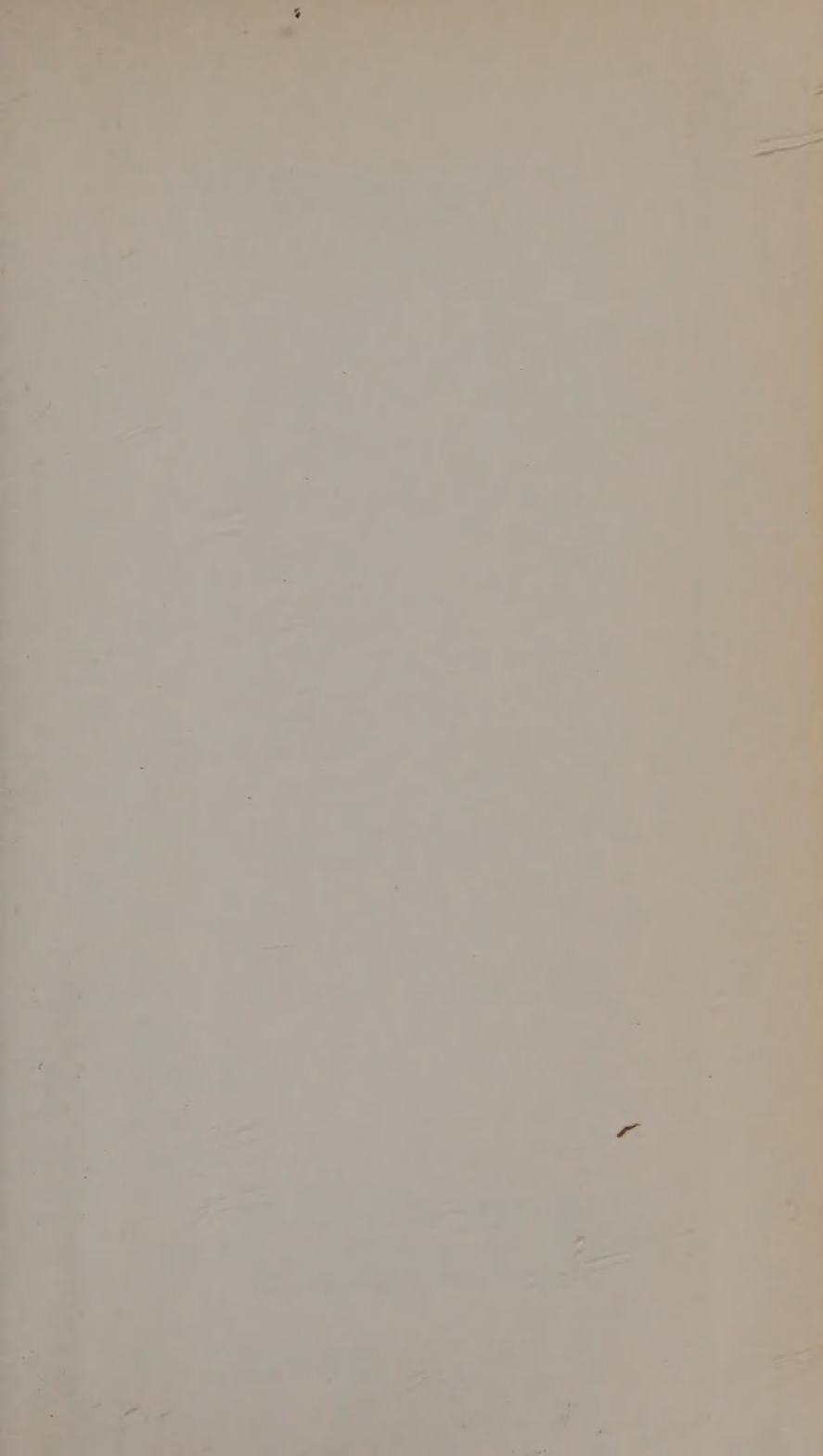
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INDEX VI

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

(See also Index III)

<i>A.J.Th.</i>	= <i>American Journal of Theology.</i>
<i>A.R.W.</i>	= <i>Archiv für Religionswissenschaft.</i>
<i>A.SS.</i>	= <i>Acta Sanctorum.</i>
<i>B.Ph.W.</i>	= <i>Berliner philologische Wochenschrift.</i>
<i>Bei. Chr. Th.</i>	= <i>Beiträge zur Forderung christlicher Theologie.</i>
<i>Bi.Z.</i>	= <i>Biblische Zeitschrift.</i>
<i>C.R.</i>	= <i>The Classical Review.</i>
<i>C.R.E.</i>	= Sir W. M. Ramsay's <i>The Church in the Roman Empire.</i>
<i>D.A.C.</i>	= Hastings' <i>Dictionary of the Apostolic Church.</i>
<i>D.B.</i>	= Hastings' <i>Dictionary of the Bible.</i>
<i>D.C.A.</i>	= Smith's <i>Dictionary of Christian Antiquities.</i>
<i>D.C.G.</i>	= Hastings' <i>Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels.</i>
<i>D.N.</i>	= J. Eckhel, <i>Doctrina nummorum veterum.</i>
<i>G.J.V.</i>	= Schürer's <i>Geschichte d. jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi.</i>
<i>Gött. Nach.</i>	= <i>Nachrichten der göttlinger Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.</i>
<i>H.E.</i>	= <i>Historia Ecclesiastica.</i>
<i>H.Th.R.</i>	= <i>Harvard Theological Review.</i>
<i>I.C.C.</i>	= <i>International Critical Commentary.</i>
<i>J.B.L.</i>	= <i>Journal of Biblical Literature.</i>
<i>J.T.S. (J.Th.S.)</i>	= <i>Journal of Theological Studies.</i>
<i>P.T.R.C. (P.T.R.)</i>	= Sir W. M. Ramsay's <i>St. Paul the Traveller and Roman Citizen.</i>
<i>S.A.B.</i>	= <i>Sitzungsberichte d. königl. preussischen Akademie zu Berlin.</i>
<i>T.U.</i>	= <i>Texte und Untersuchungen.</i>
<i>T.U., N.F.</i>	= <i>Texte und Untersuchungen, Neue Folge.</i>
<i>Z.A.T.W.</i>	= <i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft.</i>
<i>Z.N.T.W.</i>	= <i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft.</i>
<i>Z.W.Th.</i>	= <i>Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie.</i>



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